

Just not to have things happen as you choose them, but rather choose them to happen as they do, and so you shall live prosperously.

—Epictetus.

INDIAN

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1933-1936



Nothing could be done at all if a man waited until he could do it so well that no one would find fault with it.

—Cardinal Newman.

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REPORT ON PANDIT NEHRU'S AMERICAN VISIT

Chicago, Dec. 25.

ALMOST half a hundred prime Ministers and heads of state have made the pilgrimage to Washington during the four years Dwight Eisenhower has been President. There never was, however, such a visit as the one Jawaharlal Nehru recently paid to the President. Originally an invitation in the summer of 1955 for the President to visit New Delhi, and twice delayed by the President's illness, the visit finally took the form of a marathon tea-tete at Gettysburg.

Rarely has President Eisenhower or his government prepared for a visit so carefully. Rarely have such efforts in personal diplomacy been so obviously successful. The tenor of American-India relations in recent years has been uneven and critical of Nehru have been sharp in recent weeks in America. Nevertheless, Nehru came. He talked. He conquered. This triumph occurred at a time when, since the Suez invasion, prime ministers and foreign ministers representing even America's erstwhile closest allies were not welcomed at the White House.

Important Outcome

The most important outcome of the Nehru visit was that the personal conversations between the Pandit and the President went off well. Men who knew both wondered what they could talk about for fourteen solid hours. They even wondered if Eisenhower would be reduced to teaching Nehru

golf or if Nehru would have to pass the time by teaching Eisenhower to stand on his head. Enough clues have emerged to lead to the conclusion that both men used their time well to explore common objectives rather than only argue obvious differences. They exchanged political realities which condition their national positions, making the latter more rigid than probably either man would prefer. In the very informal atmosphere of the President's farm these two world leaders got to know each other and to admire each other. Each was prepared to think the best of the other—which may not have been true when Nehru and Truman met in 1949.

The question has been asked of the Gettysburg talks if Eisenhower converted Nehru—politically—or if it was the other way around. However, the whole purpose of the visit was conversation—communication—and not conver-

sion. They found that they spoke the same language—not only English but peace. Nehru admitted later in Canada that it was difficult to deal with the Russian leaders because of the presence of interpreters and the slowness of translations. On a language level at least it was easier for Nehru to

reach the mind of the President. All evidences point to the happy result that the conversations were on a warm emotional level also.

Controversial Character

Another favourable outcome of the visit was Nehru's impression on the
(Continued on page 4)

A BREAK IN THE COLOUR BAR

THROUGHOUT the continent of Africa, there have arisen, here and there, white men and women big enough to ignore their governments, to defy the colour bar, to show courage where courage hurts.

One such is Mrs. G. G. Colman, creator of the Little Theatre of Salisbury, which inaugurated and sponsored the African Eisteddfodau; creator more recently of the Alpha Secondary School for Africans; two ventures, both unique of their kind, standing in sharp relief against the background of the colour bar.

At present on a visit to this country she gave, in an interview with 'Peace News', some impressions of life in Southern Rhodesia.

"Things for the African are no better since Federation; the colour bar is everywhere, as in South Africa, but it is more insidious,

There is the hollow pretence of partnership."

The African in Southern Rhodesia could enter a restaurant, hotel, cinema or place of entertainment; he slept eight, ten or even fifteen in a room with no privacy; his wages, perhaps £3 or £4 a month were a bare subsistence.

The selected African, chosen and trained to take charge of an African school received after training £35 a month; the white man doing the same work received £20-£200 a month.

For white children there was compulsory free education; for the black it had been introduced into secondary
(Continued on page 3)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 11TH JANUARY, 1957

Not Clever Enough

GENEROSITY is a virtue South Africans of all races have in common. Whenever a deserving call for help comes to any section of the nation it almost invariably evokes prompt responses. Thus, when the sorely-cried people of Hungary were involved in trouble with the thugs in charge of Russia's destinies at the moment, we were not surprised to read in the papers that South Africa was sending help.

But there is something a little peculiar about the enthusiasm shown for the refugees which must not escape notice. The Nationalist government and party are not cosmopolitan in their outlook nor have they in the past shown any enthusiasm for rallying to the cause of democracy anywhere beyond the Limpopo. When, then, they overwork themselves in trying to show everybody what democrats they are, we feel we would be quite justified to find out precisely what has happened—after making due allowance for customary generosity.

Let us start with the situation inside Hungary itself. There was no doubt that there is strong opposition to the communists and every true democrat will rejoice that this is the case and do all in their power to assist in the process. Since the Nationalists are not democrats we must not see in their generosity an expression of the democratic impulse. Here again, the situation inside Hungary might shed a little more light.

That unhappy land has for a long time been the bastion of reaction. The firmest friends of the Nazis in Eastern Europe were from Hungary. To this day fascists, Nazis and other reactionaries still plot and counterplot, not to restore democracy in Hungary but to win back their estates and their power over the peasants. Perhaps this might be the best clue to Nationalist interest in Hungary.

During the last war the record of the Nationalists was, in important essentials, similar to that of the forces of reaction in Hungary. So strong was this fellow-feeling that the Nationalists were full of contempt for the brave people of Holland who resisted the Nazi monsters.

The impression must not be got that the only opponents of communism in Hungary to-day are the reactionaries. The present resistance to communism comes overwhelmingly from real democrats. It so happens that the overthrow of communism might benefit the reactionaries as well. For our part we suspect that Afrikaaner Nationalist's new-found en-

thusiasm for intervening in foreign quarrels is designed to spread the cause of reaction and not liberal democracy.

The second reason is more sinister, in our view, and explains why even so noted a champion of oppression as Pretoria University has seen some of its students raise help for the people of Hungary.

Before going to America Minister Louw told South Africa that investment funds were not coming into the country from America, in particular, in desirable proportions. He blamed the liberals and others who "misrepresented" South Africa overseas for this. After an unfortunate appearance in the United Nations he spent a good deal of time in America meeting businessmen and trying to convince them that all is well with South Africa. Like the Prime Minister he told America that communism has its eyes on South Africa.

Now, we do not think the Americans are fools. We do not think they fell for the Louw line. We believe they knew better than Minister Louw that Nazism is as wicked an ideology as communism. We believe (because they are fighting it in their own country) that they know that race oppression has its roots in the temper of the slave-driver and that race oppression in South Africa is the same bad thing that it was in Lincoln's America and which it was also in Hitler's Germany. Clever man that Minister Louw is, he must have realised that the wares he tried to sell to America were not wanted. Like a polished diplomat he decided to put that gloss on them which would make them appeal to American eyes.

Now, the Americans hate everything Red. If you go farther and say you hate even the very thought of Pink, the chances are that they might forget you are an enemy of the ideals they believe in—particularly when they have invested their money in your country. If the whitewashing is done skilfully enough the Americans might even begin to wonder if the fellow who overworks himself so much to turn Red into White is not, after all, a virtuous democrat.

The Nationalists are, in dramatising their help for the deserving Hungarians, one more chance to impress the sceptical Americans with their own democratic virtue. And, perhaps, also the rest of the world. Fortunately for mankind, the trick is not clever enough.

*Thank God our time is now, when wrong
Comes up to face us everywhere
Never to leave us till we take
The longest stride of soul men ever took.
Affairs are now some close,
The enterprise
Is exploration into God.*

—Christopher Fry.

Immersion Ceremony Of The Ashes Of The Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi

A Break In The Colour Bar

(Continued from front page)

MR. ARUN Gandhi, left the shores of Durban on December 5, with the ashes of his father, consigned in a silver casket, which was placed in a glass case. This casket was brought from India by Mr. Keshubchandra Bhanu Prasad carrying some of the ashes of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Arun Gandhi reached Bombay on December 25, 1955, where he was met by members of the entire Gandhi family, the Prime Minister of Bombay, Mr. Chavan and the president of the Bombay Indian Congress, Mr. Patil.

The leaders and relatives paid tribute to the ashes of the late Mr. Gandhi, by offerings of flowers. Prayers were held on the ship, and speeches were made by the Prime Minister and other leaders, paying tribute to the late Mr. Gandhi.

The ashes were then taken with due respect to "Maul Bhawan" which is a house of

many historical events. Here the president of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund, Mr. R. G. Kher received the ashes. They were kept here, for two days with prayers open to the public. On Friday, December 28 the Governor of Bombay placed a wreath on the casket, and paid tribute to the late Mr. Gandhi. Prayers were conducted by Mr. Bhabhaji, the brother of the well-known leader—Vijaybhaji. Many well-known personalities were present.

Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and Mr. Arun Gandhi left Bombay on the evening of December 30, with the ashes for Allahabad. Here the ashes were immersed, where the three holy rivers, the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Sarawati meet and where the ashes of the late Mahatma Gandhi were also immersed in 1948.

Prayers were held at the Phoenix Settlement amongst a gathering of friends on the evening of January 1, 1957.

schools for African children. There were no secondary evening schools, or facilities for the education of adult Africans. To the Europeans the adult African, whatever his capabilities, would always remain "boy."

Yet today the whole range of domestic literature, Dickens and Waverley, have been placed within the reach of African talent at the Little Theatre Bulwags. The Nativity Play, the Death of the Buddha, Romeo and Juliet, Abraham Lincoln, Cry the Beloved Country. These works, and many more, have come to life upon its stage.

"I had always been interested in drama" said Mrs. Coleman, "The Africans are such wonderful natural actors. The Little Theatre just grew."

Today, between 6 and 9 p.m. our hundred and twenty African students, young men and women between the ages of 16 and 40, after a heavy day's work, with perhaps five miles or more to cycle at each end, crowded to the Alpha Secondary School for study.

In rooms of a primary school lent by the Education authorities—this is the extent of official help given—with the assistance of an entirely voluntary staff of 24, mainly Europeans, they work eagerly through the Junior Certificate and matriculation syllabus.

Some take the examinations; some pass; but most important is the development of the innate qualities and abilities of the African, and the opening of his vision to a wider culture.

"Some Africans asked me to give them lessons in English," she explained, "and so in a very small room, with little light, an blackboard, and very primitive conditions it happened." It is the only school of its kind in the Federation.

But overshadowing all things is the colour bar.

She recalled a visit to one of the cinemas in Southern Rhodesia. A few seats are reserved for Coloureds and Indians; none are reserved for Africans.

She and her daughter, sitting with some Coloured friends in these seats, were informed that they would be ejected by the police.

Quietly, with icy humour, she picked up the theatre telephone, dialled the police number, and said politely, "Would you please come to eject us as soon as you

are able; we are tired and wish to go home."

The African in the Federation had little hope of relief, or redress, through official channels. Strike action, taken recently in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, had resulted in the use of tear-gas against non-violent strikers, widespread panic, more than one hundred injuries, and a further lowering of wages for many.

Questioned concerning the cost to herself of the stand she was taking, she replied with a smile and characteristic self-effacement: "I wouldn't say anything to join in the cocktail party."

A sense of displacement, depression and even despondency had possessed her while in Britain. The complacency, imagination and lack of awareness of the life she saw around her made her long to return to the moderns whose affectionate letters she treasured.

"Could Play For S.A."

—But For Apartheid

THREE non-European cricketers—Basil d'Oliveira, the captain, all-rounder Cecil Abraham and wicket-keeper G. Abed—would be in the South African test team which played England at the Wanderers if it were not for apartheid in the Union, the manager of the departing Kenya Indian team, Mr. Hanuman M. Ratnani, said, at Jan Smuts Airport.

The 16-member team left in the B.O.A.C. aircraft for Nairobi after playing three tests (two losses, one draw) and eight other matches (five wins, two draws) against non-European sides in the Union.

The team visited the Wanderers to see the test there.

Members said they had not suffered any major embarrassments as a result of apartheid, though it was degrading to have to use separate entrances at post offices and railway stations.

They stayed with Indian, Malay and Coloured families during their visit.

The nearest they came to an "incident" was at the Wanderers, wicket-keeper Shabbar Ahmed, a member of the 1954 Pakistan test team said.

Several of them heaved past a c.c. 70. "We threatened by the European owner, who derided when they told him they were from East Africa," said.

Treason Fund Is Legal

—Says Sponsor

A STATEMENT by a senior official of the Department of Social Welfare may have given the impression that our fund has not complied with the law, a sponsor of the Treason Inquiry Defence Fund said.

This is incorrect. When the fund was established we planned to apply for registration under the Welfare Organizations Act, but we were informed by our legal advisers that the fund did not fall within the scope of the Act and that registration was unnecessary.

Council's Opinion

"The sponsors took the precaution of getting council's opinion. This opinion was that the objects of the fund were outside the provisions of the Act."

He added that the objects of the fund were to provide bail for the people before the court, to pay the costs of the defence and to compensate the dependents of the accused.

Trustees of the fund are the Bishop of Johannesburg, Mr. Alan Paine and Dr. Ellen Hellman. They have appointed ac-

countants as honorary auditors.

According to a senior official of the Department in Pretoria the Fund will not be able to collect contributions in the Union unless it is registered with the Department of Social Welfare as a welfare organization, or gets a special permit from a magistrate.

Meanwhile, anyone who collects for the fund is liable to a fine of up to £25, up to a month's imprisonment, or both. Anyone who takes part in the management or control of the fund if it collects money before being registered, will be liable to a fine of up to £200, imprisonment up to six months, or both.

Mr. Kajer Re-Appointed As Hospital Board

Mr. A. F. Kajer who has been on the Advisory Board of the King Edward Hospital for the last 10 years, has been re-appointed for the year 1957. He is available at 56 Alice Street, Durban, Phone 35413, during office hours and at 25 Brown Drift Road, Riverside, Phone 33348 after hours.

Report On Pandit Nehru's American Visit

(Continued from front page)

American people and the American press. He arrived in the United States directly a "two-storied character," had yet he left five days afterwards with a basically friendly pose. He was widely heard and seen by the American people ever interested and he was anxiously questioned by American journalists at a large press conference (this time) and he triumphantly surveyed both experiences. He emerged as a warmhearted man whose was the heir of the universally-loved Mahatma Gandhi. Americans didn't readily agree with everything he said, but they liked him. He was not the tight rope walker they stand about in the magazines or now criticised in the newspapers.

A third favourable outcome of the visit was the visible emergence of new common ground between India and America. Nehru found Eisenhower not to be completely well-misled and Eisenhower found Nehru not to be entirely communistic-minded. A new climate of trust leading to an era of broad understanding was discovered. Their agreement in goals for civilised advancement, difference in method. The timing of the visit could not have been more auspicious. Had the President not been with last July and the visit taken place then, there may have been serious differences of goals and methods. With India's disavowal of Russia by recent events in Hungary and equally with America's disavowal of Britain and France by recent events in Egypt, both were now ripe to establish between eighty-eight signatories. Whereas six months ago India was a bridge between Eisenhower and Nehru, today inevitably Nehru emerges as the bridge between Eisenhower and Eden.

Chou En-Lai

What practically emerged from the visit? Nehru will try even harder to induce Chou En-Lai to release the remaining American prisoners in China. Nehru knows that Eisenhower is preoccupied politically from making further steps toward ending American-Chinese relations until this step is accomplished. After that Eisenhower may slowly allow the new American reports going in China and, in time, the ban on trade with China, Eisenhower may now have better reasons for remaining outside the Baghdad Pact. He was certainly given better reasons by Nehru. On the other

hand, Nehru might support more wholeheartedly the new American proposals in the United Nations Disarmament Committee. Eisenhower is ready, it has been reported, to accept for a long-term loan for India, reportedly around 500 million dollars. This is still very much in its initial stages. It would not be outright economic aid, but a loan. Interest might be paid through subsequent gifts to India if a more ambitious economic aid programme for India can get through Congress at a later date.

One outcome of the visit which may had hoped for was Nehru's strict mediation to settle the whole range of problems in the Near East. While Nehru admitted in America that the danger of widespread war are still very much present in the Near East, he gave little indication that he was in a position to lessen these dangers. The possibility of world conflict is as great here as it was in Korea, Formosa, or Indo-China. In all these instances, Nehru sided the work of all sides by determinedly trying to widen the area of peace and helping to negotiate a settlement. He gave indications in Washington and at the United Nations that he would use his influence (which is considerable) as President Nature to advise mediation in negotiations leading to the ceasing and future use of the Suez Canal. It would seem that Nehru more than any other world leader, including Eisenhower, is in a position to use his great personal and greater moral leverage with the Arabs, including the Egyptians, the Israelis, and the warring British and French power to help arrange a permanent settlement which would go beyond the Suez issue itself. Two settlements would probably not be wholly pleasing to any of these nations (or to Russia or America) but such a compromise would appreciably lessen the danger of a third world war.

Hungary

In Washington and New York, Nehru had something of influence to say about the Hungarian uprisings. Part of what he said was in defence of the Indian position in the U.N. which has been severely criticised in America. Part of what he said was in answer to questions about the use of Gandhi by Russian people. At his Washington press conference, Nehru was

asked if "the technique of Mahatma Gandhi of passive resistance could be used successfully by the Hungarian people." Nehru replied: "I can't give a reply about what might happen in Hungary or any particular place because I am not adequately acquainted with the background in the sense of where people apply technique they must, in some sense, be trained in it; they must, in some sense, understand it. There is always a danger of superficially applying a technique and not adhering to it and thereby falling between two stools; but I do believe that the type of technique is not only effective but, if I may say so, in the long run more effective than other techniques, if people have understood it and can do it in an organised way."

Visit India

Nehru's brief five days in the United States did not give him much time for interviews. The heads of the Cooperative League did ask him for twenty minutes in New York City to acquaint him with the breadth of the co-operative movement in the United States and of their eagerness to co-operate in help the co-operative movement in India. Then a delegation of five Quakers, headed by Lewis Hoadley of the American Friends Service Committee, now his in his presidential visit 25 minutes up in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The delegation began the interview by suggesting that they have a period of silence with Nehru to help silence the pressures on him. Then they discussed problems of American-Chinese relations and asked what American Friends could do. Nehru knew of the British team of Quakers who visited China. They expressed the hope that a similar American team could visit China so that Americans are allowed to both countries to enter. They also brought to Nehru's attention the Gandhi movement in Montgomery, Alabama, against bus segregation. This came to its climax and Negroes were for the first time beginning to ride the buses in an unorganised manner just as the Quakers were talking to Nehru. He indicated that he had not heard of this movement. They hoped that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and perhaps other Montgomery leaders, could visit India in an effort to strengthen Indian-American relations. They finally discussed current British and American policies in India sponsored by the Friends.

Old Friends

At the reception for Nehru at the United Nations, by past his

old friend, Roger Baldwin, who for many years was head of the American Civil Liberties Union and now is at the United Nations leading the International League for the Rights of Man. They first met in 1937 at the Congress of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels and they worked closely in Geneva. At this reception, Baldwin enthusiastically told Nehru: "Jawaharlal, many things we fought for together thirty years ago are now coming true." Nehru smiled and replied: "But it is slower than we thought." Nehru met briefly a few other old friends of Indian freedom in America, such as Norman Thomas and J. J. Slaght, and many new friends of India, such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Chester Bowles, and Adlai Stevenson. At the U.N. reception Nehru also met again Michael Scott who has been shaken by the mass trials of many of his friends in the Union of South Africa. Scott had no time given him to talk to Nehru, but he told others of the "solid, calculated defence of the United Nations by South Africa, not for weeks at Hungary but, but for years."

The five days Nehru spent in the United States in December add up to unbelievable and unexpected success. History may well remember the glow of Goughburg as a turning point in American-Indian relations. It is hoped by some Americans that the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in 1957 may not forget. No world leader has worked harder, travelled farther, or achieved more for world peace in the past decade than Jawaharlal Nehru.

Asian Countries Form Committee To Study Legal Questions

SEVEN countries—Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan and Syria—have set up an Asian Committee to study international legal problems and make recommendations to the International Law Commission. The committee is the result of a proposal made by Burma at a meeting of the Commission in New Delhi two years ago, and it is constituted, initially, for a period of five years. Its tasks will include the study of international legal problems raised by its members, and the promotion of exchanges of views and information on questions of common interest.—UNESCO.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones ?

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African Viewpoint

Dr. Blaxall And The All-In Conference

THE current number of the "Christian Quarterly"—the organ of the Christian Council of South Africa—contains a renewed article in which Dr. Blaxall discusses the Bloemfontein conference. He adds his contribution by suggesting that the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, the Christian Council and the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Church should be co-sponsors of the conference to bring into being the new alignment of forces called for at Bloemfontein.

By

JORDAN K. NGUBANE

The proposal is a good one—both in the sense that it is in keeping with the spirit of the Bloemfontein conference as well as because it is contagious.

At Bloemfontein the African delegates called for "a positive alternative to apartheid" as the only way of returning the country to the path of peace and security for all. They saw in the creation of a united front of all anti-apartheid forces the most effective way of bringing about the changes they desired.

Now we should be clear about what the Bloemfontein call was and what it was not. Apartheid is a philosophy of life, giving form and direction to men's activities in the political, economic or social fields. To be effective, opposition to it must not be confined to one particular field. Up to now opposition has been confined largely to the political side.

This has produced a situation where the Afrikaner people in particular and White youth Africa, generally, have seen in apartheid a costly but effective guarantee of political survival for the White skin.

At Bloemfontein the leaders of the African people assessed apartheid from different premises. Because apartheid was a way of life, its central thesis that race determines a people's destiny came to be seen as the exact opposite of the Christian evaluation of the human personality where the individual has as importance in relation to his God which is greater than the group's.

From here the Africans proceeded to argue that apartheid offered against moral decency and that opposition to it can be successful only if it takes the form of moral protest. It was this consideration which drove the conference to the decision to call for a united front of all anti-apartheid forces.

The nature of these forces, however, is such that a purely political call would not appeal to them; or, would not evoke the desired response. The call for a movement of moral protest is something quite different. Churches, politically-minded people, workers and all can join in effective opposition to a moral evil.

The Bloemfontein call, then, was not merely a demand for political action. It was essentially an appeal to the Christian conscience on every side of the colour line. The Africans believed that this conscience runs in the Dutch Reformed Church as well. To the extent that Dr. Blaxall's suggestion takes emphasis of this belief it is in keeping with the spirit of the conference.

Afrikaner beliefs in the salience of this conscience in the Dutch Reformed Church as well do not preclude the possibility of the reality of race creating almost insurmountable barriers for the DRC Christian. For my part I doubt very much if the Dutch Reformed Church is ready to consider the reality of Christian brotherhood is a mixed community as of greater importance than the reality of race. For this reason, the fear is strong in me that the Dutch Reformed Church would refuse to co-sponsor a conference designed ultimately to oppose the race-political doctrine embraced by many of its adherents.

People who know better have expressed the view to me that the Africans may be wasting their time if they approached the DRC, on the question of sponsorship. But the act of approaching them in itself would be proof of a genuine African desire to solve the race problem through consultation and anger. If the Church rejected that, the African side would not lose anything. On the contrary the case would be on the Church to furnish alternative bases for the solution of the race problem.

Of course the consequences for the DRC of such a refusal to co-operate in a movement of moral protest would be shattering on world opinion. The frustration of the Africans was not to give the DRC a bad name. If the DRC elects to have it, it must be made quite clear that African interests lie in seeing the Church not a parish in the world community of Christians. We would sooner have the Church respected and loved as much within the country as without than see it headed an agent of the oppressor or the fount and head of race hatred. Because this is the case we have the responsibility to give it every opportunity to choose whether or not it will make constructive contributions to the solution of the race problem.

On the other hand the choice of the Christian Council and the Dutch Reformed Church leaves out an important section of Christian opinion—the Roman Catholics. It would be a fine thing if the Conference was sponsored by the solid body of Christian opinion in this country. The addition of the Roman Catholics to the list of sponsors (who themselves are already in the forefront of the fight against the values of life preached by the apartheidists)

would reinforce rather than weaken the cause we all have at heart.

The political leaders of the African people have wisely decided to leave the clergyman to carry out their plans in the light of their own experience. This gives weight to the view that the conference called for at Bloemfontein is really a movement of moral protest and as such should commend itself to all men of goodwill in all camps.

Events since October have taken a course, within the country, which gives urgency to the need to call the conference. Delay would mean that it would eventually be called shortly before the general elections or some time thereafter. If called before, the atmosphere would be anything but desirable for that calm needed for the successful tackling of the country's biggest problem. Calling it after the elections might mean that the conference comes only to find the Africans in a dilettant mood.

We are all going through extremely difficult times. But let us lay solid foundations to ensure that when the storms which rage over the land have blown over it will be possible for Black and White to meet, sit down together and talk things over. I have the fear that if we postpone laying these foundations we shall find, to our cost, that history has not waited for us.

Khrushchev Says He's Stalinist

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, who led the movement to denounce Joseph Stalin earlier this year, now says he is Stalinist and proud of it.

Free reports concerning the Kremlin New Year's eve party relate that Khrushchev praised Stalin as "a great fighter against imperialism" and a "great Marxist."

"The imperialists call me 'Stalinist,'" he told the party. "Well, when it comes to fighting imperialism, we are all Stalinists."

He is reported to have said: "I grew up under Stalin. Stalin made mistakes, but we should share responsibility for those mistakes because we were associated with him."

Stalin's errors were secondary to his "colossal" achievements.

The article objected to the term, "Stalinism," stating that if it had any meaning it was primarily "Communism." The Communist publication complained that in talk of "Stalinism" and "Anti-Stalinism" as Marshall Tito has done tends to split the ranks of the party.

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Governor-General Calls On People To Work More For Others

THE Governor-General, Dr. R. G. Jaisie, in a broadcast message on January 1 said:

My message today is an attempt to draw the attention of everyone of you to the personal responsibility in life of every individual.

We must realise that what is part is part and cannot be changed. We must enter the New Year with courage and faith determined to serve our fellow men. If we have missed up things in the past we should endeavour to make up for it in the year before us by a clean and honourable life.

We live in uncertain times in which we do not know from day to day what may happen. We must be prepared to meet any eventuality and therefore the faith and spiritual power that are in us must be strengthened.

Let us then live up to the year in the New Year and make certain that we do not, by our way of life, contribute to the chaos and uncertainty which are so evident in all parts of the world.

A responsibility rests on each one of us—a personal responsibility. I take it that everyone would like to improve conditions in our country and in the world.

Well, we can be of assistance by everyone of us beginning

with himself. Few people realise the importance of the contribution which every individual makes to the general and spiritual and material state of affairs.

The general state of affairs is the sum total of individual lives. If the individual lives are right then the general state of affairs in the country will also be right in every sphere.

If we are desirous of helping to improve conditions in our country and in the world then everyone must begin with himself.

"The life and conduct of every individual affect not only himself but also his family, the community and all the people."

"Let us see to it that in the New Year our lives and conduct are such as to be a contribution to the betterment of conditions in our country and in the world and that service of our fellowmen to our aim and object."

"We have seen what is happening in Europe and in other countries including our own. There are dangers threatening from without and within."

"It was most successfully pointed out that everyone of us must see to it that his way is kept clean and that he is prepared to meet with any eventuality."

sided the consequences of holding the hearing in the centre of a crowded city where race tensions have for some time been palpably apparent. Yet there was little evidence of casual forthright in the preparations for the sitting of this historic court nor do the arrangements for control of the crowd whose presence was inevitable seem to have been very thorough.

Slapdash Preparations

And the Government cannot claim that the slapdash arrangements for which the preparations for the hearing were carried out was forced by any lack of time. The arrests took place more than a year after the police raids of which they are said to be the sequel, and the warrants for these arrests were signed nearly a month before they were made. The public should be given an early explanation for what seems to have been at least lamentably inept handling of the crowd outside the Drill Hall.

Created Situation

But even if this is forthcoming it cannot be accepted as absolving the Government that some public servants may have failed to exercise their discretion, that some policemen may have neglected their duty, or that elements in the crowd at the Drill Hall may

have behaved irresponsibly. Having created a situation fraught with the most dangerous possibilities, a heavy onus rested on the Government to ensure that the situation did not get out of hand.

Side Issue

An interesting side-issue presents itself, too. German journalists have been treated to the spectacle of lawyers and advocates having to scale high railings to gain entrance to the courtroom. They have been jostled themselves by the police, seen Press photographers roughly handled, arrested, and their cameras confiscated without explanation, even the licensees—who in the eyes of the law are innocent until proved guilty—headed like animals on show into a wire cage, heard a visiting Kenya policeman describe how he was hit over the head with a police baton, locked up and forced to expose the film of his cine camera, and have watched police charging up and down with batons and shooting into the crowd on what so far appears to have been not very great provocation and apparently without orders from any of the senior officers present. It will be interesting to see where the Government will lay the blame for all the adverse publicity these incidents are hoped to earn for South Africa.

Treason Trial Prisoners Entertained To Farewell Concert

A HIGHLY entertaining concert was held at the Axton Theatre, Durban, on the night of departure of persons appearing before the treason trial enquiry in Johannesburg beginning on the 9th January. Some of the leading Indian and African artists of Durban performed at the concert as guest artists.

The audience which packed the hall showed deep appreciation for all the songs. The leaders in whose honour the concert was arranged appeared in the body of the hall after intermission amid transgressive applause from the public. Chief Luthuli was absent owing to serious illness of his daughter who had to be confined to hospital.

Crowd At Station

The crowd was orderly and good humoured. Banners and sandwich boards reading "We stand by our leaders" were predominant among them.

Women of all race groups formed a fair section of the gathering. So did a group of professionals and university men. The cries of "Mayibuye" were loud and full-throated as against the worried and fearful faces of the relatives of the "treason-trial prisoners".

While the Indian and African "treason prisoners" travelled together, four Europeans, Mr and Mrs. Karl Shalvey, Mr. Jan Hagedoorn and Mrs. Aronstein, travelled separately in the European section of the train. Police were conspicuous on the platform as well as on the train. About 50 uniformed police occupied compartments between the two groups of treason trial people, Europeans and non-Europeans.

Responsible Daily Slates Justice Minister For Treason Trial Arrangements

A LEADING article in the "Cape Times" of December 21, 1956 has the following to say on arrangements for the "treason" trials in Johannesburg:—

THE Minister of Justice cannot simply shrug off all responsibility for the confusion and resultant disorder which has occurred at the main treason hearings in Johannesburg. Complacent statements about the police doing their duty and hostile attitudes not being tolerated are not enough.

It is so much the duty of the Minister and his Department to prevent breaches of the peace as to put them down when they occur. And the surest means of preventing breaches of the peace is not to allow situations to arise which might provoke them. When the Government decided to hold

this mass court hearing in so dramatic a manner it must have realised that intense public interest and high feeling would be aroused. It must have foreseen that there would be every technical difficulty involved in bringing 150 people, their legal representatives, Press and public together in one courtroom. It must have appreciated that unless very great care was taken with the physical arrangements the court might be hampered and delayed in its work, the 150 prisoners put to unnecessary strain (immense and even unending), and a dangerous situation created. It must have con-

American, Pretoria, reading out (Latham) by reading in the first book "The Way in Success" United by all sorts of spiritual forces, we guide you out, spend your words, Write in the School of Accounting.

New Insurance Company Has Africans And Europeans On Board Of Directors

A NEW insurance company "founded to serve Africans only, which has both Africans and Europeans on its board of directors, is the first attempt at such a partnership in the Union and is a direct reply to apartheid," Senator W. O. Ballinger said in Cape Town.

"Far too little is known," he said, "about the tremendous strides being made, especially in commerce, by the African people. There are many flourishing businesses in the established townships and the site-and-service schemes."

"I know of one African at Duke, Johannesburg, who, in spite of being unable to write, has established a well-run restaurant, grocery and butchery. In addition, he has opened a gambling business and a tailor's shop and has taken over a garage and service station."

"The same thing is happening throughout the Transvaal, the Free State and the Cape."

"Africans are becoming an economic force to be reckoned with. Apartheid has engendered intense patriotism among them, and if Europeans do not accept partnership they will be the losers."

"Already at Ficksburg there is a move among Under Africans to combine with the Bantus to establish their own trading stores across the Caledon River."

"The new insurance company will derive its income from Africans. It seems fairly obvious that in investing its funds it will assist Africans to set up their own businesses."

The company, which has been launched with an initial capital of £200,000, has been called the African Revision Insurance Co., Ltd.

Its chairman is Senator Leslie Rubin, Mr. M. B. Koenig is deputy chairman, and other members of the board are Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P., Prof. E. K. Matthews, Dr. J. S. Moroka and Dr. A. B. Nkomo.

Farewell Luncheon To Kenya Cricket Team

The Kathiawadi Hindu Youth Organisation, which is a very young body as yet, organised a grand luncheon in honour of the visiting Kenya Cricket Team. The luncheon was in the traditional Gujarati style, as far as the food was concerned, but the decorations, the tables and the seating was the best that modern ideas can hope for. Beautiful music was provided by local artistes and the youth themselves too. The visitors regaled by rendering a very fine performance, on the spot. Each member of the team was given a souvenir of an ash tray and a brochure of the Kathiawadi Hindu Sev-Samaj. This body of young people has done well in the short time that they have been in existence. It is to be hoped that as time goes on they will make good progress in the right direction, and that they will spread their wings and make it a body of all youth irrespective of class, colour or creed. Such organizations are very necessary in this land of ours.

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Negroes Hide Again

The year long Montgomery, Alabama, non-violent bus boycott has ended with full integration on the bus lines within the city.

A federal court order ordered an end to the segregation, and in accordance with plans reported in Peace News on December 27 by Dr. Homer Jack, the boycott was called off and Negroes began riding the buses sitting where they pleased.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the boycott who based the campaign on the teachings of Gandhi, was one of the first Negroes to ride in white sections in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Most whites took the change-over with composure, many with downright good humour. Said a white bank teller of the jubilant Negroes: "They'll find that all they've won is their year of praying and boycotting is the same lousy service I've been getting everyday."

There were, however, two reports of buses being fired upon.

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କୋଷର କୋଣକୁ ଖସାଯାଇ ନଥି

દેશ ડોખના દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકા
મેઝની જગ્યા બે ખારોશિવ
કે કે લેખને વધુ દેશ દિખાના
કે. તમારે વધુ મહત્તની નવુરુ
લેખી કામ છે. તમારે મળી
કેશિયેથી મહત્તને કામ લખના
વામ છે. લેખી કેમેરીની કમુ
કલના આશીને કિલ્લે આદિમને
મહત્ત માટે આશી કમી લે આશી
મે આદિમને લે આશી

પણ બહારી આગેલા નીકળીએ
 ઘરેલું પતન બહારીને થાય
 મુશ્કેલી પડે તો પાછા બાપડ
 બાપડને બાપડ કે દાંડણ બહારી
 કાઠીને નેકાલકેરત કરવાને લખા
 દેશીયી પ્રજાને ગીમ બની માનવી
 ભલે ભુજાલાય પણ કેમ પણ
 પ્રજાજવાળાં મળી જાય લખા
 ભાવે તેને રોકે નહોતે બાપડે,
 બાપડે તેમણે રોકી દુશ્મીને લખા
 પણ બાપડે કે કે તેમણે લખા
 પ્રજાજવાળાં પડે છે, બાપડી મેક
 રાજા વળવળે કે કે બાપડી
 રખાવે ભલે તેની હીને થાય

કલે આપણે લેન્ડિંગ ડેલી
પરિધીમાં છે તે પર વિચાર
કરીએ, જો રાષ્ટ્ર વચનથી વાજ
કે તે ભંડેરખાનીઓને સમજ
વિશેષ પ્રત્યાખ્યા આપી શકો છે.
આ વીડીઝ આવીકે પ્રત્યક્ષતા
કે સીમેંટે કલેન્ડરમાં છે અને
તેથી બધા પ્રત્યક્ષતા વાળીએ
મઠા મઠા લેવાનો હાથ લેવા
વશે. આપણે લાઈફ લીને કે,
મેક્સીકોના પ્રત્યક્ષતામાં નહીં
જો તેથી કે તેમની આ કલેન્ડર
આ ખરેખર કલેન્ડર કલેન્ડર

નાનકડા આ ડે'વેરીયા રેલમાં
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સનના સચાઈયોને રજાઝડ બની
હયે.

મગધા કુલદર્શી યોગેશ્વરે ભાગ્યે નેશનલીસ્ટોની વિચાર ધારા તથા નાચીઝીયોનીની ધારા ભેદી ન કર્યો. આ ધારા ભેદથી નજર રાખ કરવી તે તે કમળે નજારે નાચીઝીએ કોઈએ પણ જુઓ. કમળે કહ્યો જ્યારે કોઈએ તે મહા-કુરીશી તેને સમજાવે એવી કહ્યો તેને નેશનલીસ્ટોએ કુલદર્શી નજરે ભેદ ન કર્યો.

આ જાણ કર્યાં આપણે વિષ
મનનાની જુવુ નથી કે આણે
કેવે હોઈમાં એણે કેમકુળમનો
આમણે કરી વણ કે તેણે જણા
જા નાલી જણા છે. તેમાં વણ
વણા અમણાએ વણીએ વણ
કે. કર્યાં આવી નીના એ છે કે
કેમકુળમનો કુલ વણે તેમાં નાલી
વણે જણ છે. આણે વણ
આણે એણે કે. આણેજન
વણવણેજન. આણે જાણવણ
જાણ વણવણેજન વણવણ
જાણ વણવણેજન વણવણ

સૌજન્ય કારણ વધુ નહોતર છે,
મીઠીસા કુત્રીનમોંકે કે એ
કાંઈકદાખજીમાં માનવાર લોમી
વધુ કુલન પ્રવીણતી છે તેના
વિલાસીમાં કેવેરી માટે કાશે
કરવા બહાર પડવા છે તેમાં આ
કારણ સમાયું છે.

[illegible]

મહા' આદિ વાતોગણથી તે દેશ
સામન્યજીવોમાં સેવાના છે.

અધીરકાની પ્રજા ખુબ તે
મજીજી. આમને તણી ધામ્ય
હે જી, હોતી જા વાવો પા
તેમોજી વિજયજી સમીપી ધોમ
આપા માન્યું છે કે તેમજી પ
આપાથી એમ માને છે કે; ના
અપ પણ તેમજીપ્રકામ એજીમ
પ્રમાણ છે. આપા એજીમ
અન્યું છે અને ખાસ કરીને
કે આપે તેમજીના દેખાઈ પ
દંમસેક પ્રવૃત્તિ છે. આપે
એક મુલાખીજીજી રૂપ છે. આ
મુલાખી ધોતિજીના અધીરકામ
કરી અને કિટકામ આજીનીમ
પણ કરી. જી. એ કુરુકીર
અને પાંદેસ સમજાવી આપી
છે. એમણે એજી કે; અધીરકા
નેમને તેમજા દેખાઈ વેપારમ

પોલીસ કરવાનો અમલ કરી
દેખને આકર્ષન નો અમલ કર્યો.
એ વાહાનીની વાત છે કે, અમિ.

સૌક્યને ડોખી-ગીચ તપ્ત કાચત
અણુધા છે. તેથી એ લેખે
અણે કે? સાથે પક્ષ પક્ષ ડોખી
ગીચને બે વિરોધી છે તે બંને
પાશ્વર્ય કરીને ભારે કે અણે
તેમને કાશ્વર્ય રેશમાં પાતાના
નાશી રોશમાં કોચ ભારે તે રેશ
ને પાતાના આંતરોની સપાશ્વર્ય
અણે પક્ષ ગીચ બાળના તર્મ-
વાર રાઈ નહ.

એ ખી. હો. યોદી ચુ. હુશી-
યારી ચાપરી હારી રીતે હરેદે
શિયાળાનું કામ કરે હો. અને
શાકને હરેદનું બનાવે હો. તેમજ
મજૂર કોનરનામું લાલુ બને.
કેમરીની મદદ કરનાખી અને
લેને. જેનાય કરનાખી કંઠાય
મેશનદીરોને નાશ કરે કે
પીતે હુશીયાર ચમક અને અશિ-
વેતો અમક મનાવેતકાં ચારી
તરીકે કોમી કારી.

નશીબ તોયે માનવ જાત
જાણ કુળે નથી અને તેથી જા
વશતમા મેઝીઃ કીલુપ રહે છે.

શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનાં કૃત્ય વિસર્જન

૧. સેન્સર લા. પના સ્ટીપર
કેપલમાં બી વ્લેફ બાંધી
તેમના પીલાસીના કુલ ત્રીયેટી
માં પથરાવવા હોંક લઈ લેવા
ઉપરના હતા. તેઓ લા. ૨૮
મીના હોંક પહેળેવા હતા.

કાંઠાના કડીમર ખુલ્લોને બંધને પહેલોતરના બાંધી કુટુંબના સભ્યો વિશે તેમજ ખુલ્લોના મુખ્ય પ્રધાન શ્રી ગજાણુ બને ખુલ્લો ક્રાંતીક કેવિલના મહાન શ્રી પાલેત તથા રામલાલ શાંધી સીમર પર પહેલોતર હતા.

આથી સુખ્ય પ્રપાદને પુણને
સલાહથી કર્તા અને આશિષ
પદ પ્રદાની-કલ્યાણી આશી કર્તા,
પ્રપાદના માર્ગ સુખ્ય પ્રપાદને અને
નેતાશાસિને સ્વ. વાંધીને સંજ્ઞાથી
આપી કર્તા, અને સુપ્રચીન
પરમાત્માનાં આશી કર્તા, તથા
સુખ્ય પુણને કે જે ચરોતરી કલ-
કેટમાં કલ્યાણ કેટમાં કર્તા કે
જે કેલ અને કાલકેટમાં રોજા
પુ. માપુણને કાલકેટમાં દેવતા
શી કારામલ રૂપમલ સામ્ય
કલકેટમાં શી વાંધીના પુણે
કર્તા જે "પરમાત્મા" કે જે

પ્રાચીનના નવનાદ વખતે પુ.
આર્યુ વેદાચાર્ય રજાન હતા અને
ત્યાં અનેક પ્રિકાપાથી 'કરાવો
મવા હતા તેથી તે બુદ્ધ હશે
"મોધી વચ્ચે નિધી" એ
ખરીકડુ છે તેમાં કદાં નવામાં
આચાર્ય હતા.

“મણી જન”માં શ્રી બી.
જી. જેર કે એલો પાંખી સમાવે
નિબીના પ્રયુષ્ઠ છે તેઓએ કુદ
ને કરાધો દર્શાવે. અને તે
સીપક ત્યાં સચાઈ તથા ગીતો
આર્થના કરી રહી.

[illegible]

શ્રી રાજરામ ગોપી અને
અન્ય સાંપી ગ્રામીની સતે કુલ
ગ્રામીણોનાં સહયોગે આજના
કાળે આજનાં સમયે

હંમેશા કરતાં આજે ભથ્થાના દરદરમાં આપવાના આનંદની લાગણી વધારે દેખાય છે. દુરમનને આપવાની શરૂઆત સારી વસ્તુ તે હામા ભાષ, મીઠાને માટે પ્રેમ. તમારા આળસ માટે સાચો રક્ત, પિલા માટે મર્વ અને માન, આજે અસ્પૃશ્ય લોક રહે તેવું આચરણ, તમારે પોતાને માટે આદર, અને ભથ્થા અનુભવ માટે દયા અને ધર્મતા.

— ત્યારે —

તમારા વહાલા પ્રિયજન માટે શું ?

તેમજ વહા માટે તેમની આજ્ઞામાં અદરવાર શામ તેવી

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયાની જીન્ડગીના વીમાની પોલીસી

એ એક અદરવાર સાચી બેઠ છે.

જ્યોત દેવે આ તમારા વહાલાને તમે જાનક ભાષે હોય કે નહીં તમારી કોઈ કીડી અથવા અન્ય કોઈ કોઈને જાણે.

જોમા બાબતની આવી સલાહ આપવી જાણેથી પ્રેમથી.

— ખી —

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયા ઈન્સ્યુરન્સ કં. લી.

જીવન બિમાની

ફ્રેસ્ટમણ (પી.ટી.) લીમીટેડ

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

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૨૦૯૫૧

૧૭૭ ગ્રે સ્ટ્રીટ
ડરબન.

ભગત્સ વેજેટેરીયન લાઉન્જ

(પ્રોપાઇટર : જી. ભગત)

ધીની મીડાઈવિના રપ્રેસેન્ટેટીવ

મેજાવકાએ, જાન પ્રતિનિધિ અને મીડાઈવિ પુરી પાડીએ છીએ.

K.M.Lodhia & Co.

Manufacturing Jewellers and General Dealers



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સિનામા હારીયા ખાસ અપારી બારી રેખરેખ નીચે અલગે અપારણ
કામ કરીતા પુરે સિંહ રીતે રીતે કામ

સામેલ, જુદી જુદી કીડકારની નાની અલગ, કાઠીની પાન, વીડી
પાકા સેવિંગ રીતે અપારણે કામ.

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(PTY) LTD.

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WHOLESALE MERCHANTS & DIRECT IMPORTERS
HOUSE FOR KEEN CASH PRICES

રેકામ રેખાન કુલકાર કામ, કામ નાની, કુદ, અપારણ પડેલે નામ અલગે
નામ, આ અપારણ મરે રેખાન અપારણે કામકાર કરાવતા પડે રેખાન નીચે
પડે અપારણે નામ કામ અપારણ કામ અપારણે કામ.

માસ્ટર બ્રધર્સ (પ્રા.) લીમીટેડ

33 વેસ્ટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનનબર્ગ.

ટેલિફોન ૧૫૪૭.

સાફ્ટ વાંચન સારા સંસ્કાર પટે છે

તમારા પ્રિય જાનોને જોડ આપવા

ગાંધી સાહિત્ય

પરીક્ષા

સુચિત અપારણ પુસ્તકોનું કુચી પાન.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન,

આવિષ્કાર ભેગ,—કરબન.

નવા પુસ્તકો

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

ગીતા વિશે જુદી જુદી રીતે

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

નર્મદીયના પ્રકાશનો

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

અગ્રિમ ગાંધી કૃત

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

ગીતા અપારણના પ્રકાશનો

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

અપારણ કૃત

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

અપારણ કૃતકો :

Indian Opinion,

P. Bag, Durban, Natal.

તમે 'ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'ના

એક ગ્રાહક છો ?

જો ન હોય તો આ માટે નહિ ?

ધાર્મિક પુસ્તકો

સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧
સિનામા અપારણ કામ	૧ ૧

ઉપરોક્તો :

INDIAN OPINION.

P. Bag, Durban, Natal.

Jethalal's Mithai House

and

Vegetarian Caffetaria

86 Queen Street, Durban.

Telephone : 27780 — P. O. Box 2048.

Tel. Address : "SWEETMEATS"

અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ઘીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો ડિવસ-વેલ્ટેરીઅન બોલન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીમાં માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોદ્દા શુભ પ્રસંગે બાડે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને લોલંગની સગવડ

કામથી બોર્ડીંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાતે પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. જોરજમીયામાં નહીં અને આધુનિક ઇન્સ્ટ્રુમેન્ટ્સ વાજવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અહીં તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉત્કૃષ્ટ માટે કુદરતી રહેલા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અને દેશી સેવાઓની સોપાની સેવેશી, અને કામી તેમજ ધાણાની દાળ, ખારેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચાચેલી, વિગેરે સખીએ લીધે.

ધરતું આથેલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગ્રાઉન્ડથી સિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

The best of him who truly
loves is a paradox on earth:
As he has God in himself, for
God is love.

—Lamentations.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1933

Let men laugh, if they will,
when you sacrifice drive to
day—your later time and
eternity to rejoice in.

—T. Parker.

No. 3—Vol. LV.

Friday, 25th January, 1957

REGISTERED AT G.O. OFFICE IN A. 100/100/100.
Price: SIX PENCE.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH ON COLOUR BAR DRC AND ANGLICAN ATTITUDES RE-EXAMINED

By
C. W. M. GELL

In a recent editorial 'Die Kerkbode' launched something of a counter attack against the English Churches of South Africa. It is not my primary purpose to comment on the editorial which was only the first of a series. But since it may well precipitate an inter-Church controversy, it might help to define some of the principal grounds of difference and misunderstanding between the D.R.C. and the English Churches.

'Die Kerkbode's' chief protest was against criticism by leading English (S.A.) Churchmen who seemed to treat the D.R.C. as an opponent rather than an ally. According to 'Die Kerkbode,' the reasons for this are political rather than spiritual. Certain English Churchmen have identified the D.R.C. as 'the National Party at prayer' and held it largely responsible for policies which the English Churches condemn. But says 'Die Kerkbode,' Dr. C. B. Brink rejected the idea of the D.R.C. as 'a department of State' in March 1955 and 'this is unnecessary to discuss further.' The silence of the D.R.C. on political affairs, it was asserted, is due rather to aloofness than to satisfaction with Nationalist policies.

Constructive Debate

As I will explain later, I believe that this initial statement of the D.R.C. position by 'Die Kerkbode' contains important disqualifications which will have to be clarified if a constructive debate is to ensue. Here I want, as an Anglican, to enter a plea on behalf of all con-

versations from the side of the English Churches for rather more humility in their approach than they have sometimes shown. It is not merely that the D.R.C. is faced with far greater historical and traditional pressures than most of us are conscious—and this remains true, even though some of the emotional resistance has been, and still is, deliberately generated for secular, political purposes. But there is the problem of the moat and the beam, and the undeniable fact, which strikes the Afrikaans Churches as singular hypocrisy when we criticize them, that a great gulf exists between what we preach and what we practice.

No Grounds For Complacency

It is certainly true that the official doctrines of the English Churches in this country, as frequently restated by leading ecclesiastics, were more nearly correspond to what the rest of the world recognizes as the Christian ethic than many of the teachings of the D.R.C. But this affords no ground for complacency if our practices differ badly,

if at all, from those of the D.R.C. and its adherents.

Is this true? I think it is uncontested. It is true not only in the fact that most of the laity of the En-

glish Churches (and this includes Catholics as well as Protestants) support the apartheid and racial (white-black) policies of the Government or its pale shadow, the United Party. It is true also, and infinitely more reprehensibly, of our Church life. Theoretically we stand by the unity of all Christians

(Continued on page 33)

NEW UN APPROACH TO APARTHEID

THERE are fresh discussions on the shape and content of the draft resolution to be submitted on the latest approach by the United Nations to the apartheid policies of South Africa.

It appears that there are few ideas in the minds of interested delegates, they are:

(1) The reappointment of the United Nations Commission on the racial situation in South Africa. It was in being for three years, but its services were not renewed at the last session of the Assembly.

(2) The selection of a rapporteur to keep the racial situation in South Africa under review and to report to the next session.

(3) The appointment of a five-nation commission, including South Africa, India and Pakistan, to study the situation in multi-racial

communities in Latin America.

(4) A resolution deploring the continuation of racial discrimination in South Africa, and pointing out that apartheid, as a policy, is contrary to the spirit and provisions of the Charter.

Tenuous Link

A number of Western countries are known to have expressed to several Latin-American, Asian and Arab countries their fear that if any drastic resolution is adopted, it might break the already tenuous link that exists between South Africa and the United Nations.

(Continued on page 32)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1957

India's Republic Day

On January 26 the people of India will be celebrating Republic Day. Human beings who love peace the world over will join in wishing the government and people of India all possible success in their endeavours to create for themselves a better life. We, from a part of the world where liberty is regarded as the birthright of men and women with a white skin only, join enthusiastically in congratulating India on this auspicious occasion.

India has come to have a special significance in the minds of the oppressed and the enslaved in every part of the world. She has become the champion of the despised, the hard, the hated and those whom the powerful crush every day. Her espousal of the cause of peace and liberty in every part of the world has been motivated by considerations very often well beyond the narrow confines of self-interest. It is this fact which has made men and women in Africa, Europe, America, Asia and elsewhere see in her growing strength and guarantee that peace shall not be readily violated by those who hate their fellowmen or those who oppress their fellowmen.

Guarantor Of Peace

We, who are oppressed in South Africa, rejoice that a country like India, with a long history of non-violence and a convincingly strong sense of responsibility for the preservation of liberty for all, has risen to the international status of being accepted as one of the guarantors of world peace. In regarding us bear constantly in mind, as we are sure the government and people of India do to a greater extent, that India's growing prestige also increases her responsibilities.

The times which lie ahead of us will call for increasingly heavy sacrifices in keeping world peace. That, in itself, is a major responsibility. But to us, India's growing influence in world affairs must also mean increased vigour in the fight to extend the area of liberty in the world. Is the final reckoning the most important contribution India can make to the progress of mankind at the moment is to ensure that this area grows in size until there is not a spot on the face of the earth where men are oppressed.

Break Deadlock

Much more specifically, this growth must also mean that India makes fresh efforts to break the deadlock in the United Nations over South Africa's racial policies. The situation calls for a new and construc-

tive approach. For our part we believe India is eminently qualified to produce it.

In wishing India all that is best, let us all remember that this means increased responsibilities.

Gandhi And Dangerous Living

If this had been a perfect world, where all men lived at peace and loved their neighbours there would probably have been no Mahatma Gandhi. But because this is frightfully dangerous world to live in, the race of Man produced him—out to teach his fellowmen to flee from danger, but to live dangerously and survive and triumph in spite of danger.

Tyrannical Will

Gandhi's real significance for the oppressed lies in the fact that he lived dangerously. It is dangerous to challenge privilege and perilous to oppose its tyrannical will. But Gandhi knew that his real strength lay



Mahatma Gandhi

"Perfect fellowship can be attained only by men who have resisted the Supreme."

only in men's fear to challenge and oppose it. Once men cast this fear out of their lives, there was no tyranny that could oppress them forever.

But to ask them to stand up to tyranny and face the consequences was to ask for quite a lot. Gandhi took upon himself to give up all he possessed and to devote his life to challenging tyranny and opposing it. His performance during the trials which followed became a standard example of how men who want to be free should conduct themselves.

No Irony

As we remember his death, on January 30, let us bear in mind that there is no irony whatsoever in the fact that his was a violent end. He had fought with vigour and determination and succeeded against one type of tyrant. After victory, new tyrants among the emancipated arose. To him tyranny was an evil thing whether the tyrant was English or Indian. His life's purpose was to oppose tyranny from every quarter. Gandhi believed in loyalty to the Truth; in Love and Courage. He believed that nothing that the tyrant could ever do could crush these virtues.

Late Mr. Manilal Gandhi's Ashes Immersed At Sangam



Sir V. D. Savarkar, Chief Minister of Bombay, and Sri S. K. Patil, Congress Party Chairman of Bombay, receiving the sacred ash urn with volunteers from S. S. Kumbhkar.



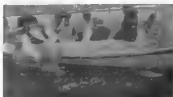
Sri Ramdas Gandhi and Sri B. G. Khar, Chairman of Gandhi Memorial Fund, entering Maruti Bhawan.



A Large Number of Citizens Paying Homage to late Manilal Gandhi's Sacred Ashes at Allahabad.



Silver Urn Containing Sacred Ashes.



Immersion of Sacred Ashes in the Tivoli by Mr. Arun Gandhi.

"South Africa A Colonial Power . . ."

White Domination Doomed

—LEO MARQUARD

WHITE domination in South Africa is doomed, Mr. Leo Marquard, president of the Institute of Race Relations, said in Cape Town last week. "If we are interested in our children's liberation, we must face this fact, as the Dutch Reformed Church do."

Mr. Marquard, who was giving his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Institute's council, said that South Africa was no really a colonial power, although the fact was disguised by the circumstances that her colonial subjects lived within the physical boundaries of the mother country.

The South Africa Act joined the interests of the European colonies in South Africa to that of white, while it left few-fifths of the population in the condition of colonialism.

Colonialism

Colonialism throughout the world was on the way out. Colonial people everywhere were on the march to independence and the world had either the will or the means to stop them.

"Colonial Powers are therefore inevitably making arrangements for a general handover of power."

South Africa, as represented by its Government, had not made the same response to white colonial Powers as the sponge of her colonial subjects.

"Rather she tried to put off the evil day by even manufacturing and by applying the principles of a frontier society to a situation that calls for the more mature policies of white European society."

Gloomy Creed

The "gloomy creed of apartheid" was in plain English: purposeful apartheid. The cost of doing it would be measured and would not be measured haphazardly but in the consequences at home and abroad.

"An official South African—Republican by birth—can only plead that you throw everything over the side of bringing white and non-white together takes it is too late."

Summing up the conference's conference, Dr. Edgar Broedel said that the conference was not supposed to accept the report as an adequate basis for the Africa.

"We cannot evade the fact that history or wrongly the

Tomlinson Commission had made its report unacceptable to Africans by linking it up with the theory of apartheid instead of being forward its recommendations as such.

"On the whole we are prepared to say that there are good things possibly arising from these recommendations and they should be accepted and not refused."

During the discussions at the conference, Mr. J. R. Rathbun, a Johannesburg African businessman, said that the sinister motives of the Tomlinson Commission was to "let the African down hard" so that he could no longer be a serious competitor to the Europeans.

Dr. W. F. Munn said, "I am not a revolutionary or a propagandist of violence but

the direction in which we are moving in this country can only lead to catastrophe or disaster."

He said he did not totally reject the Tomlinson Report. There was a lot in it that was good and which could be used for the benefit of the African people.

Prof. W. E. H. Hall, of the University of Cape Town, suggested that the only way to overcome "the appalling question of fear among the Europeans" was to have a "weighted" constitution, in which the European vote should never be exceeded by the non-European vote.

Mr. Gerald Whyte, the institute's director, said that one of the great dangers threatening European and non-European alike in South Africa was the progressive loss of freedom.

In a review of recent legislation, he said, "In South Africa we are witnessing the arrogation of powers to Ministers and officials for the exercise of arbitrary action and the encroachment of the rights of our people to intervene."

No Jobs For Educated Africans

HUNDREDS of educated Africans in Durban are being forced to do unskilled work because they cannot get work. They have education but no opportunity.

That situation is "leading to frustration and bitterness," Miss Mary Dwyer, Field Organizer of the Institute of Race Relations, warned on Friday.

Mr. H. Shange, R.A., a clerk with a law of law in Durban—"I am one of the lucky ones"—quoted these three typical instances:

1. A teacher with T4 diploma and five years' experience was discharged when the staff at his school was reduced. He is now working as a delivery boy.

2. An African with a T3 teaching certificate (J.C. and two years' training) is working as a messenger in a Durban office.

3. A first-class mathematician is working as a Corporation labourer at Cape Manor.

"There are many more cases like these," Mr. Shange said, but the African wants the position he wants. The few openings in teaching are usually snapped up.

"This means they have to turn to working. One African

who applied to a hospital was told to try again in 1955."

Miss Dwyer said the position was exceptionally difficult for Africans who wanted to study for a profession. There were rare vacancies in lawyers' offices, but even with connections.

She said that the Institute also told to find suitable jobs for educated Africans—"but with very little success."

"The Institute appealed to the public recently to help European university students by employing them during the vacation. There was no response at all."

The acute employment shortage was confirmed by Mr. S. Bentley, acting manager of the Durban Native Administration Department. He said, "There are definitely not enough jobs for educated Africans—in fact, I would say that the majority cannot find work compatible with their educational qualifications."

"We are continually getting applications for clerical appointments, and it is the policy of the Council to employ African clerks where possible in our Department. But we cannot hope to provide jobs for all who want them."

Mr. Bentley said that a few jobs were available to educated Africans in law firms, hospitals and in the government service.

Some building firms and motor firms were turning to African clerks today and the police also accepted educated recruits.

"But the difficulty remains—there are just not enough jobs, and many have to turn to domestic service and menial labour."

Apartheid's Impact On Adams And Marienburgh

AFTER a century of private control, Adams Mission resumed on January 24 for the first time as a Government Board school.

The change-over from Church to State has been brought under the Basic Education Act, which empowers the Department for Native Affairs to assume control of the education of 60,000 African children.

A spokesman of the Basic Education Section of the Department in Marienburgh told a representative of the "Daily News" that, despite the change in staff and control, it was intended to carry on Adams Mission in the same way as in the past.

All students, technical and vocational education is preserved under the new order, with one exception. Students in the building section will be transferred to Edendale Vocational School in Marienburgh, he said.

New teaching staff has been appointed for Adams by the Native Affairs Department, which is negotiating for the purchase of the mission-owned land around the college.

At Marienburgh

The impact of the Basic Education Act is also being felt at Marienburgh—the biggest and most complete mission station in South Africa.

At present, Marienburgh mission school is under Government supervision. At the end of this year, the Government subsidizes, which have been gradually reduced since 1955, will end and, like all other mission schools in South Africa, Marienburgh will have to work out its own destiny.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones ?

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Sabra And Indians—II

MY last article discussed Mr.

Thao Gardner's analysis of Natal's 300,000 Indians (though, being based on 1945 figures, the total population there was only some 215,000). In 1953 the Transvaal had 49,000 Indians. In 1945 it had 37,000. Since only the wealthier and mainly post-war-immigrant Indians had participated in the Transvaal before control over later post-war movement began after the Anglo-Boer war, we should expect to find, and indeed do find, that their standard of living is considerably higher on average than for Indians in Natal. Only 1,000 (or 9 per cent) of Transvaal Indian wage earners got less than £50 p.a. Another 1,500 earned between £50 and £100, 2,000 between £100 and £150, and 1,800 between £150 and £200. This breaks down the lower figure of 5,700 (or 25 per cent) shown by Mr. Gardner to be coming from those £200 p.a. 10s. and "lump" above 3,000 (or 27 per cent) standing between £350 and £600. But 1,400 (or 14 per cent) earned between £200 and £350, 900 (or 9 per cent) between £350 and £500, 400 (or 4 per cent) between £500 and £650. These Transvaal Indians had only about 2½ non-earning dependants per wage earner, so that the figure can be divided by 1.5 to get the per capita income. This would bring the average per capita income of the small Transvaal Indian community (about 14 per cent of the Union's Indian population, as against Natal's 80 per cent) to somewhere about £60-£70 per capita—still below the average European level," as Mr. Gardner would say, but considerably higher than even their own-own. But it must be emphasized that this applies only to the most entrepreneurial Transvaal Indian community.

Having cleared that up, we can now consider Mr. Gardner's second and third conclusions about "rich" Indians. Certainly there are a "smaller proportion." But the difficulty is to know what income can be considered "rich." To take an entirely arbitrary figure, let it be £1,500 p.a. (or £200 per capita for Natal, and £300 per capita for Transvaal). By this standard 300 Indians in Natal and 350 in the Transvaal are "rich" (0.6 per cent of the Natal wage earners, 1.5 per cent of the Transvaal earners or 1 per cent of our total Indian population). Even if, as is probable, a few more have passed up into

these categories since 1947 with the general rise in money values, they hardly seem significant figures to play with. And the "rich" Indian has been allowed no income regard to the European average per capita.

Mr. Gardner, however, is not to be deterred. He proceeds to list the valuations of Indian-owned land in Durban from Mr. Wood's book (without acknowledgment) and divides the total figure of nearly £25 millions by the number of adult male Indians in

By

C. W. M. GELL

Durban. This gives him the answer that "In effect, the average Durban Indian male has impossible property valued at more than £80." And he then concludes the "property status" of Indians per head of population to "farther non-European groups in the country," to the disadvantage of the latter. He further mentions that at Pietermaritzburg 15,941 Indians own property worth £1.7 million, or Lady Smith 4,000 own £5 million of property and "at Richmond the average owned by Indians is as less than £50 per capita."

This, I may say, is the highest Indian per capita property level quoted by Mr. Wood's book—Durban per capita (not per "average

age Indian adult male") has only £167, Pietermaritzburg £100 and Lady Smith £48. But these figures, which "grow" to Mr. Gardner that "many Indians own large properties" and that "a large proportion of commercial property in the town is Indian owned" were actually quoted by Mr. Wood to show the low level of Indian ownership. Comparable figures for Europeans were Richmond £394 per capita, Durban £218, Pietermaritzburg £100, Lady Smith £57. Mr. Wood, while admitting that Indians owned a fairly large share of commercial properties in the country towns (as they do also in some Transvaal towns), adds his own alternative (and Mr. Gardner notwithstanding) quite indisputable conclusion:

(a) If there are many large Indian property owners, then the bulk of the Indian community does not own property at all; or

(b) If there are a few large properties, the small Indian property owner must still own on a very small scale.

I must now here the well-known proverbial verdict that Mr. Gardner's selective use of these income and property figures constitutes an outrageous abuse of even the pseudo-scientific method and that it is not judging it by any high standards either.

(To be continued)

the political pretensions of the Government temporarily in power and will no longer be independent centres of learning.

Traditional Independence

"The Minister of Education has declined to the part that apartheid legislation is a clear violation of the traditional independence of the universities."

In Western countries centuries of experience have shown that such independence is essential if universities are to be faithful in their function of searching for truth.

In South Africa, however, this time-honoured Western concept is to be manifested to students with apartheid.

It is clear that the dominant political trends in South Africa, as aptly illustrated by the poor facilities at Fort Hare, will ensure that the tribal colleges for non-Europeans will be inferior materially as well as spiritually to the open universities.

The African colleges are apparently to be controlled by the Department of Native Affairs and not by the Department of Education. This is a further indication that politics and not education is to be the future trend in South African universities.

Scholarships Offered To Indians In South Africa

Natal, January 17.

APPLICATIONS are invited from Telugu speaking persons of Indian origin domiciled in South Africa for Government or Indian Private scholarships for post-graduate studies in Telugu, Sanskrit, Indian History or Indian Philosophy in Indian Universities.

Candidates should either be graduates of a recognized Indian University or possess an equivalent certification. The value of the scholarships will be Rs. 250 (Rs. 300) per month each.

The Government will pay tuition, University examinations, and stipendium fees. The scholarships will be payable for a period of two years, subject to extension wherever necessary. In addition to the regular course, the selected students shall take a certain number of tutorials.

The last date for receipt of application forms, which are obtainable from the Indian Commission, is 15th February, 1957. All correspondence on the subject should be addressed to Second Secretary (Education), Indian Commission, P.O. Box 20074, Natal.—161.

S.A. Students Appeal To Public To Oppose University Apartheid

THE National Union of South African Students has appealed to the public to insist that the Government should drop its proposed legislation to introduce apartheid at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand. It has also called on the public to express unreserved opposition to the introduction of politics into learning.

The appeal is contained in a joint statement by the Students Representative Councils of the two European sections and the Maritzburg section of the University of Natal.

The Natal students say that "this legislation can be regarded as no less than a catastrophe for race relations in our country."

Mr. K. M. Wrenn, president of N.U.S.A.S., in a Press statement released after "a fine show of powerful opposition" the Government has decided to introduce apartheid at the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

"All sections of both Universities—academic, students, lecturers, students and non-students—have strongly condemned their traditional policy of non-segregation."

"Their stand has gained wide support among academics, students and the public in South Africa and overseas."

"If the Universities are forced to accept apartheid, inevitably they are forced to accept the philosophy behind apartheid. They will then be shackled to

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Christian Church On Colour Bar

(Continued from front page)

is Christ, both here and hereafter. But only in a tiny minority of our churches (here Roman Catholics are an honourable exception) do white and non-white worship and sacraments together. In only a few cases is provision made for separate services for the different races in the same building. For the great majority of our Church members there is total apartheid in regard to places of worship, either because we do not realise what is demanded there in (complete) differences of language etc. for total worship, or because we have sometimes explicitly refused to allow it.

Loaded Votes

On most of our synods, conferences, presbyteries etc. white and non-white delegates sit with equal voting rights. But almost in three bodies is heavily loaded in favour of whites, who reap a numerical advantage as most of them sit through among Church members non-whites greatly preponderate.

If the churches do profess that things should be indivisible. But we hear them, with equality and apparently without remission even when (as here in P.E.) the small numbers of non-whites attending our "white" churches have been visibly diminishing these last few years. Not only our church buildings but our church schools, too, are integrated.

Only an occasional Christian student has been allowed through the barrier. A few years ago at

St. Andrew's (and how many other church schools have attempted the experiment?) an elderly, famous female and old boys presented an African pupil from preaching and studying at Holy Communion. Only last year at the Grahamstown diocesan synod, a "European" supervisor of Sunday schools was granted, when what was apparently intended was a fully trial of process.

Rev. James Calcutt

Even worse, far from the point of view of a Church whose leaders are forefront in denouncing social and racial injustice, has been our silence over the proclamation of Father James Calcutt of Grahamstown. What I have to mind long associates the tremor that at which he is now coming. Several years ago the Government withdrew his marriage licence and travel expenses, because it objected to his open-life political activities and also accused him of "preaching politics from the pulpit." One is to be that no Anglican, whose has been raised in public protest against this racial interference with a priest's spiritual duties because his wife (the late Father and Mrs. James Calcutt) is black?

Could it be wondered that D.T.G. applicants, after more years of our defence as Christians than we are ourselves, consider the issue, if not the support of most of our activities of their imperious, even hypocritical?

(To be continued)

know that Sir de Villiers Graaf not only knew some of the issues in these men's minds, but had actually recognised the minds themselves.

"I do not know if he has ever listened to an African slogan 'White leadership with justice,' but if not, I wish he had."

Mr. Paton said he had no doubt whatever that people

who persisted in maintaining relationships across the colour line would earn the disapproval of the Government.

The increasing application of apartheid must build up such a massive frustration that all thinking people would fear an explosive outburst.

"I believe that responsible Africans approve of this fear of escalation," he said.

New UN Approach To Apartheid

(Continued from front page)

One African country has categorically broken away from the wholesale condemnation of South Africa's racial policies—a condemnation which has been a feature of the Africanist uniformity of the Ashrafian group to apartheid.

Rights And Duties

The Philippines delegate, Mr. Camelo Malina, after pointing out that South Africa has failed to fulfil her obligations towards the United Nations in Korea and elsewhere, said he felt South Africa should not be admitted for training in what she considers her rights and duties.

He said that there is discrimination in racial contacts, and the South African attitude is probably a "hindrance of the national unity."

It would be stupid to understand South Africa, but the problem is a complex one,

first, India and Poland were deemed South Africa and wanted action by the United Nations which would bring the state of affairs in South Africa into line with the requirements of the United Nations Charter.

It qualified for UN membership which is necessary for voting on apartheid. South Africa has been asked to join the UN, but has not yet done so. The UN has a number of members who are not yet members of the UN, but have been asked to join.

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Dangerous To Acquiesce To Apartheid Tyranny

—PATON

MR. ALAN PATON, national leader of the Liberal Party of South Africa, said at public meeting in Cape Town recently that to oppose the present Government "honorably and openly" was becoming a crime against the State.

Mr. Paton said the attitude of authority to those who he believed and worked for a common society had changed, and "what was merely foolish eight years ago had become something approaching treason."

Mr. Paton said that for worse than the doctrine of racial discrimination, and the doctrine of racial supremacy which persisted to be indifferent to it, was the acquiescence of many non-Nationalists.

The greatest danger confronting South Africa was that people—white and black—would come increasingly to believe that the interests were irreconcilable.

"We would all feel happier and safer if there were any talks between the United Party and leading African opinion as it is represented in men like Chief Luthuli, Professor Futhwells and Dr. Kama."

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"South Africa's Policy Of Apartheid—Unacceptable"

VI—The Increasing Bitterness And Growing Resistance

THE present South African Indian Congress challenges the work of Gandhi only to a small degree. As in the politics of India certain influences of Gandhi can be pointed out although the politicians do not follow Gandhi's lead so in South Africa certain aspects of the activities of the South African Indian Congress remind one of Gandhi although one cannot say that the Congress follows the principles of Gandhi in matters of policy.

The present president is Dr. Nkrumah a physician in Durban. He was born in Natal and studied at Edinburgh. As a result of his action he has already been in prison on different occasions. He knows that the Government will try to suppress the resistance by all possible means, but he also knows that the resistance will steadily become stronger. He is so communal. He does not believe in violence and therefore he participated in the fall in the passive resistance of 1932. He tries to bring Indians and Africans to fight in the resistance. He calls racial discrimination a word from which a world war can grow. Therefore he fights for the ideals of democracy and he calls the action of the South African Indian Congress an action for world peace.

The one who continues the work of Gandhi is Gandhi's son Manilal. Gandhi left South Africa in 1914. Two years later he sent his two sons Manilal and Ramesh to Phoenix to continue his work. Ramesh was returned to India but Manilal remained. He followed in the footsteps of his father although he is no factual admirer of Gandhi.

On 20th August he wrote the following letter to Manilal:

Dear Sir,

It is with a sad heart that I write this letter. While living in this beautiful province of Natal—my God give this place and happiness to all here—I am well aware that justice to God's creatures and evil increased still. I have searched my own heart and found what hampers me. I have feared so that I could be helped to learn God's will. I cannot believe that it is God's will that people hate each other or that measures are taken which do violence to human dignity.

The policy of the Government, according to my modest opinion, violates human dignity.

The policy of apartheid deprives people not only of the right to full economic and political development—a lesser evil—but also denies them the right to the full development of their personality and their spiritual life as children of God. It drives them to hate, resistance and despair.

By

Dr. J. J. BUSKES

(Continued from last week)

While you, sir, on the one hand employ all your powers to destroy the (political) communalism your policy of apartheid will on the other hand drive people towards communalism whether they want it or not. The only way to prevent the spread of communalism and to regain respect for the European and his civilisation, is the acceptance of a more tolerant and Christian policy. There is enough energy in this good land of God for all its inhabitants to live in peace and happiness. At the moment it is obvious that every measure of the Government encouraging the non-European is a symbol of its hate of the non-European.

Very readily it was once said from a pulpit in South Africa: "Here we now know that when man is deprived of the opportunity for a life of absolute freedom it becomes a potential source of hate and strife and so ever widening circle of disaster." The times when for a political party which is in office is the question is what extent it takes the truth of this one elementary rule seriously: do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

The Government policy of apartheid which is ruthlessly being applied inflicts deep wounds on the feelings of the non-European. On account of the colour of their skin and their race they are considered to be lower than those of the Europeans of the lower level. I cannot agree that that is right and fair. I am convinced that it can only lead to the moral and spiritual degradation

of both European and non-European. I am, Sir, an obedient citizen of South Africa but as one who believes in God as the Man High, the King of kings, who governs the whole world I cannot see as my calling in duty laws which are directly opposed to the law of God in which all men owe obedience.

What then is the duty of such an injured person?

According to my modest view he must in obedience to the higher law of God refuse obedience to the unjust and immoral laws and undergo the punishment which is incurred for him. That, I think, is the duty of everyone who puts self-respect above all else. When his acts thus he may feel no hate or revenge for his opponent. On the contrary he must try to purify his heart by prayer and his voluntarily accepted suffering. With all humility and with all the respect I owe you, Sir, I have seriously decided to set this in the full realization of my responsibility and I have regarded it as my duty to inform you of this. I propose sending this letter to the Press for publication unless I hear that you have any objections.

May I be so bold, Sir, as to ask you humbly and sincerely that you as a member of the Christian Church investigate even the policy of your Government in the light of what Christ has taught us.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
MANILAL GANDHI.

On 25th August Manilal's secretary applied to the letter of Gandhi in the following words:

Dear Sir,

His Excellency the Prime Minister has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 20th August and to inform you that he has read the contents with interest."

In September and October 1951 Gandhi set out before some of the apartheid regulations. However, no change was held against him. In 1952 the resistance movement of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress began. At first Manilal Gandhi took a reserved attitude towards it but when he was sure that the action

would be non-violent he gave his full support. He prepared himself by fasting from 7-28 March. With thousands of others he broke the apartheid laws. He was arrested and sentenced.

The Africans regard the resistance as a movement on non-Whites who are displaced and spelt by liberal, humanist and communal ideas. When they do not see and refuse to see it that all these interlocking Africans, Coloureds and Indians are the vanguard of the non-Whites and that this vanguard is steadily becoming larger and stronger and that it has a future.

(To be continued)

Greetings To Egypt Alleged

AMONG documents handed in by Givens Williams at the "renewal" inquiry in the Johannesburg Dold Hall was one which sent greetings to the people of Egypt for their "glorious struggle" against imperialism.

The document, which was a Prime Minister issued by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, said that when President Nasser had rightly announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal he was acclaimed by the oppressed people of South Africa.

This action was a great step forward as their own struggle against White domination and enslavement. "Greetings in Egypt come but be of great inspiration to us."

"For far too long have the colonial Powers mercilessly plundered the people of Africa of their wealth, land and resources. The African giant has awoken from his enslaved slumber and is breaking the shackles that bound him."

"In South Africa itself the oppressed people are rapidly getting into step with the march of events. Here, too, the struggle against imperialism is taking strides."

"We pledge our solidarity with the struggling people of Africa."
—"Daily News".

Louw Says S.A. Can Now Retaliate

IN A Press statement on his arrival from overseas, Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Internal Affairs, said the South African Government should now be in a position to retaliate against the economic and financial position in South Africa which has been brought about by the measures taken by the Union Government to restrict the entry of Indian ships to the Cape, and to some extent also to France.

He said that there should be far greater international co-operation between the public, and also by financial institutions. It was not in the interests of South Africa that any other country should have too great a stake in South Africa by reason of investments.

The South African also demonstrated the vital role which is today played in the commerce of all countries, not also in international politics, and it showed up the importance of South Africa.

Through the strategic position of the Cape, South Africa was now in the position to retaliate against trade sanctions which India had now for more than 10 years enforced against South Africa.

The Union would have been fully justified in refusing the facilities of South African ports to Indian vessels. In the present state of relations between Portugal and India, he doubted whether they would be welcome in Portuguese ports.—Cape.

India Ships To Avoid S.A. Ports

The India Steamship Company, one of India's leading lines, announced that its ships had been directed not to call at South African ports.

In action follows a statement by Mr. Eric Louw, the South African Minister of Internal Affairs, that his country would have been fully justified in refusing port facilities to Indian ships in view of Indian trade sanctions against South Africa.

Mr. Rameswami Mudaliar, Chairman of the India Steamship Company, said in Calcutta: "The statement of Mr. Louw is in keeping with the principle upon which the South African Government has exhibited no mercy. The India Steamship Company has taken alternative measures and directed all its ships to avoid the consequences of South African ports."

Mr. Louw's Denial

The Minister of Internal Affairs Mr. E. M. Louw, denied a report that he had threatened that Union ports could be closed

to Indian ships because of India's attacks on the Union's racial politics. Mr. Louw told the Cape Town correspondent of the "Daily News" that, according to a Cape expert, such a statement had been attributed to him by the "New York Times".

Mr. Louw said: "I never mentioned racial politics, but in my statement I referred to the Union's attitude towards the South African campaign against the South African campaign. The figure is £27-million."

"It is a well-known and accepted principle of international practice that retaliatory measures can be taken in such cases."

"Nor did I make any threats. At this last stage when the South African is in the process of being closed, such a threat would obviously be futile. My purpose was to point out that South Africa would have taken retaliatory measures if it had wished to do so and in the concluding sentence of my statement I reminded Mr. Krishna Menon of the fact, in view of his virulent attacks on South Africa."

A similar reminder to Mr. Nehru would be particularly appropriate, in view of his statement at New Delhi in 1935 that

the Union Government "should learn some democracy."

Any South African landing at an Indian airport, even when in transit, was freed and was obliged to pay in Indian rupees.

"As regards the assessment that Indian ships will now port at the Cape, that is obviously an attempt to deceive some which the Union Government did not intend to take."

My "Hallen d'essai" continued admirably. Few South Africans will regret the fact that the London have now unconcerned themselves.

Early in December already he had learned that in certain London quarters concern had been expressed at the prospect of retaliatory action measures being taken by the Union Government.

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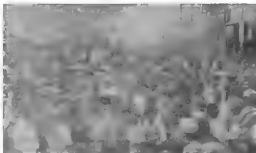
(વિવેચીમાં સ્વ. મહાત્મા ગાંધીની અરેમનું વિસર્જન.



સીપર ૧ જાણે ટીપરની અરેમના સારે વિવેચા કોરિસ
સ્વર્ગસિવો અને મુખ્યના આ અમાન સી વી. બી.
અમદાવાદ તથા કુમ્ભાર ગોરા કોરિસ પાસેના અમુખ સી.
ગિસ, જે, પાસે.



સી રામદાસ માધી અને અંધી
સ્મારક નીધિના અમુખ સી બિર
સાહેબ 'અમીશુભન'માં
પ્રવેશે છે.



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— સારું —

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આખો દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઅન બોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડિંગ અને હોલિંગની સગવડ

કમથી બોર્ડિંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પ્રુપ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. કોરોનાઓમાં નહીં અને વ્યાધિક હાલતમાં ફરતીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેરામાં જતાં અમર તે દેરામાંથી આવતા ઉદ્યોગો માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ જાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેરો રૂબરૂની સેવાથી શેફેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ સામાની રાખ, ખારક, પિસ્તા, અને ચામેલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ઘરનું આધિભું અધાધું અને સારી જાતના પાચક હંમેશાં તઈચાર હોય છે.

ગ્રાઉન્ડથી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

One of the Godlike things
of this world is the intention
due to human worth by the
hearts of men—
—Carlyle.

INDIAN

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1923

Former Editor: Hiralal Girdhar—1914-1916

Of all the earthly things
that which reaches furthest
into heaven is the looking of
a truly loving heart.

—H. W. Beecher.

No. 4—Vol. LV.

Friday, 1st February, 1957

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GOVT. FEARS BUS BOYCOTT MIGHT SMASH APARTHEID

Capetown, January 25.

THE African bus boycott on the Rand is developing into the biggest test yet of the Nationalist Government. The Cabinet is regarding it as such and reacting accordingly. The Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, has sent for representatives of the bus company, the Johannesburg City Council, the Chamber of Industries and the Sekake for urgent talks in his office at Parliament.

Mr. Schoeman did not say so in Parliament, but there is good reason to believe that the Cabinet thinks if the boycott were to succeed over bus fares it would become the conventional and invariable weapon against all other increased charges levied on the Africans such as house rentals.

'Political Movement'

As such it would become the effective political weapon for an unfranchised majority in other fields as well and would eventually enable the Africans to challenge the authority of the Government itself.

Mr. Schoeman told the House that the boycott would be resolved by being broken. It was a political movement launched by the African National Congress to test its strength and see how much support and discipline it could exact from the Africans through intimidation. The Government would concede no concessions, he said.

Break Boycott

Mr. Schoeman repeated to these representatives what he said in Parliament namely, that the Government was determined to break the boycott.

Mr. Schoeman also appealed to the representatives to assist the Government in smashing the boycott.

The representatives told Mr. Schoeman that they had no authority to reply to this request, but that they would convey his views to the bodies they represented.

The fact that Mr. Schoeman has held these urgent talks is an indication that the bus boycott is regarded by the Cabinet as of national importance.

"Stop All Buses"

—Call by Africans

At a meeting in Alexandra township of the Peoples' Transport Action Committee, between five and 6 thousand Africans unanimously adopted a resolu-

tion calling on P.U.T.C.O. to remove all their buses from the township. Since the boycott started the corporation has been keeping a skeleton service running.

The resolution said: We see no chance of agreement

between the corporation and ourselves. Payment for segregation is not our business; it is the affair of those who choose to segregate.

The South African Coloured Peoples Organisation called on all Coloured people to boycott the Public Utility Transport Corporation buses in sympathy with the Africans.—*Natal Daily News*.

NEHRU'S REPUBLIC DAY MESSAGE

"ON the occasion of Republic Day I send my greetings to all those who are serving India abroad in an official or unofficial capacity.

"During the few years of our independence we have grown and matured and, as we grow, fresh responsibilities are cast upon us and our burdens increase. This is natural. But this also means far greater efforts on our part.

Highest Standards

"But above all, every public servant must remember the high privilege of serving India during this historic phase of her existence. It is only by maintaining the highest standards of conduct and integrity and ever remembering the ideals that we hold, that we can truly serve our motherland as well as the

ment of world peace and fellowship. We seek friendship with all countries and their peoples and we bear malice to none.

'Let it be said that in this generation the people of India lived up to their great responsibilities and maintained the honour and dignity of their country. It is in this selfless service that true happiness will be found. We are determined to build the new India of our dreams. Whatever the difficulties that may face us, we shall continue on our journey to this goal and see the progressive realisation of those dreams. Thus we shall find fulfilment.'—ISI,

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 1ST FEBRUARY, 1957

Prohibit, Ban, Break

FROM all reports it would seem that the Johannesburg boycott of buses by Africans in protest against the proposed rise in fares has assumed proportions most people on the White side of the colour line were not appreciably ready for. This has so alarmed the government that it is now virtually calling for a new White united front against the African boycotters. This course is extremely unwise—it is an invitation to infinitely more complicated troubles.

None of the problems raised by the boycott will be solved by Minister Schoeman's expressed determination to break it. The simple reason for this is that the boycott is basically a symptom of a disease, in the life of a country, which demands for effective treatment. Poverty and wealth follow racial lines to the point where revolution remains the only effective form of protest left to the African. Any society which gives four-fifths of its people a vested interest in revolution is a tragically diseased society.

Simmering Cauldron

It is a greater tragedy here in the fact that the Strijdom government wilfully refuses to see in its apartheid policy one factor which leaves the African with no other means to force attention upon his plight than revolutionary methods. To talk of breaking the boycott, in these circumstances, as the Minister of Transport has been threatening, is back to run away from the real issues now at stake as well as, on another plane, to confuse them. Either course means that South Africa will continue to sit on a simmering cauldron forever, if this country continues to be dominated by the Nationalists.

The fact must be faced that the poverty of the African and the rise in the cost of living in this country have been such that the Africans in Johannesburg find the rise of one penny in the fares altogether unbearable. It is true that wages have gone up substantially in recent years. But this has brought no real relief to the bulk of the African population for the simple reason that the decline in the value of the Rand has introduced deficits in the budgets of working African families which the increments referred to above have not met to any marked degree.

Meetings Proscribed

African demands for an improvement in this state of affairs have evoked responses from the government alike which have been anything but helpful. African trade unions have been heavily curbed. Leaders have

been banned while meetings are proscribed by law in a variety of subtle but effective ways.

In these circumstances the truly amazing thing is not that the Africans, free to face with a concerted attempt to strangle them economically, have not taken one or two leaves from the book of the Nationalist Party when it was in opposition—it is that they have conducted the boycott in such an orderly way.

The thing to do, then, is for the government, industry, commerce, the Sabakumar and White trade unions not to rush to shelter in that rat of futility where they can think only in terms of prohibitions, bans or breaking organized demonstrations, but to see in the boycott an orderly, peaceful and effective demand for reform and treat it as such.

Sole Crime

Any other course would ensure that the country would be saddled with better-organized boycotts in the future. It is futile for the Nationalists to talk of breaking the boycott when they know that they have left ten million people with no other weapon to ensure respect for their wishes. Ten million people cannot be silenced forever where their sole crime is to clamour for justice.

Threat To Ban Indian Ships

ABOUT a fortnight ago Minister Eric Louw announced that South Africa was now in the position to retaliate against Indian trade sanctions against the Union by closing its harbours to Indian ships, diverted because of the Suez crisis. If the Nationalists threaten, cajole, and bully, where they should argue, persuade and convince it is because they labour under a strong feeling of inadequacy.

If this tendency was confined to some of the political problems in South Africa there would certainly be reason for protest. But when it makes them run loose in the world, creating enemies for South Africa where we should have friends, it becomes a positive menace to the country.

International Agreements

It is White South Africa which brought the Indians into this country—under conditions set out clearly in the international agreements. It is White South Africa which was the first to violate and ultimately repudiate these conditions. It is White South Africa, as represented by the Strijdom government which usually loudest when other people remind it of its obligations.

The tragedy about the Suez is that it is so unbalanced it might turn the whole of Asia into a sea of hostility against the Union. South Africa no longer has very many friends in the West. The blame for all this lies foursquare at the feet of the apartheidists.

Protest Against Passes For African Women And Pass Laws

ABOUT a hundred women of all ages left Durban early on Wednesday morning, January 30, for Pietermaritzburg. They were joined by women from the capital, and a procession of about 300 women proceeded to the Native Commissioner, Mr. Terton's office. A mixed delegation of African, Indian, Coloured and European women, 10 in number, presented a memorandum on behalf of all the African women, which stated—

We, the women of South Africa, have come here today. We represent and we speak on behalf of hundreds of thousands of women who could not be with us today.

We come as women united in our purpose to save women from the degradation of passes.

For hundreds of years the African people have suffered under the most bitter laws, the Pass laws which have brought a cold shudder to every African family. Fines, arrests, loss of pay, long hours at the Pass Office, weeks in cold awaiting trial, forced from labour—this is what the Pass laws have

brought to African men. Penitentiary and military, not for a crime, but for the lack of passes.

We African women know too well the effect of these laws upon our homes. Your Government proclaims aloud, here and abroad, that the pass laws have been abolished, but the women know that this is not true. It is only the name that has changed. The *Reference Books and Passes* are one.

In March 1952, your Minister of Native Affairs coined in Parliament that a law would be introduced which would force African women to carry passes. But in 1956 your Government attempted to force laws upon African women. We are here again today to protest against the insult to our African womanhood. It has a result to all women.

We want to tell you that the pass laws mean to African women. And in just women this.

That homes will be broken up when women are confined under the Pass laws.

That women will lose their

right to move freely from one place to another.

In the name of the women of South Africa, we say to you, each one of us, African, European, Indian and Coloured, that we are opposed to the pass system.

We, united and vocal, call upon our Government not to give passes to African women.

We shall not rest until ALL Pass laws and all forms of permits restricting our freedom have been abolished.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights of freedom, justice and security.

The Native Commissioner accepted the memorandum and assured the delegates that it would be forwarded to Pretoria. After this an open-air meeting was held at the Red Square to Natal Street. Among the speakers were: Mrs. Gairick, Miss Van Dusen, Mrs. Jacob, Miss Van Dusen, Mrs. Jacob, Mrs. Van Dusen and Mrs. Mabel Gairick.

Mrs. Gairick drew the attention of the women to the fact that it was significant that they had chosen the 30th of January for the protest. This day marked the death anniversary of one of the pioneers of Passive Resistance—Mahatma

Gandhi. She continued to say that everyone should pay for guidance from these great spirits that have passed on.

Miss Van Dusen, the representative for Coloured Women, said in her speech that there were many Coloureds who liked to act white, but it would be wise if they would take heed now, because they too will find themselves in the same position as Africans and Indians.

Mrs. J. Searns passed a vote of thanks. The meeting lasted for two hours from 10 a.m. to 12 noon, after which the crowd dispersed, except the singing of hymns and shouting of slogans and the women from Durban left Pietermaritzburg.

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Sabra And Indians—III

UNDER pressure of dealing with what he is pleased to call "industrial integration" (i.e. the use of Indian labour in white-owned factories) Mr. Gerdener quotes the 1955 Clayton Commission on the effect that, although most employers wanted Indians to remain in South Africa, "the evidence (of whom?) is practically unanimous that the Indian is undesirable in this colony and steps should be taken to prevent an increase in the free African labour force." But that, of course, could not be done without breaking the undertakings which permitted the import of indentured "coolies." So, no action was taken on the proposal, if indeed it was one, and importation of indentured and free Indians continued until India closed the former in 1911 and we finally closed the latter in 1913.

After noting the "revealing" fact that Indians form a relatively high proportion of Natal's industrial labour force, he might also have noted that their percentage is rapidly falling as Africans become "integrated"—and a high (but far smaller) and decreasing proportion of Natal's white-owned manufacturing. Mr. Gerdener adds that Indian labour is "not permanent import" area in Natal industry and is in order for the community's population increase, with which however it is not keeping pace.

The author then turns with noticeable relief to "the interesting and significant" fact that the Transvaal Indians held almost as many trade licences as the Natal Indians (in spite of the fact that there are six of the latter to one of the former), and that the licences of the two provinces held in preference "well over 20,000 licences. This, however, rates us to be only the latest "industrial" or quasi. The latest data figures given by Mr. Gerdener are Transvaal, 7,812 and Natal 10,325 in 1948. "Significant, too, is the fact that this represented one-third of the Indian population in the Transvaal and one-seventy-two in Natal." So we will recognise the "fact" of these 18,000 Indian licences. Readers of my article in the July "Forum" may recall that I then quoted the 1949 figures as follows:—

	Total	Transvaal
General Dealer	1,560	4,497
Shop, Grocery Dealer	1,410	246
Traders	472	411
Others	8,564	243
	12,006	5,397

This leaves something over 5,000 unaccounted for against Mr. Gerdener's 18,000. I can scrape together 5,000 as assorted mineral water dealers (both provinces together, unaided figures) 800, booksellers at up to 200, butchers 440, dealers in fireworks 270, eating houses keepers 280, firework sellers 440, fishing boats 100, grocers 230, general merchants 240, restaurants or taverns 500. But I think few white people, looking through this additional list, will be inclined to begrudge the Indians these marginal businesses or, indeed, their business or professional licences. As far as White business links with various types on Indian commerce it counts shops and three (large and small) number 4,092 in Natal against the European's 9,861, and 4,835 on the Transvaal against the European's 29,135.

C. W. M. GELL

Before comparing these broken-down figures with Mr. Gerdener's glacially "well over 20,000" however, I must add to the indictment against him. He proceeds to quote figures for 12 Natal country towns purporting to illustrate "the extent to which Indians control the trade in some towns and the insignificant part played by Europeans in these towns." I want this as record, because when Mr. Gerdener refers to the Indians' "virtual monopoly" of business, he is not thinking of the negligible claims of Coloureds and Africans as against both European and Indian. He is only thinking of Indo-European commercial rivalry. In the 12 towns quoted Indians held between 41 and 93 per cent of the trade licences, though population ratios are not given nor is the analysis confined to shops. This is a guess that can be played endlessly. I could greatly extend Mr. Gerdener's list as both Natal and the Transvaal to show other towns where Indians in proportion to their numbers, was-wise Europeans, hold an "Indian" number of licenses, and even shops. But then I could produce an even more impressive list the other way round. For the fact of the matter is that, all over the Union, (and indeed in the Transvaal and Natal taken together), Indians hold one-seventh the number of shop licences held by Europeans.

It is exactly these population ratios. Anything, therefore, and about "Indian" Indian shows of commerce supplies with equal force to European traders (or should we call them, too, "parasites" in the terminology of Prof. Bennett, if one is considering our multi-racial country as a whole, which Sabra manifestly was not pretending to do).

Nor shall I spend much time dealing with Mr. Gerdener's fitness exposition of the fact that "very significantly" "Indians do not just trade with Indians, and Moslems with Indians, thus enabling him to make a living." Of course not. The Indian trader, like the Afrikaner or any other trader, deals with customers not racial blocs. As in the case of European traders—and there is nothing reprehensible in this, it is plain common sense—any particular merchant may have a classical predisposition of race or language group. But that is an accident, not a design. They trade with whoever comes. I tend to remember something of a recent parliamentary survey against, and a publication I thus edited, for allegedly using English-speaking people to boycott African firms. I should have deserved the enquiry if I or the publication had made such a suggestion. In fact, Messrs Eric Louw's and Elmar Croux's

recusance was as head-on of racial bias as Mr. Gerdener's propensities about the Indians.

And if any further justification of Indian trade with (specifically) Africans is needed, perhaps Mr. Gerdener will recall that Town Councillor W. M. Victor, when whom there is no more ardent advocate of ejecting Indian businesses from Rustenburg, advised to the Sabra Conference that Africans often feel more at ease in Indian shops because they are treated in a friendly and courteous way. One might add—and both powers apply also to Africans—that the poorer class of Afrikaner gets credit only from Indians, who have often carried him with considerable generosity through times of adversity. All such efforts to throw the Indians out of Rustenburg have stumbled on this granite point. And the Rev. E. C. Kriel added, for good measure, that Afrikaans-speaking customers find it easier to be served in their own language in many Indian shops. Let us, therefore, have the more of the ethnic monstrosity of "English trading with Moslems," or was the Moslem trading with Bantu. If there is a case, as there probably is for promoting greater commercial shares for Africans and Coloureds, let it be equally as the expense of Europeans and Indians—and if we are going to play that game, let us also throw open the door of economic opportunity to everyone on both industry and commerce.

(To be continued)

1st Indian Women Attorney

PROOF of the astonishing strides Indian women have made in the Union in recent years is that they have now produced from their ranks South Africa's first non-European woman attorney. She is Miss Pam M. Krishna, B.A., of Stanger, who was informed that she has passed the attorney's admissions examination of the University of South Africa.

Now that Miss Krishna has passed the new field, it is expected that other Indian women will follow.

Miss Krishna is the daughter of Mr. R. Mandelstam, formerly a corresponding clerk at Port Shepstone, now retired. He has four children—all of whom have done remarkably well. One son, 18

when Pam was struck, is a lawyer practising at Stanger; another is a principal of an Indian school at Port Shepstone; and the fourth is an electrical engineer living in Yorkshire and holding a top post one of the biggest factories in the world.

Miss Krishna's story is one of patient perseverance. She took her matriculation examination at a Port Shepstone Convent, and two days of her studies since on a part-time basis.

The still has no large bar and practice and procedure examinations before being admitted. When this is complete, she hopes to practise in Stanger, concentrating on concentrating and clerical work.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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Lennox-Boyd Says African Could Be Premier Of CAF

(From the "Natal Mercury," Natal Correspondent)

MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, the British Colonial Secretary, on the last leg of his Federation tour, visited the African National Congress that day noon, whether Black or White, could become Prime Minister of the Federation if he had the ability.

Mr. Harry Mzimba, president of the opposing African Congress, emerged from an hour-long discussion with Mr. Lennox-Boyd and said: "I like him much better than Mr. Xuthula, Mr. James Griffiths or Mr. Cuthbert Jones, the former Colonial Secretaries who have visited the territory during and since the foundation of the Federation."

Mr. Mzimba said: "As far as I am concerned Mr. Lennox-

Boyd gave me only one glimmer of hope, but it is the most important glimmer of all.

"I asked Mr. Lennox-Boyd if the British Government was prepared to commit itself to this partnership policy that a Black or White Man could be given the opportunity to rise in society to a point where he could be a Minister or head of a Department, or to a point where he could be Prime Minister of the Territorial Legislature and the Federal Assembly.

"Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that if there were a game, Black or White, who had the ability to head a Department or become a Minister, he could see no reason why they could not attain these positions."

and thereby still remain unimpaired, to appreciate the implementation of this distant scheme.

This meeting further calls upon all sections of the clothing industry to fight with all the means at their disposal against the stratagem and misery that apartheid will bring.

In particular, this meeting

calls upon the workers in the garment industry to rally in order to defeat working-class unity, to protest for the non-white worker these avenues of employment now open to him and to defeat the designs of the Nationalists.

The future of the non-white people is at stake. We are confident that the workers will not fail.

White Opponents Of Apartheid No Traitors To S.A.

—HEPPLE

Capetown.

THE Leader of the Opposition had not given sufficient attention to the question of the deterioration of race relations in South Africa, and the Prime Minister, who seemed to realize the seriousness of the problem, had dismissed the question in his usual tub-thumping manner, said Mr. A. Hepple (Lab., Somersetville) in the House of Assembly.

He was speaking in the no confidence debate.

There was a growing number of White South Africans who were opposed to the policy of White domination, because they saw it is the greatest danger to White domination and realized

that the White man could not continue to exist in South Africa under these conditions.

Age Of Patronage

These Whites had adopted this attitude not from the sense of irresponsibility or carelessness as the Government tried to suggest, but because they believed that the age of patronage had gone.

Industrialization had created a completely different situation which the Government was not meeting.

The Prime Minister spoke as if it were almost treasonary to suggest that there should be some form of loosening and closer relationship between White and non-White.—Happ.

NIC Opposes Clothing Industry Apartheid

THE following resolution was passed at an executive committee meeting of the Natal Indian Congress on the 26th January:

This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Natal Indian Congress calls the attention of all employers and workers to the steps which the Nationalist Party is seeking to carry out through the newly created Industrial Tribunal set up under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The Tribunal has already called for representations from the employers in the clothing industry on the basis of which it will decide what jobs are to be secured exclusively for whites.

This meeting warmly commends and rebuffs the country that the attacks upon the clothing industry is the first phase of an attack by the Nationalists that will eventually embrace every commercial and industrial undertaking in the country. That the hypocrisy, superiority of the commercial of their purposes or the crippling blow that will be dealt to efficiency, appear determined to enforce Apartheid by ensuring the most lucrative jobs for white persons, with the result that

(1) commerce and industry will be compelled to employ white persons in

jobs for which they may not be qualified or at which they may not be competent, thus causing inefficiency and increasing costs.

(2) non-white workers will be barred from the few avenues of skilled and unskilled employment enjoying better wages now open to them.

(3) the non-white population, since well over 90 per cent belong to the working classes, will inevitably become increasingly impoverished.

(4) so impoverished people, devoid political rights, confronted with an inferior and degrading education, with dwindling social services, confined to ghettos under the Group Areas Act will be inexorably driven into a position of abject poverty, supporting the Nationalist myth of "backwardness."

This meeting is of the opinion that the aims of the Nationalists reveal a cruel and malicious design to make of the non-white a sub-human being. It is a conception that is immoral, selfish and inhuman. It is totally unacceptable to us.

This meeting, therefore, calls upon all South Africans, white and black, but especially white South Africans whose humanity

Mitchell Worried About Afro-Indian Unity

DEALING with the Government's Africa policy in the House of Assembly, Mr. Mitchell said that there were independent States growing up in Africa and with a few exceptions they were independent Black States.

The Government claimed that it was their policy to keep on friendly terms with these States, there were European nations who were struggling to maintain their foothold on the African continent and this was also a problem for South Africa.

White Governments

Would this country remain on the sidelines as a White race or not? What were to be the Government's relations with the European Government's who still had possessions in Africa?

Today there was a complete tie-up between the African race and between the Indian and the Coloured people. One of the greatest failures of this Government was the way in which it had welded non-European into one homogeneous mass hostile to the White man.

White world the Government realize the danger of making enemies of the Black men in South Africa?

NOTE

We are in receipt of a letter from "A. Khatiwala, Youth of Today," for publication in our "Students' Forum." We would like to inform him that he should discuss his views and address for our reference purposes, which shall be confidential.

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Nursing Apartheid Arouses International Interest

THE National Government's heretofore efforts to enforce apartheid in the fields which seemed neutral in South Africa are likely to lead to further international rumpus.

Nurses even in far away Jamaica have passed a resolution expressing sympathy with the nurses of South Africa "who are having racial discrimination forced on them."

And in the Union the anti-white events, if they are deterred from the Nursing Council and the South African Nursing Association—author of such a Bill—will apply to the International Council of Nurses for recognition as the representative South African nursing body on the grounds that the Nursing Council and the Nursing Association are racially discriminatory.

Mrs Margaret Baffinger, who in 1945 introduced the present anti-colour bar Nursing Act which was taken over by the United Party Government and which set up the Nursing Council and the Nursing Association, both statutory bodies, told the "Sunday Times" principal cause pendant that was white nurses in the Union were "harassed" about the Government's new Bill.

Although the Nursing Bill was passed in 1946 and although there was no agitation by either the Nursing Council or the Nursing Association for a Colour bar, the Nationalists proposed a bar immediately they came to power.

An amending Bill was introduced and it has appeared in the order paper every year since 1950. But it has got no further than a select committee.

It is believed that the Government will try to pass the Bill this session.

The Bill contains several useful amendments which have been requested by the Nursing Council, but these amendments are being delayed by the quarrel over the colour bar proposal.

The "Sunday Times" Cape Town correspondent reports that if the Government succeeds in passing the Bill, South Africa may have to withdraw from the International Council of Nurses.

One of the conditions of membership of the I.C.N. is that all national associations of nurses must be open to membership to all trained nurses irrespective of colour—"Sunday Times."

Apartheid

"Here, if anywhere, should all actions of the United Party be uncompromising. In summary, for the Bill promises to combine all the latent injustice of Apartheid with the trend to totalitarianism on Nativeside rule."

"Academic freedom is the very lifeblood of the south of liberty."

If a university is not free to dispense learning to whom it will, and to draw upon every human resource to enrich its store of knowledge, then liberty of thought is denied as its necessary corollary and there is no ultimate protection against complete tyranny over the mind.—(Saps-Hester.)

Union Jack Might No Longer Be One Of National Flags

THE Flags Amendment Bill, a private members Bill, which has been introduced in the Union House of Assembly by Mr. A. G. Barrow, seeks to make the Union Flag the one and only official flag of the Union. The Bill has only one clause which says that the flag shall be the Union's national flag. The effect of the Bill, if enacted, will be that the Union Jack will no longer be a flag of the Union.

The Flags Act of 1927, which the Bill seeks to amend, says the flag of the Union shall be, firstly, the Union Jack, to denote the association of the Union with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and secondly, the Union Flag, which the Act describes as the National Flag.

The Flags Act of 1927 was the result of compromise after a long and bitter political struggle between the Nationalist Party Government under the late General Hertzog as Prime Minister and the old South African Party headed by the late General Smuts, who was then Leader of the Opposition in Parliament. Up to that time the Union did not have a flag of its own, and the Union Jack was the only official flag. The Act provides for a national flag, which is recognised as one of the other flags of the Union, the other being

the Union Jack.

The underlying principle of the Act is that the Union Flag should have full status as the national flag of the Union, and that the Union Jack should be flown on specific occasions to denote the Union's association with other members of the Commonwealth.

The Flags Act specifically provides that the Union Jack be flown with the national flag from the Houses of Parliament and principal Government buildings in the capitals of the Union and of the provinces, at Union ports, and on Government offices abroad.

A second clause of the Bill says that the Union Jack shall be a flag of the Union. The clause is necessary to amend the Act of 1927, which says the flag of the Union shall be, firstly, the Union Jack, to denote the association of the Union with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and secondly, the Union Flag, which the Act describes as the National Flag.

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"Times" Sees in Strijdom's Apartheid Drift To Totalitarianism

THE TIMES (London) on January 23 launched a severe editorial attack on the South African Government and its racial policy.

This independent newspaper accused the Government of following policies which would lead to totalitarianism.

It accused the Government of setting "very apparent political designs" in an effort to secure its position in power.

whose votes were likely to be used against them."

"The Times" added: "We doubt the principal target of the Opposition's fire in this coming session will be the designs announced in the speech from the Throne to impose Apartheid as the 'one-way' universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand."

Minority

"In a country, where the electorate is a small minority of the population, and the Parliamentary majority represents the majority of the electorate, prolonged tenure of power is likely to depend upon determined abuse of every power of advantage, and ruthlessly for Nationalists take control of them."

"By an unprecedented process of concentrated manipulation they have at last succeeded in forcing out of the general franchise the Coloured race."

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"South Africa's Policy Of Apartheid—Unacceptable"

VII—Oases In The Desert Of Apartheid

EVEN though Prof. Simon does not realize South Africa yet he calls it in the title of his book "Land of Good Hope." I wish I could agree with him but I cannot possibly. During the months which I spent in the Union the apartheid which I experienced on my arrival at the station of Johannesburg immediately worried me. Many Africans said to me: "You have not been here long enough. If you stay a few years you will understand the policy of apartheid and accept it and become used to everything that worries you now!" I do not believe it at all but if it is true then I do not want to stay in South Africa for years because under no circumstances do I wish to become used to apartheid as I have come to know it. Land of Good Hope? How can a land where among the non-Whites bitterness and among the Whites fear increases year by year, if not day by day, be a land of Good Hope?

A Dutch emigrant said to me: "For us South Africa is a paradise!" On account of apartheid I call it a desert.

South Africa is a beautiful and progressive land with countless possibilities but the policy of apartheid spoils everything. I have crossed South Africa so all distances and here and there I have found an oasis in the desert of apartheid. There are many such oases but, taking the whole of the desert into account, too few.

Prof. Vermaak says that South Africa needs places where in every corner apartheid is an attitude of life in avoidance and where Whites and Blacks can be brothers not in theory but in practice, not in words but in deeds. When I speak of oases I mean such places.

Of a few oases I want to tell something.

Here follow descriptions of visits to Mosses in the Northern Transvaal, Enslinville and Witkoppen on the Reef to which reference has already been made.

Phoenix

Natal is altogether different from the rest of South Africa and that not only with regard to its physical aspect but also with regard to its spirit. Durban is the

most English city in the Union. Natal has its own problems because for the most Indians live in Natal.

In Durban I was the guest of an Indian family. The man and his wife are Christians and belong to the Indian Church. I was conversely under the spell of the face, almost aristocratic features of my hostess.

Culturally she and her husband were far above most Africans although the latter stir up an attitude of superiority towards all Indians including their intellectuals. Indeed, that is the case with English speaking South Africans too. The minister of

By

DR. J. J. BUSKES

(Continued from last week)

of the Indian Anglican Church in Durban told me that his English colleagues were very benevolent and friendly but always with condescension. To what extent Indian appreciation cannot become obvious is the when early on a Sunday morning at the request of this Anglican priest I delivered a short address at his service. Just the fact that a white man visits their church is a matter of joy for these Indians. How strongly, in the meantime, apartheid rules the spirit became obvious to me when an African asked whether he could come and visit me. I invited him to come to me. When he heard that I was the guest of an Indian family he told me that it was impossible to come.

It was a beautiful day when a grandson of Gandhi took me in a car from Durban to Phoenix, the small settlement which Gandhi established in 1904 two miles north of Durban. Here he lived for many years and often he travelled to Durban on foot. Now his son Manilal lives there together with many Indians.

At Phoenix I had a heavy reception by Manilal when I had come to India five years previously in 1952. Manilal regards it as his vocation to continue the work of his father in South Africa. He does this chiefly by publishing the weekly "Indian Opinion" and by making Phoenix a meet-

ing place. Like his father he has a very simple way of life. He works hard. The work is only interrupted by long periods of meditation, praying and fasting. He trusts his adherents and fellow-workers both the theory and the practice of non-violence.

Gandhi lived at Phoenix in a house which he built on a hill and called Saradaya (For the welfare of all). Manilal built a very modern house next to it. There is also the printing press and the school for Indian children. The buildings are surrounded by fruit trees and in the distance by sugar plantations. In the room where I was received the words are written:

Welcome to those who cross the threshold of this door: a hearty welcome to both black and poor.

The house of Gandhi has become a museum. In the first room there are photographs of the walls and a collection of Gandhianisms.

In the printing press the primitive composing machine which Gandhi used is still to be seen. For one whole day I was the guest of Manilal. There were other guests: a few Indians, some Whites and a couple of Africans. We are together at one table and in the afternoon we discussed the situation in South Africa.

One of the guests was Alan Pama.

It was fascinating to hear these two so different people conversing. On the surface they do not seem very remarkable people. Manilal has a good and friendly face but certainly not a face which could be forgotten. Alan Pama, as I have already said, can easily be mistaken for a native or an African. But when they converse their eyes sparkle and in those two simple faces are discovered the lines of an age-old culture. Manilal was dressed in the Western manner although he often wears Indian clothes. He has soft and somewhat melancholy eyes. His voice too is soft and seems to come from afar, from another world.

Manilal Gandhi is deeply persecuted by the policy of apartheid. The policy is completely contrary to the Gospel. He cannot understand how Christians can try to defend it by means of the

Bible. But he only wants to fight it to the very of his father. "Our only weapon is passive resistance, spiritual defence." The trouble is that South Africa has no real leaders. Greater trust is put in laws and police measures on the one hand, in a show of force and violence on the other hand than in spiritual power which God wishes to give all who open their lives to His Spirit. What is needed is an inward revolution: conversion. Politics will have no service to God. If that does not happen then it will drag South Africa to the abyss.

Alan Pama agrees with him. But he argues and reasons differently. He is an artist and a representative of the solid liberal tradition. He is also politically well-informed. In a previous chapter I have given his views extensively. He propagates a policy of trust in South Africa which is open to all. Whites and non-Whites, with essential equal political and social rights. But for him too the race question is not in the first place a political but a moral and religious problem. The discussion is interrupted. Mrs. Gandhi invites us to a cup of tea. After tea the discussion is not continued but Manilal tells us with great respect but with equal modesty of the work of his father. I remember two sentences:

"My father's personality shocked the British Empire."

"My father taught me not to become the slave of anything."

At our departure he gave me a copy of the "Golden Number of Indian Opinion" of 1914 as a gift. It is the tale of the passive resistance of the Indians under the leadership of his father during the years 1904-1914. On the front page he wrote these words: "To Dr. Buskes, in memory of your very kind visit to our humble home. With cordial good wishes from Manilal Gandhi, Phoenix 25-2-55."

Manilal keeps the light which his father lit burning. His aristocratic life of prayer and meditation and his work of moral education at Phoenix are an important contribution to the purifying of the complex relationships between Whites and non-Whites in South Africa.

(Continued)

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— ત્યારે —

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ઘીની મીઠાઈઓના સ્પેશલિસ્ટ

મેક વડાઓ, લગ્ન પ્રસંગોએ અને મીઠાઈો પાડી પાડીને બીજી.

મહાનદીનો હિરા કુંડ

ભુવેન ત્સંગ અને નાલંદા

ગ્રીક ઇતિહાસકાર ટોલમીએ પોતાના ગ્રંથમાં મહાનદીની વિવિધ શાખાઓ અને તેના કાંઠા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ વિશેની વિગતો આપી છે. તેનાથી જણાય છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા. તેનાથી જણાય છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા.

ટોલમી એ જણાવ્યું છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા. તેનાથી જણાય છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા.

આ હિરાકુંડનો ખાતર જોઈને એક વાત યાદ કરવાની જાય છે. એક વાત એ છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા.

પ્રત્યક્ષ અને અસંશયિત રીતે જણાય છે કે મહાનદીની કિનારા પરનાં ગામો અને કિલ્લાઓ તે સમયે ખૂબ જ વિકસિત હતા.

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ધી કવીન્સલેન્ડ ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ કંપની લીમીટેડ

૧૮૮૬માં ન્યૂ સાઉથ વેસ્ટમાં સ્થાપિત છે

આગ ચક્રેમાલ તથા દરીયાઈ માલનો

— વિભો —

તેમજ બધી જાતના વિમાનું

કામ કરે છે.

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આપો દિવસ વેલટેરીયન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે ખાટે મળી શકશે.

બોલીંગ અને લોલંગની સગવડ

કાચમી બોલીંગને ખસ પસંદની આપવામાં આવશે. વિચાર્યો અને રાહકોને વધુ પસંદની આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. ચોરાઓમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક હાલમાં ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉત્તરિઓ માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરમની ચોપરી સેકેટરી, અને કાચી તેમજ શાકની દાળ, આરેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચામેલી, વિશેષ જાણીએ છીએ.

ઘરનું અથિલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બોલીંગથી સિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

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sets prisoners, and leave no
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prisoners.

—Napoleons.

INDIAN

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1923

Former Editor: M. K. Gandhi—1918-1955



Abandon of occupation is
not evil, it is a good thing
it is a good thing.

—Carpenter

No. 5—Vol. LV.

Friday, 8th February, 1957

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U.S. PACIFIST GAOLED

EIGHT years after refusing to register for military service, a 26-year-old American pacifist, Seymour Eichel, of Brooklyn, New York, has been sentenced to a year and a day imprisonment.

It is not known why Government authorities waited eight years to arrest and prosecute Eichel.

Eichel, being an absolute conscientious objector, refused to comply with the Selective Service Law, and openly ignored the Government's requirement of registering.

However he had consistently made known his conscientious objection to military service. A short while before his eighteenth birthday, he refused to take a graduate's pledge which was required in New York City schools in 1937.

The first part declares loyalty to the Constitution and Government of the United States and the State of New York, and by taking the pledge a graduate promises to support all their laws.

By taking this pledge a graduate swears in effect that he will uphold conscription. By refusing to take the oath, a graduate bars himself from obtaining a diploma.

Due to the sympathetic consideration and the discrimination of Dr. Frederic Ernst, Associate Superintendent of Schools, Eichel was nevertheless, granted a diploma.

Widespread publicity was given to this incident.

Still Not Arrested

Later, Eichel took part in several pacifist activities, associating himself with the Peacemaker group and participated in activities of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

Before the Selective Service Law was passed in June, 1948, he had already committed himself to non-registration in a written statement which he and other CO's had signed and made public.

In 1949, when demonstrators picketed the White House asking that imprisoned CO's be freed, Eichel together with two clergy men, was granted an interview by the President's administrative assistant, the late David K. Niles.

He told Mr. Niles of his objections to military service, explaining to him that men were being imprisoned for conscience sake.

Mr. Niles shook hands with him, saying, "It's up to you young people to change the state of the world. We are too old. Good luck to you."

During the Korean war, Eichel continued to make known his stand against conscription. Still he was

not arrested.

When, in order to obtain employment, he completed application forms which asked for details of his Draft status, he frequently had to explain his stand to employers.

"Knowing how the Government encourages informing even to the point of giving it an aura of patriotism I knew I was risking arrest, but I was not arrested," he said.

Then on June 12 last year, two days before his twenty-seventh birthday, and eight years after his call-up three FBI agents entered Eichel's place of business and took him into custody.

(Continued on page 37)

"VICTIMS OF COMMUNAL DISCRIMINATION"

THIS representative of a Tanganyika newspaper who recently visited the city of Calcutta has described the great difficulty the Indian Government is facing on account of thousands of refugees crossing into India from East Pakistan on account of the conditions there.

The correspondent, "El-Ahassa", who writes in the "Sunday News" of Dar-es-Salaam every week, says:

"The refugee problem of Bengal has been a running sore with Hindus coming from East Pakistan into West Bengal at the rate of over less than 10,000 a month and sometimes as many as 20,000 a month. Over the past nine years since the partition of Bengal (into India's West Bengal and Pakistan's East Bengal) as many as 4,000,000 people have come into India without any exodus of Muslims from the Indian to Pakistan side.

Victims Of Pakistani Policy

"There are neither land nor houses in which to rehabilitate the victims of communal discrimination from Pakistan."

The correspondent contrasts the plight of the Hindus in East Pakistan with the conditions of Muslims in West Bengal and says:

"Meanwhile in West Bengal there are 6,000,000 Muslims who live peacefully as respected citizens, as farmers, peasants and crafts men. This does Hindu tolerance great credit and

(Continued on page 37)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY, 1957

S.A. Press, Nehru And Kashmir

WE can understand why Pandit Nehru is so much under fire in the South African Press for his Kashmir policies. We can understand also why very many White South Africans go on their knees daily and eagerly praying that Nehru's difficulties everywhere might increase. It is normal behaviour in human societies that a man who endeavours to preserve a sense of morality in the conduct of affairs—whether public or international—where the fashion is to accept self-interest as the justification of all things, should also have enemies.

Most White South Africans have a special reason to dislike Mr. Nehru. His attitude to race oppression is a dangerous threat to their side. Whatever tins him down and deflects his attention from the plight of the non-White peoples in this country is always a godsend to most White South Africans.

'Natal Mercury'

But even against this background we find it extremely difficult to understand some of the extremes to which sections of the White Press have gone in trying to paint Nehru black. A remarkable case in point is a recent 'Natal Mercury' editorial which reprimanded him severely for his interest in South Africa's race problem when his performance has not been much better in Kashmir.

This is an amazing proposition for at least two good reasons. Firstly, there is no real parallel between Kashmir and South Africa. Where South Africa has been found by the United Nations to be in the wrong and requested several times to adopt policies more in keeping with modern standards of international conduct, India has not been put in a similar position.

On the contrary the United Nations have found Pakistan the aggressor and specifically asked her to withdraw her army from those sections of Kashmir which she holds by force. Pakistan refused to obey this injunction—and by so doing took up an attitude broadly similar to South Africa's over South-West Africa.

Real Culprit

To blacken Nehru for his opposition to a plebiscite is to seek an eye at the real culprit. A plebiscite while the Pakistani army remains in Kashmir would, for very real psychological and practical reasons, be futile. Basil Davidson, a distinguished British commentator on Commonwealth affairs, has said that "a plebiscite could quite easily lead to communal riots." If

South African Cabinet Ministers have developed the habit of chinking in terms of bloodbaths, humanity should be grateful that Nehru is one statesman who is still scared of them.

The second amusing reason about the 'Mercury's' attitude is that it shows the extreme to which race prejudice will blind to reason eminent journalists, otherwise respected for their objectivity and balanced judgment and force them to bolster their weak case by resorting to writing which verges as closely on distortion as it is almost indistinguishable from it.

Nehru Has Faults

At the same time one point should be made crystal clear. We do not regard Nehru as the incarnation of human virtue. He makes blunders which distress us. But in appraising his policies it is humanity which benefits by an objective assessment.

In this regard we view the restrictions on innocent South Africans passing through India as a piece of small-mindedness that a country which produced Mahatma Gandhi can explain only on the ground of human frailty. There is no doubt that the withdrawal of Commonwealth privileges from South Africans is, in retaliation for what the Union does to Indian nationals here. But virtue is not one of South Africa's strong points and to enslave her in this regard is deplorable.

There is a second objection to India's retaliatory measures. They are so ineffective. Only a few White South Africans travel through India. For a great nation to impose restrictions on these looks very much like bringing giant army tanks to kill a fly.

Preparing For War

The third objection—and this is a very serious one—is that the measures are an unfriendly act of a type seen between two powers preparing for war. We do not think India wants to see herself involved in a shooting war with South Africa, one day. For this reason, we find it particularly distressing to see her take a course which will logically leave war as the only means of forcing South Africa to fulfil her obligations in terms of well-known international agreements.

Finally the humiliation of individuals some of whom might be opposed to race oppression is a form of pettiness which our Finance Minister, Mr. Eric Louw has—to South Africa's lasting shame—perfected into a fine art. For our part we are convinced that Nehru will not lose anything if he does not seek to out-Louw Louw in a field where the latter is a past master.

Invite To India

We agree enthusiastically with the views expressed by another White paper, the 'Natal Witness', which suggested that it would be a very fine thing if Nehru invited Nationalist Cabinet Minister to India in order to enable them to appreciate the Indian stand much better. We should like to add that such invitations would not have the advantage merely of being educative; they would place White South Africa in the position to show which side really wants a peaceful solution and which side is the real stumbling-block.

Bus Boycott Continues

FIVE hundred Africans decided at a meeting at Dadeo Square, Maseru, near Johannesburg, to boycott the Public Utility Transport Corporation's bus service from the Morija Jabavu area to Maseru. Nation in sympathy with the boycotters of Alexandria, Townsville, Sophiatown and in Pretoria.

About 5000 Africans on P.U.T.C.D. buses regularly in the two areas, said an official of the company.

African boycott leaders expect 35 per cent of bus users to boycott the service.

The first from the Johannesburg district and the situation, unlike those in the Sophiatown, Alexandria and Pretoria routes, have not been increased.

"Must Aid Them"

There were repeated shouts of "We shall not rise" during the meeting, a speaker said. "Your brothers of Alexandria are walking and, therefore, you will have to come to their assistance."

Although the increases in fares at Alexandria and Sophiatown did not apply during the week-end, the buses were fully boycotted.

Alexandria and Sophiatown Africans decided at special meetings to continue the boycott.

Boycotters "Blinded"

As Johannesburg's bus boycotters went into their fifth week, the police applied a "be anywhere" policy to the marchers and those who were giving them lifts.

At a checkpoint along the route to Alexandria Township, policemen stopped all vehicles in which there were Africans. They must return to the driver, searched the passengers for passes, took back in custody police stations, took the names of all, and arrested many.

A signaller gave a lift to three boycotters. Between Glenwood Circle and Alexandra he was stopped three times. On each occasion his name was taken, the passengers were searched for passes, and he was told to present his driver's license at a police station with in seven days.

Police Used As Scaregates

A Johannesburg spokesman, Mr. Vernon Horsey, refused to say when, said in answer by the police on the road to Alexandria Township. On his way back from Alexandria he stopped to tell the police they had in right to stop him.

The Hon. F. A. W. Lucas, a former judge, said that if the

police stopped him when he was giving a lift to bus boycotters, he would issue a summons against the officer concerned.

Schoeman Declares Bus Boycott To Gain Political Ends

THE Minister of Transport, Mr. Schoeman, spoke about the Johannesburg and Pretoria bus boycott in the Union House of Assembly when he entered the audience debate. He said the areas affected by the boycott were set those in which the Government's apartheid policy compelled Africans to live. They were areas to which the Africans had gone voluntarily.

The Africans were travelling at less than a penny a mile. The recent increases in fares were the first in 15 years, in spite of African earnings having risen by up to 500 per cent in that time.

A thorough investigation had been made into the finances of the bus company and increases in fares were agreed to only when they were seen to be inevitable.

Will Be Broken

Mr. Schoeman said, "It is quite clear that this is not so much an economic matter, it is a political matter. The African National Congress is testing its strength and getting support by intimidation."

Mr. Schoeman said there would be no negotiation on the part of the Government. The boycott would be broken.

The Government called on employers not to make concessions to Africans who came late for work as a result of the boycott.

"We have reason to believe that the boycott is an organized and is being maintained from political sources, and that certain elements in the African townships are able to exert sufficient influence to prevent those Africans willing to travel by public transport from doing so."

The police had given a list of the individuals connected with the bus boycott and almost without exception they were prominent members of the African National Congress.

"We saw what happened in Northern Rhodesia when the

He said, "Their action is not legal, so far as I can see." It looked as if the police were being made the agents of the Government to smash the boycott.

"This action of the Government in using the police is likely to make the buses more unpopular—and everyone knows how unpopular they are already," said Mr. Lucas.

"I feel they are just being used as scapegoats."

boycott. It was for them an opportunity to hit the Government and at the same time increase their circulation among the Africans.

Giving Of Lifts

There were certain European—mainly women, who were giving lifts to Africans.

The Minister said some of these Europeans who were giving lifts to Africans were mainly stupid. Others were simply misguided. They were completely in sympathy and in accord with the attitude of the African National Congress.

The Government appealed to all law-abiding Africans to repudiate the leaders of the boycott, who were not concerned with their economic life, but were concerned only with attaining their own political ends.

He hoped Sir de Villiers Graaf in his reply would make it quite clear where the United Party stood.

Mrs. Mallie (Native) Representative, Cape Eastern) said she shared with the Leader of the Opposition one deep ambition, and that was to get rid of the Nationalist Party Government as soon as possible for the sake of South Africa's safety and prosperity.

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Firms Hit Financially By Bus Boycott

JOHANNESBURG Industrial firms are losing hit financially by the boycott of buses by Africans living in Alexandra Township. The greatest sufferers are those firms which are keeping well within the law—by not collecting their employees or taking them home.

The manager of a Johannesburg demolition firm said that efficiency had fallen considerably among the Alexandra Township Africans whom he employed. They arrived 30 minutes late, and had to leave early. They worked reasonably until 3 p.m., but then had no energy left.

"They are in no shape to swing 15th, tomorrow. Tomorrow at this time limit, we have to employ ten extra labourers daily. The total loss to us through the boycott may be estimated at £10 a day."

A firm of stone crushers complained that the lack of energy of bus boycotters had spread to other African employees, who also arrived late for work and wanted to leave early.

"The whole labour force goes to sleep on an hour unless the domestic bus is showing."

An engineering firm supplying a number of bus boycotters said that the Africans who did casual work were particularly tired and drugged. As a result the dispatch of goods had been delayed.

Fetches To Work

Times which used to tempt to fetch employees less better, though they had to be expensive to collect and take home African employees living at Alexandra.

The manager of a big industrial firm shrugged. "What can we do but break the law? We have to work to time limits and must continue, and as African labour force which is recruited by walking to work."

"So we need a ferry to collect and load home our employees. If there are any questions, we can always say that the Africans are being taken out to a job, or we can make some other excuse."

But it is costly for us. We have to pay the ferry driver overtime, and meet the extra petrol bill."

Most of the employees who were interviewed said that they had made some provision for transporting their employees. Many had given their firm's bicycles to the employees to take home with them. Others have arranged for European employees to pick up African staff in their cars.

Driving up Louis Botha Avenue, a Johannesburg executive said that he was amazed to see the trucks, buses and cars, covered with Africans, that were passing the city.

"I saw one truck carrying about 30 Africans, all apparently by bus boycotters."

The Churches And Politics

THE "Eastern Province Herald" asks "Why, in a nominally Christian State, is there so deep a cleavage between Christian apologetics and Government policy?" The paper concludes that any "extreme form of nationalism is essentially irreligious because it is a barrier to education, because it denies the brotherhood of man and because to many men it would deny even their common humanity; because it renders its adherents unchristian, and because the pride of race and group with which it imbues them is, from the Christian point of view, heinous."

Bishop Lewis said recently in Cape Town that the Church disclaimed "the right to speak with so absolute voice on so-called political problems, which are in reality moral and spiritual issues." The Bishop said the cost of apartheid was not only the suffering caused to its direct victims. It included the spiritual and moral demoralisation of the White people of the Union who had supported and applied anti-race policies. The duty of averting apartheid lay at the door of the White group.

We give a few extracts from the charge delivered by His Grace the Archbishop to the Diocesan Synod in Cape Town.

Justice And The Vote

"In (the Group Areas Act) reveals compulsory moving of thousands from their homes. It involves the destruction of homes, and chaos about schools, and churches also. In it, I think, quite certain that it goes far beyond the proclamation in the Gellatly, the enemies will in the main have to be made by the non-European. When there is a choice between becoming unpopular with voters

Own Solution

Many Africans living in Alexandra Township have managed to solve their transport problem so efficiently that their employers have not felt any effect from the boycott.

Manager says, especially, have been able to cover up their blunders by cut-backs while waiting for jobs.

Absenteeism by boycotters had not been a serious problem to Johannesburg firms.

or with non-voters, it is in the interests of the nation that we consider. When you get, as in this country, a sort of oligarchy, with the great majority of the population disfranchised, it is extraordinarily difficult to ensure anything like unbiassed justice.

"I believe the proclamation of group areas on a racial basis is wrong. If you place a man in a particular situation because of his race he cannot get out of it. God did make us different, but He made it so that we could rise or fall, go up or down. I think there can be too much planning, too much regimentation, and I think that is bad for us all, but especially for those who carry it out. For power over other people's lives brings with it terrible temptations. Don't you all know how easily the best of us become a bull?"

Apartheid And Education

"Does anyone really believe that a Coloured university college can be established at which the standard can be anything like so high as it is at Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities? The answer would, of course, be enormous. It was at one time contended that apartheid meant equivalent opportunities. I don't think that is at all possible. At a great expense an inferior education will be provided. Why? The Universities don't want it; the European students don't want it. Those who do can go to the universities which have a colour bar."

"The teachers don't want it. The non-European people themselves do not want it. It has not happened yet, but the threat hangs over us."

"To view of all these things it is easily intelligible that there should be a tendency among non-European people to grow bitter, to regard all Europeans with suspicion and to look for slight and insults where there are none intended. We must try to understand each other better and to make allowances for each other. In the circumstances we of Europeans cannot must be very understanding and patient, and very careful by anything we do or say we set salt into the wounds. This is largely a matter of personal relationships."

"I want to end with a word to my non-European brethren. Don't let yourselves get converted to spitefulness. And try to get a Christian sense of perspective. I know it isn't easy. But it is true, that what really matters about you is not what you possess, nor what others think about you, but what you are yourself in the sight of God."

"Who steals my purse steals trash. Who steals my voice steals something that is not much better. But if a man impair your integrity he has done you real harm. If you grow bitter, it hinders or denies for revenge into your heart, then you have let him do you real harm."

"Don't let that happen."

Bishop Sees Group Areas Act As Un-Christian

WHAT is planned for Johannesburg under the Group Areas Act is simply the first example of the suffering and hardship that may be expected in many parts of the country through the shifting of populations, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, writes in the diocesan journal, "The Watchman."

"It seems that little account is being taken of all the despair and hatred that is bound to be engendered in those who are the victims of this action."

"The proposals are an affront to the Christian conscience, for they are a denial of the Christian belief of the nature and destiny of man."

The Bishop says the least church people can do to study the nature of these proposals is the book "The Group Areas Act—First on human beings," published by the Institute of Race Relations."

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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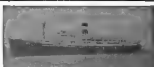
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Sabra And Indians—IV

IF a section entitled "the Indian birthrate," Gardner considers everything except that—the 25.4 per cent increase in the Indian population between the 1946 and 1953 censuses (about one-third of which is almost certainly due to an error in the 1946 count—see my article in "Forum," October 1957), a calculation of the Indian population in 2,000 A.D. (which perpetuates this demographic error), the levelling of the sex ratio between Indian males and females which has not been a significant factor for the last 10 years or so (1946 there were 11 females to every

work was way still one clear. For a man not given to cynicism in his propheticisms when it suits him, this is unusual effidence. But he did admit that Indian traders would lose "some of their business" with Europeans and Africans, though they would not "necessarily" suffer "a total loss." Some commentators might choose to deal with them "by phone, letter or messenger, or they might even visit Moosa 'personally.'" I think Prof. Brewer was a little more pessimistic in supposing that the Act will "transform a pastoral group (i.e. a commercial community) into a productive one (i.e. a wage-labouring one)." Van Rensburg may still trade with Moosa when he is "seen the spirit," "meet the swerve farm," 22 miles out of Johannesburg, 10 miles out of Port Elizabeth. But as when trader would change their distance to single his business, and it is obviously unjust that we are forcing Indians to share in the certain knowledge—let us not pretend otherwise—that the merchants' trade will be ruined. Did not the Commission that prepared the Group Areas Act discuss "segregation and, failing which, compulsory segregation with boycott to enforce separation?" Oh yes, the Act, if implemented, will benefit what Mr. Gardner likes to call "the Indian" commercial stronghold in some towns. It will also reveal our wanted "white civilisation" in all its stark and selfish ugliness.

A twinge of conscience is diminished by Mr. Gardner's silly calculation that 20,000 Indian business men—between 25 and 30 per cent of all Indian earners are in commerce—an abnormally high percentage". And he admits that 90 per cent of them will have to find another source of income. One might comment that 5 per cent of earners left in commerce would be an abnormally low percentage by any standards. But, of course, the position is really far worse than this.

Leave out all the petty houses, which belong to small business not created by Europeans, and you are left with the 4,892 Indian shops on Natal and the 4,925 in the Transvaal. Forget, even, that the average income of these shops is well below the average for an equivalent number of European shops (see my article in "Forum," July, 1956) and that many of them are small,

struggling family businesses. Just take the figure as they are. In Natal Indians slightly outnumber Europeans. But they own 26 per cent of the shops. In the Transvaal Indians are 1 per cent of the provincial population, Europeans 25 per cent. Here Indians do have more than "their share" with 15 per cent of the shops. There are historical reasons for this—the fact that the early Indians to reach the Transvaal before immigration was halted were traders, and that they were often encouraged and given licenses by the Republican authorities to compete with the outsider. Remember, also, that over the whole Union Indians and Europeans own shops in precisely their population ratio, so that the overall picture is not one of "unfair shares" between them two. These facts that, if we consider shops (not every manner of business), Mr. Gardner's figure of 25.50 per cent of earners engaged in trade is more than halved. Observe also that he is taking a 1955 estimate of trade licenses as a proportion of a 1947 total figure of earners. To allow some further depreciation and we arrive at the hardly fantastic calculation that not more than 12 or 15 per cent of all Indian earners engage in commerce—with the professions, where opportunities are limited by the small available scale and cost of

higher educational facilities, the only economic outlet open to ambitious and industrious Indians through the bric-a-brac of our composite culture has.

This gives very clearly with my earlier calculations that 10,000 Indian shopkeepers with their families (i.e. about 60,000 people) account for 15 per cent of our Indian population—50 per cent of the tiny Transvaal and Cape communities, above 9 per cent of the Natal Indians. Now, then, that Mr. Gardner and Prof. Brewer—much more so, Dr. P. J. Meyer with whose paper I will deal in the final article of this series—are happily prepared to cut this figure by 90 per cent (i.e. to about 1.5 per cent of the Indian population); and, at the same time, to use the Group Areas Act (which it has been again amended to check a legal loophole relating to "occupation" of commercial premises) and the Industrial Conciliation Act to displace the 25,000 Indians employed in European-owned secondary industry, and you have the maximum of the morality intended under these Acts. Against these brutal facts of what would be to prevent our innumerate and high-mindedness abroad, or to talk (as Mr. Gardner occasionally salutes his paper) as developing "a programme of productive (i.e. economic) activity" for our Indians? The cost of the world will recognise a system of deliberate forced low-level labour and pressure to emigrate, when it sees these facts.

(To be concluded)

C. W. M. GELL

11 males and the has an imperious wives only came into force this year, and the possibility of the Indian population which is as much the result of a much shorter life expectancy than the Europeans as of fecundity. Why stay away from the vital statistics? The latest available (1946) are (per thousand population):—

	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
Europeans	26.9	9.1	17.8
Indians	41.4	15.3	26.1
Coloureds	44.6	23.8	20.8

Since then, the European birthrate has dropped to 25.5 in 1954, Indians 36.7, Coloureds 48.4. And the incomplete figures available for 1955 suggest that the steady decline of the Indian birth rate has carried the figure down to little over 30. Clearly Mr. Gardner's prognostications are quite out-of-date.

When speaking on Indian education, the omnipresence of Indian women, etc., Mr. Gardner notes the "marked tendency" towards more and longer education. He omits to draw the obvious conclusion that this both denotes an increasing participation in western civilisation and its living standards, and must further diminish the birth rate by pushing up the marriage age. The process would go faster, if it were not so acutely hindered by our racial policies.

In his last paragraph Mr. Gardner returns to this question of trade licenses, which I also have not finished. Mr. Gardner was able to say in January that the overall picture of how the Group Areas Act would

India Right In Refusing A Plebiscite British Author's Opinion

MR. NERUDA is 'right to refuse a plebiscite in Kashmir at this time,' says Basil Davidson, the well-known journalist, writing in the "Daily Herald" of London.

While strongly disapproving Kashmir's joining India at this time, the author says later: "There is good reason to fear that a plebiscite in Kashmir would threaten 'communal feuds' between Muslims and Hindus such as caused the fearful massacres ten years ago."

He said: "He may be done more to give international peace" than Mr. Nehru. It is easy to see why he carries up and down the world—and they are numerous—were delighted at having triumphed at least in UN votes over a man who his had so

clear a moral superiority over them for so long."

Davidson emphasised that when India took the Kashmir dispute to the UN, "the United Nations appointed a Commission which eventually found Pakistan guilty of aggression. Pakistan promised to remove her troops; they are still there"—153.

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Strijdom Sanctions Louw's Allegation Of Calculated Insult By British Bodies

THE Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Sijddam, said in the House of Assembly that he fully approved of the letter written by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. E. H. Lowe, to "The Times" concerning a "calculated insult" to the South African coast.

Mr. Stordem was replying to a question by Mr. H. G. Lawrence (U. P., Salt River) about a letter by Mr. Loew which appeared in "The Times" on January 7, in which Mr. Loew pretended again: statements published by "The Times" made by C. E. Cullen and Mr. Gardner.

Mr. Lawrence asked the Prime Minister whether he approved of the contents of the letter and whether his attention had been directed to Prime reports of letters in reply which subsequently appeared.

He also asked whether the Government had granted a visa by certain bodies and people for a certain English woman to attend as observer at the Russian allegation inquiry being conducted in Jerusalem.

Mr. Lowmeyer was not present at the hearing, and the question was put on his behalf by Mr. E. H. Durrant (U. P., Toronto).

Mr. Goodson said that he had

seen the letter, the content of which he approved and in which Mr. Low "took strong exception to what can only be regarded as a calculated insult to the South African courts of law, namely the action of certain bodies in England, one of which operates under the chairmanship of the notorious Canon Collins."

The Government had received an request for English's counsel to attend as observer at the inquiry.

In a supplementary question, Mr. Durrant asked Mr. Scrymgeour if he considered whether "it is in keeping with the dignity of our South African Foreign Minister to answer such correspondence in the British Press."

The Prime Minister: "I have nothing to add to my reply. If the Honourable Member, or the Member for whom he speaks wishes to pass here as the defender of these unadmissionary busy-bodies, then I think he will have ample opportunity in the ordinary course of debate to discuss their merits."

that are made in the interest of his fellowmen. His participation in war is a crime against humanity.

"No, at the FBI agent insisted, we must obey the law of the land regardless of its moral content, where would humanity be? The pacifist believes that he must say 'no' to war."

"The Nuremberg trials stress the point the majority is always right—that the individual must be responsible for his own actions."

"Though these rulings were made by a military court, controlled by vicious military powers, they remain in effect."

of the pacifist position, but humanitarian and religious. Each individual is responsible to his God or to his conscience for his

"Blind obedience by the individual is neither moral nor desirable in democracy."

"It is in the interest of furthering democratic aims and my own humanitarian convictions that I remain firm in my refusal to register for the draft regardless of the consequences. To me registration would indicate American complicity for others, something I cannot do."—*Peace News.*

"Victims Of Communal Discrimination"

(Continued from front page)

I cannot think of any other country in the world where so much tolerance can be found.

"And the tolerance is not political, it is genuine; when I asked Bengalis for an explanation they looked quite shocked and said 'Why should we be harsh to our Muslims, simply because the Government is Pakistan biased?' This would be very wrong. They are our brothers and they have done us no harm."

Referring to refugees from East Pakistan, "Elephant" says:

⁴⁰The sight of some of these refugees is appalling; they come with just their bedding and a few spare clothes, completely disoriented, they go and queue on railway platforms until the Government removes them to transit camps and tries to resettle them somehow or other.

She adds: "But since the number of refugees coming in is like a river in the sense it is very difficult for the Government to do much else is up to the needs

"More than £60,000,000 has been spent so building five new plants and giving subsidies."

grants and loans to refugees, and still some 300,000 are in transit camps.

"The great difficulty of rehabilitation of these refugees is that they are mainly white-collared people used to manual labour and with a special tradition against their taking to manual labour. These people whom the Bengalis call *hindis*, are usually aboriginal headhunts living on the ruins of half an acre of rice and a few trees, living in poverty but without hard work to rehabilitate them in our city."

"Others, who are difficult too, are the agricultural labourers for whom land has to be found in a place where there is already a terrible shortage." 751.

BOOKS, KITS is currently in manuscript stage. It lists of several educational books by the School of Antennas, University of Hawaii, Honolulu. The book, "The Deep Sea War in Japan" which gives details of events. The School of Antennas, P.O. Box 1000, Honolulu.

U.S. Pacifist Gaoled

† Continued from first page.

A bill of \$2,500 was arranged through the War Veterans' League.

On July 30 he was indicted by Grand Jury on a charge of failing to register. Ten days later he appeared in court and was sentenced to prison.

Like his father had done fifteen years previously, Brydson Eichel stood mute. A plea of "not guilty" was entered.

His attorney, Conrad J. Lynn, who far and was granted permission to file a motion for dismissal of the case on the grounds that the Government had delayed unreasonably in the prosecution.

This motion was resisted where it came before Judge Abrams on August 11.

Sipmar was sentenced to 1 year and a day imprisonment on December 27 at Brooklyn Federal Court, by Judge Robert A. Nash.

Following his son's surprise attack, Julius Ethel issued a statement in the Post, announcing that the same government machinery and method would be the "pattern" for

Mother in the syncretist ceremony against "the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn who is the chief among, are used today on occasion.

No Blind Obedience

In a statement before his imprisonment, Seymour Katcher stated:

"The project or association objectives, namely others all live



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—ધી—

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આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીયન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ મુખ પ્રસંગે બાદે મળી શકશે.

ગોળીય અને લોલંગની સગવડ

કાપમી બોર્ડરને ખસે પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. ચોરસોમાં નવું અને આધુનિક ટબલ્સ ફર્નીચર સામવામાં આવેલું છે. રેરામાં જતાં અમર તે રેરામાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળો માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે કેશી સેવરશની સેપારી છેલ્લી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણીની ટાવ, ખારેક, પિશ્તા, અને ચાણી, વિગેરે સખીએ છીએ.

વસ્તુ અચિત્તું અથાત્તું અને સારી જાતના પાણ કુંભેમાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગ્રાઉન્ડથી રિખંડ અને કુદપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.



INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi 1912-1935

We cannot create justice by
saying the evil ways of one
another. If two men go out
robbing and one falls down, is
the other to follow suit? That
will merely result in increasing
the bones of both.—Ibid.

All men are equal before
God. Therefore to look down
upon a man because he is not
one of us is to sin before God
and Man.—Ibid.

No. 6—Vol. LV.

Friday, 15th February, 1957

REGISTERED IN THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.
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AFRICANS REJECT VIOLENCE

SOUTH AFRICA cannot become democratic while racial policies endure," Father Trevor Huddleston told an audience of over 4,000 in the Central Hall, Westminster recently.

"Opposition must take place outside Parliament because an constitutional means exist of bringing pressure to bear inside. Yet opposition becomes an offence against the State—potential treason or Communism!"

"Non-violent protests, and they have always been non-violent—I have never heard a single responsible African leader advocate violence—become occasions for police action."

Earlier Father Huddleston had surprised his audience by saying that 25 of his documents held by the South African police included his membership card of the Conservative Party.

He asked Europeans whether if Africans and Indians in South Africa, who were all Commonwealth citizens, found Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations abstaining from voting against apartheid or voting with South Africa, they could blame them for looking to the Communists for help.

He concluded, "This is a supreme opportunity of showing that the conscience of this country is not dead."

Luthuli's Message

At the beginning of the meeting a message on tape from Chief Albert Luthuli,

smuggled through to Concorde Colliery, was played. It was made just before his arrest. In it the African poet-leader said:

"The Church of Christ must boldly challenge the conscience of the rulers and

By

RONALD MALLONE

the peoples to create in their countries conditions that would bring about the realisation of Christ's programme which he entrusted to be to preach good news to the poor, peace in release to the captive—and the acceptable year of the Lord."

Other speakers included Joseph Grinsard, St P. James College, M.P., who said of the 1950 accused of treason, "These men and women are fighting your battle," and Gerald Gardner Q.C.

Mr Gardiner said the South African Government, to combat passive resistance, had passed laws by which money proved to support passive resisters could be confiscated. The Criminal Law Amendment Act made those who protested against any law liable to three years imprisonment and/or whipping

in encounters between a white and black who were married and had children made the married couple liable to sentences of five years.

Though any law causing

hostility among the races was not necessarily any protest against it was illegal "communism".

Under the 1955 Act anyone was a "Communist" if the Governor General of South Africa or the Administrator of S.W. Africa said so—"Peace News."

NEW APPROACH

MOVING his Private Member's motion in the Assembly, Mr. A. Hepple (Lab., Macclesfield) said that the time had arrived for South Africa to adopt a new approach to race relations, and to provide a forum for the exchange of views across the colour line on all matters affecting the welfare of the entire population.

It is absolutely essential, in the interests of racial harmony, that everyone should have some place where they can present their views through their chosen representatives."

The United Nations' declaration of human rights was right across South Africa's limited form of democracy and presented problems which could not be solved by unilateral action by one section of the population only.

There should be a national convention where all groups could meet and discuss the problems of the day. So far there had been no attempt to get together to discuss these problems.

The Wh. are assured that whatever they did must be accepted by the non-Europeans as "the right thing,"

while the non-Europeans looked upon the actions of the Whites with suspicion.

This Parliament was particularly isolated from the non-European and the present representation of the Africans was not as satisfactory as it could be.

The White section of the people enjoyed a normal democracy and had the redress of the ballot box if they disagreed with the Government.

White Dictatorship

But this did not apply to the non-White community, and against the 3,000,000 Whites who enjoyed this democracy there were 10,000,000 Blacks who did not.

Mr Hepple said that in the circumstances South
(Continued on page 13)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1957

Government And The Boycott Movement

IT has been announced, as we go to Press, that substantial sections of the African community in Port Elizabeth have boycotted buses in their area in sympathy with their fellowmen in Johannesburg. This move is one direct outcome of the Government's provocative attitude towards the Rand boycott.

Forwarded people in this country and overseas will remember that peaceful bus boycotts by Africans along the Witwatersrand are an old and well-tryed method of keeping the furies within manageable proportions. Alexandra Township, in particular, has a well-established tradition of resorting to the boycott to make the bus owners amenable to African reason. In short the history of bus boycotts shows that African opinion is very sensitive on the question of fares.

Thus, when the charges went up it was only natural that people should react in the only way open to them—to walk all the way from Alexandra to Johannesburg. This demonstration was most orderly and peaceful. People observed the rules of the road. No agitate routed them against White domination. Not that it was bad to tell people that White domination is evil. The workers were concerned only with getting to their jobs and at the same time determined to make it clear that they could not afford an increase in the bus fares.

Against the background of some of the things Government spokesmen had said on the treason trials, it is not surprising that the rulers saw in the boycott, not a genuine demand for relief, but a direct challenge to White supremacy, which it was not. Once the boycott was seen from this light reason would naturally be thrown in the winds. In every reasonable African who supported the boycott, the Government would see a conspiring agglomer. The Minister of Transport went into a sparkling rage and called upon all true White men—the heads of Commerce and Industry, the Schoolmaster, White Trade Unions—to stand together in the face of what he described as the Congress threat.

This unwarranted and unfair attack on the African National Congress, this imputation to the ANC of motives it did not have plus the Ministers' denials were bound to have only one effect—do give national dimensions to a dispute that was strictly local. That is what happens when responsible Ministers approach every issue affecting the African from the perspective of the bloodbath. In the interpretative diarrhoea the Minister and other Government supporters hurled at

the ANC the African community saw the Black race as a whole attacked.

It has not been denied that the African National Congress would be mutually interested in any endeavour to improve the lot of the African. If Congressmen have been among those who have played an important role in the boycott that is simply because Congressmen are very much alive to the need for reform. But to say that the anti-boycott movement has been organised by the ANC for a major demonstration of strength at this stage is a piece of wild exaggeration which can come only from people who, as the apartheidists do, wilfully refuse to see reason beyond race and colour.

It is now clear that the Minister put a wrong construction on events surrounding the boycott. From that error issued another. The Government immediately called for a virtually White front in a dispute that was strictly economic. The result of all this now is that African opinion has been shocked into seeing the boycott from a new angle. The effect of smothering threats and throwing out wild challenges has evoked in the African a prompt and definite response—as can be seen in the apathy of the Port Elizabeth community.

Let the fact be faced frankly that if the Government continue in their ostrich-like attitude the possibility is that other centres might join Port Elizabeth. Clumsy Ministerial tactics, inspired by dangerous ideological obsessions, are now converting a purely local dispute into a national crisis. Of course it suits the Government to throw the country into a mood of perpetual crisis. It can only be in this state of mind that the present transition to a fully-fledged Police State cannot be halted.

In the circumstances we wish to appeal, first to the leaders of Industry and Commerce and, secondly to the White Press, not to allow White opinion to be stampeded into seeing in the boycott something which can be tackled only by bloodbath methods. The thing to do is to continue to see in the boycott a genuine demand for relief. There are at least two feasible ways out. Either there should be a slight increase in wages to meet travelling expenses or the bus owners should be persuaded not to raise the fares. Secondly, all reasonable people should concentrate efforts on creating an atmosphere where a negotiated settlement will be possible and oppose strenuously any attempt by the Government or the Police to settle the dispute by force.

If Union Jack Goes

NON-EUROPEAN leaders have chosen to ignore the controversy around the Union Jack at the moment. While the reasons for this can be appreciated right should not be lost of what would go with the Union Jack if it went. And this aspect of the controversy is something of vital interest to every non-European.

The Union Jack is certainly not a guarantee to the man of colour that the rights, privileges and immunities

It symbolises will be extended to him. Far from it. At the same time in a situation where the area of liberty shrinks steadily is the life of the nation the Union Jack is a real symbol of hope to those who cherish the basic liberties which shine brightest in the British way of life.

These liberties the non-European wants for himself, too. To haul down the Union Jack while South Africa drifts disloyally in the direction of the Police State is to blow out one more light which flickered, perhaps dimly, amidst the deepening darkness and tyranny of the present. But it should awaken both the oppressed non-European on the one hand and on the other the European whose very future is threatened by the removal from our national life of the Union Jack, to the fact that when are being attacked now are no longer race or colour but specific values of life dear to the White or non-White democrat alike.

Recent events have shown that neither the European democratic nor the non-European working alone, has the power to defeat the tyranny of apartheid. Neither the European nor the non-European, by himself, can defend successfully at present the values they both cherish. Joint defence of these values and the way of life to which they give form is the only effective way of ensuring that the Union Jack shall not be pulled down forever.

Against this background the European who genuinely seeks to defend the Union Jack and the values it symbolises will realise that the only real guarantee of survival for the things he considers precious is to give the non-European a vested interest in their defence. From this realisation should follow recognition of the fact these values are safest where they have effective meaning for the non-European.

Thus, while it is vital for the survival of the Union Jack that the English-speaking South African should reconsider his attitude to the man of colour, it is important that the non-European should not stop merely at seeing the obvious in the Flag controversy.

New Approach

(Continued from four pages)

Africa could not be surprised at being accused of having set up a White dominion in the Union. What was worse, along the present lines, there could be no serious and useful answer or line.

No people anywhere in the world would continue to accept a position of inferiority for ever.

No nation whose extreme views are held by one side or another, the accused is to find a middle course of compromise.

"I appeal to the Nationalists and the United Party to look at this proposal in this light, and to try this experiment of getting together between all sections and see if we cannot solve these

burning questions," said Mr. Haggie.

Apartheid Could Be Destroyed

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. M. F. Verwoerd, ignored the idea of a multi-racial national co-operation to consider ways and means of attaining racial harmony, embracing fundamental rights and making the best use of all human and material resources of South Africa.

"The idea of such a co-operation stems only on the basis of creating a situation in which Apartheid could be destroyed," he said.

"It is an idea of introducing an era in which the non-European would no longer be in the position of a ward, but would be in a position to decide the future of both Black and White in South Africa."

"The non-European would be the arbiter not only of the future of the Black but of the future of the European and of White civilisation," added Dr. Verwoerd.

The Minister was replying to a Private Member's motion, introduced by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. A. Haggie (Westmeville).

The Minister said he wished to give a warning that when we were in the idea of that co-operation was not only something quite futile which could lead to nothing, but something that was positively dangerous.

Conflict

If there ever was to be conflict between White and Black it would be at such a moment, which would absolutely not only fail but would lead to increased division.

What Mr. Haggie identified stated it was equal rights for all. Mr. S. F. Wainman, U.P. (Glenwood) moved a amendment that.

"This House, while adhering to its position that the main problem of South Africa cannot be solved without the co-operation and close consultation of the White people in the first instance, and later with the non-Whites in the second instance, is of the opinion that in view of the steadily increasing rigidity of the ideological policies of the present Government, the idea of a national convention is not practicable, and in respect of the major problems between the White and Black the proper approach is that laid down in the stated policies of the United Party."

Mr. Wainman said that the United Party had advocated a

national conference or voluntary agreement in the past. They were trying to find a bridge across which people could meet to discuss these matters. They put this point of view across for years, but it was not to be.

The Government had made it abundantly clear that they wanted no consultation with their European countrymen who did not belong to their Party.

They had created the impression over the years that they regarded non-European policy and particularly Native policy as such too valuable an election weapon to risk taking it out of the Party political arena.

That was why they had become more and more reticent, until today anybody who dared to question their views was well on the way to being regarded as a Communist.

Mr. Pragjee Khandubhai Desai

WE have received the news that Mr. Pragjee K. Desai, who is an old friend of the South African, during the days of Mahatma Gandhi, and who is also one of the old friends of the South African, when it was first founded, is now present touring the Rhodesia and the Union. We wish to extend a hearty welcome to this old friend and also to wish him all the best during his brief stay among us.

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"Indian Opinion," P. Bag, Durban, Natal

Apartheid Disliked

WHEN Senator Billings said the Senate that the non-European were showing their dislike of apartheid in every possible way in the Transvaal—for example, in the bus boycott—the Minister of Labour, Sessons J. de Klerk, retorted: "You admit, then, that it is a political boycott?"

Senator Billings said he did not admit it was a political boycott. The boycott was apolitical, it was happening among the African people. To say it was making great sacrifices to show denunciation to show Walter Sisulu Africa that they were going to have a fair deal in the very near future.

The Minister of Transport had also withdrawn certain railway tickets and coaches, and had banned the sale to Africans in certain areas of all tickets except train tickets.

Attempts had been made to stop non-European life in the work, but he hoped European would also react to offer life.

The Government should have in a non-European manner and restore the status quo while consulting the non-European. If it had done this in the first place there would have been no trouble.

The Minister of Labour: You know you are talking nonsense.

Senator Billings said there had been shooting in Porters and the use of violence in the recent strike.

A boycott of the beer halls was now being launched.

"The very fact that the Africans are talking about boycotting beer halls means that another method of strike during them will have to be found or, what is only natural, your wages will have to be increased to a point where they are self-supporting."

Hardest Hit

The Africans had been hardest hit of all groups by the strike in case of living and should receive the greatest assistance.

The manager of Native Affairs in Pretoria had said the Africans could not pay the increased bus fares and that it would be useless to force an increase on them. He did not challenge the economic position outlined by the bus companies, but paying them a subsidy from the Native Levy Fund was like robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Senator L. J. Robins (Native's Representative) said that when the Government came to power in 1948 it had promised a segregationist paradise, but all it

could show was a few separate entrances in railway stations and a few separate seats in buses.

No Contact

The Minister of Native Affairs had not fulfilled his function by not having contact with the spokesmen of the African people. He knew the Minister would answer by saying that he was not going to deal with agitators. However, would expect a responsible Minister to listen to what the Africans had to say even if he did not agree with them.

The conference expressed its dissatisfaction last year by the formation of African Students on the Transvaal Report had laid out the hand of power in the Government, but the Government had refused to have anything to do with them.

China Trying For Talks On Kashmir

THE Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, called on India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute by themselves and declared that his Government was "trying to promote direct negotiations" between the two countries on the subject.

He declared that "no good result will be achieved by our forcing the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations" and expressed his "firm disapproval" of any plan to send U.N. troops to Kashmir.

Answering a barrage of questions on the Kashmir problem at a press conference in Peking Mr. Chou assured the Western Powers of "trying to expedite the dispute in order to create conditions between India and Pakistan."

Mr. Chou asked whether, as a result of his recent talks with Indian and Pakistan leaders, he felt there was scope for "direct negotiations" on the Kashmir problem between the two countries.

He said the leaders had not expressed themselves either for

the statement of the African advisory board's conference by the Minister of Native Affairs had introduced a standard of M. national behaviour which was a disgrace to South Africa.

Putting Out Story

The Nationalist Party could not go on forever putting out the story that the Whites were a superior creature and had the monopoly of Western civilisation, and that they had to save the country from Soviet Communism.

The action taken by the boycotters was the only one that could be expected from a group of people who lived a long way from their work and were then expected to carry a financial burden they could not afford.

The behaviour of the 60,000 boycotters had revealed that they had acquired one of the most important characteristics—the ability to react something they disliked on a dignified and reasonable basis to which was an example to the rest of the country.

Patriots For Peace

Frank A. Lion, M.P., writes in the London "Punch News":

I KNOW that many in the peace movement have been depressed by the faggotting of large numbers of their fellow countrymen who objected to Eden's war of aggression only when the end began to hit them personally.

Yet I am confident that the fear of war and the longing to be left alone to peace is far more widespread, particularly among the mothers. There is a great soft-war feeling waiting for a lead. When mankind itself is threatened with extinction there is precedent for believing that to other preservation the species will throw up its opposition to war.

The pacifists who like to wrap themselves in the Union Jack are not necessarily the true patriots. We who work for peace love our country too. That is why we want to free it from a Government which has taken it to us in a wajan war and has dragged the country's name to the mud.

Captain Waterhouse, speaking in the Commons, said: "We are witnessing, possibly, a return to Britain's greatness." There is a way Britain can be great—but not the way Captain Waterhouse meant. Not by war but by peace, by being the bridge between the two great blocs in East and West.

Let's have some true patriots, the parliament of Tom Price, who declared: "The world is my country."

or against such negotiations. He expressed the view that a certain "process" had to be gone through to pave the way for direct talks.

"There were certain difficulties," he said, adding that his Government was "trying to promote direct negotiations limited to settle the Western Powers to create and in self discussion" between India and Pakistan.

China Stands Firm

Mr. Chou said that even without U.S. recognition, China would "continue to exist and live quite well. The U.S. does not recognize China for him, a hundred or even a thousand years—China will not topple—she will stand on her feet still more firmly."

Mr. Chou warned Asian countries against accepting Western aid in return for certain privileges. It had had no strings attached and was on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, such help would be welcomed by all Asian, including the Chinese people, he said.

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Immigrant Indians Appeal

TWO Indian women who were given permission to enter the Union to marry and who were subsequently declared prohibited immigrants when they arrived, applied to the Supreme Court in Durban for a declaration on points reserved in an appeal to the Durban Immigration Board.

Both women entered Durban by ship on May 31, 1955, and both were removed by the immigration authorities to the central jail. There on June 3 they were issued with orders declaring them to be prohibited immigrants.

On June 4, 1955, both women were married.

Says Ravi married Ramphoor Parbh and Musini Ravi married Ashraf Damsod Rameh, both of Graham Street, Durban.

On the following day both appealed to the Durban Immigration Board against the decision of the principal immigration officer on declaring them prohibited immigrants.

The present case arises out of special points raised at the hearing of the appeal.

In statements attached to the papers, the principal immigration officer of Durban, Mr. G. C. de Wet, said that permission had been granted for the introduction of the women into the Union.

But on February 10, 1955, the Minister of the Interior had made a statement to the effect that the Government intended to prohibit the further entry of Indian women and children and would, in the near future, amend the Act to give effect to that decision with retrospective effect from February 20.

He said that on June 3 both women were served with prohibition orders. They had appealed on June 5.

The application is being heard before Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Gubbay. Mrs. J. J. Freeman, Q.C., is appearing for the women with Mr. L. Haggard, Mr. D. J. Tsoa is appearing for the Government.

by Harry Bloom in "Reynold's News" stated "hundreds of armed police are expected to man the boycott areas to 'protect' those who supposedly want to see the banter. Such 'protection' almost always leads to trouble.

"It is going to be trying because the Government is itching for an excuse to smash by force a campaign until now completely peaceful and without incident."

More Non-Europeans In Natal Studying Afrikaans

NON-EUROPEANS in Natal are studying Afrikaans in rapidly increasing numbers. This is shown by figures supplied in Maitland by an official of the Seawork Unit, which conducts the Taalbond examination in Afrikaans throughout the Union, South-West Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

There were 84 non-European candidates from Natal in the Taalbond preliminary examination held last year. The previous year there were 75 non-European candidates.

In the Lower Taalbond examination, which is equivalent to higher grade Afrikaans in the Junior Certificate, the non-European entries in Natal increased from 100 to 160. There was also a slight increase in the Higher Taalbond non-Euro-

pean entries. (Higher Taalbond is equivalent to higher grade Afrikaans in the matriculation.)

In the whole of the area covered by the examination, 4,752 Europeans and 4,097 non-Europeans sat for the preliminary examination. For the Lower Taalbond there were 4,609 European entries and 526 non-European entries.

For the Higher Taalbond there were 1,337 Europeans and 143 non-European entries.

No figures of passes are available yet, but it is understood that the candidates in the preliminary examination did "fairly well." In the Lower Taalbond the results were not so good as last year, but in the Higher Taalbond the results were very good indeed for Europeans and non-Europeans.

Black Flag For South Africa

THE London "Daily Mirror" columnist Garmichael (William Connor) said under the heading, "The Black Flag": "For once I am in agreement with the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Strijdom."

"It is worth to beat down the Union Jack, which on many important occasions in South Africa the South African flag."

"Nothing could be better in my view. Great Britain and the Jews cannot afford to be

linked up with the recent massacres."

"When the Union Jack flies, let Mr. Strijdom replace it with the Black Flag. Black is the colour of the blood he is committing against 3,000,000 South African Blacks who depriving them of their vote Black for opposing them from their homes Black for lowering their standard of education, and black for the cold, un-Christian wickedness of it all."

FROM THE AFRIKAANS PRESS

Politeness To The African Pays

RECENTLY a Boer clergyman of the Herengemeente Mission Society, who has earned much to bring his congregation the gospel, had to travel by train to the spread of his church. When he shared the ticket examiner his conversation was a clergyman, the latter rebuffed discourteously.

That manner of behaviour is undoubtedly going to antagonize the Boers against our Government. Should it surprise us if such a clergyman stirred up his congregation against the white man?

I want to tell our younger generation especially think of the future. Let us treat the Natives, even if he is black, as a human being with a soul and thereby merit our Government. Think only of how the Voortrekkers treated their natives.

When I was still a boy, my father, as superintendent of the

Wesselsburg Mission Society, had to make no exception for by no means. We outspaced at the break at Rietbosk. There Owen Williams Grobler with his dignified bushy white beard approached us through his hands and invited us to his house.

My father then had to perform divine service at the house. All the African servants were first called, and they had to take up a position on the floor to listen.

There had our forefathers treat their African servants as human beings. The children were not allowed to call the old Africans by their names. They had to call of Ann Smit and Oeta Jalo.

Let also think of the future.

To be the advice, therefore, of an 80-year-old man and treat the African properly and assist the Government.

Letter to Dr. Van der Merwe

Boycott Seen On B.B.C. Television

THE boycott by Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg Africans was graphically portrayed in millions of homes when the B.B.C. television news programme included a film with commentary depicting various aspects of the demonstration.

Great masses of Africans were shown at different stages of their long walk to and from work and European motorists were seen pulling up to offer their seats to taking the grateful Africans down near their destinations.

The commentator gave an explanation of the economics of the dispute including the cost of the boycott to the bus company and mentioned the possibility that the Government might have to subsidize it if it was unsuccessful in applying the authorized measures to them.

Reports by the B.B.C.'s South African correspondents have also been featured in the news programmes and various national newspapers have given prominence to the subject.

A report from Johannesburg

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

January 28—February 2.

metary delegation which visited Kenya in 1956.

Christian Accra's fund in connection with the trustees trials in South Africa have so far received £1,000 towards the preliminary stages of £10,000. The sponsors declared that more money was urgently needed for the fund whose purposes are to provide for the legal defence of the accused, to aid their families and dependents, and to help secure that the conscience of the world is alive to the issues at stake.

During the Committee stage of the Ghana Independence Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Oppenheim moved an amendment to delete "the provisions which would not allow the Colonial Development Corporation to start new schemes as an independent Ghana. Lord Howe (Secretary for Commonwealth Relations) rejecting the amendment, and the principle of independence must not be compromised. "The independent Commonwealth country must be able to establish that it is order-worthy in its own right, any thing which postponed that day would be a detriment to the independent country concerned."

Lord Womersley suggested that it might be possible to authorize the CDC to carry on for a period of ten years of the independence of a colonial country, provided the Government of the new Dominion accepted the corporation in perpetuity. Lord Swire asked the Government to leave the choice not set as being in legislation to amend the Colonial Development Act. Lord Moberly suggested the Government to limit to the advice given to it from all parts of the House. "We should avoid rigid rules which would prevent us from giving Ghana what she needs," Lord Howe suggested an amendment of the committee stage until Tuesday to enable the Government to consider the suggestions made. The committee stage was adjourned.

The Government is considering the suggestions put forward in the House of Lords on Thursday on behalf of the opposition party, that Ghana should still be required to secure assistance from the Colonial Development Corporation after it gains its independence in March. The committee stage of the Ghana Independence Bill will be completed on Tuesday, when Lord Howe will announce the Government's decision. It seems that Lord Howe and other Government Ministers were impressed by the Opposition arguments, and if a satisfactory formula for amending the Bill can be devised without delaying it unnecessarily (there is still much to be done before March 7), then it may well be adopted.

Wood. It means a continuation of the struggle on political and economic grounds. It could mean an alternative route for the Soviet Union to a dominant world power position. How in any case does Moscow reconcile its adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence with its practice of brutality in Hungary?

Tale Of Woe From 'Azad Kashmir'

TWELVE Kashmiri Muslim refugees who have reached the Kashmir valley by crossing the "corridor" line told Pressmen that hardly a day passed without prisoners being taken out in the Political occupied area to condemn the Pakistan Government for "having reduced the people there to starvation and servitude."

The refugees said that hundreds of Kashmiri Muslims in the area were kept in detention because the Political authorities had found that they were eager to cross into the Kashmir valley where food was cheap and many facilities were afforded to the people.

They said they were denied employment because they happened to be Kashmiri Muslims who were "looked down upon" in the Political occupied area. "We were chased by Pakistan military intelligence," they said.

One of the refugees said that he could not get even a piece of job in the Pakistan-occupied area. "My only crime was that I was a Kashmiri Muslim," he said.

Three of the refugees were taken to hospital for treatment. —PTI

Accra

THE Colonial Secretary, who is on a week-day visit to the Gold Coast, left Kumasi for further talks in the Northern Territories after a half-day's informal discussions with political and interested representatives in Ashanti where the appearance to the Gold Coast Government is considered. Welcoming him to the capital, the Asantehene, the head of the nation, said: "We are not against the C.P.P. as a party or as the Government. Myself and the other chiefs of this region are not anxious for political power, but we want to preserve our traditions and institutions. That is why we have come together as a people against the detrimental interests of the present Gold Coast Government. Now that Britain is to withdraw we wonder what future we have. We are not in a happy mood."

In reply, Mr. Laurens Boyd said he hoped his visit would be the first of many. The people of Britain were proud of their association with Ashanti. Britain greatly valued its traditions and laws but more deeply the Asantehene valued them. He would do his best to smooth out the difficulties and remove their fears.

London

The African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia has asked Mr. James Johnson, Labour M.P., to visit that territory in its quest. He has been invited by the association and hoped to start his visit during the first week in March. Mr. K. D. Kwana, secretary general of the Congress, has told Mr. Johnson that at the last annual conference of the Congress in Lusaka it was decided that a Labour member should be asked out to Northern Rhodesia "to see what is happening in this country." The executives decided that Mr. Johnson should be the guest because of the interest he had shown in the House in Rhodesian affairs and because of his attitude to Mr. Nkomo, president of the Congress, during a visit to London some weeks ago. Arrangements are also being made for Mr. Johnson to visit Nyasaland. (He was a member of the Parlia-

Soviets Goals Unchanged, 'Times Of India' Says

Bombay, February 5.

COMMENTING today on reports in the line of Communists Party boss Khrushchev, concerning Stalin, the 'Times of India' says that "Like Stalin, Khrushchev appears to be more rigid. Whatever the means, the ends of Soviet Russia remain the same."

The editor of the influential daily noted that London could feel it was often entangled by wild talking persons.

The editorial continues: "It is not to be supposed that Soviet Russia's present rulers, following in the footsteps of their predecessors, are preparing for any drastic transformation in the Communist system. Only the means differ. The end remains."

Noting Soviet efforts to "de-

fect the non-aligned countries to lean more openly on its side," by preaching peaceful co-existence, the 'Times of India' observed: "In itself, peaceful co-existence is an admirable ideal, but does it mean the same thing in New Delhi as it means in Moscow? 'We should,' as a communist wrote, 'be under no illusions as to what the term means to the Moscow leaders. It does not mean peace as we understand the

Africans Not Ready For Interpreting

THE African people had not yet reached the stage when they may be entrusted with the job of court interpretation, said Mr. Reg Mynor, chief interpreter of the West Supreme Court, when he addressed a Rotary lunch meeting in Manchester.

He said that he did not think that the Zulu bench was sufficiently developed for interpreting

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Engineering Jobs For S.R. Africans

A LONG step towards African advancement in the industrial life of the Federation is announced in South African Rhodesian "Gleaner and Harrier." Union Minister de Klerk's legislation and policy in the Union, it is said, shows a state of affairs where any job will be open to any man fit for it, regardless of race or colour.

The African labour regulations recently gazetted for wages in accompanying industry formally drew open to Africans a wide range of jobs heretofore restricted to practices to Europeans, Asians and Coloured people.

The regulations then comply with the views of the Southern Rhodesian select committee on joint trade union laws, which lasted last year to "take arbitrary exclusion of certain people from certain jobs on the grounds of race and not of merit."

It is noteworthy, too, that the regulations for the engineering industry have the approval of the union (S.R. Union) national assembly council for that industry.

Two Groups

The grades of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in the engineering industry fell into two groups. The upper group, which are fairly highly paid, have hitherto been largely reserved to Europeans, Asians and Coloured people.

The lower group demanded less skill, involved much

lower pay and have hitherto comprised wholly all the African workers.

The Government have now granted African wage rates for the first time for the upper group of grades, and level them at the same level as for other races.

Fined For Refusing Negro

A municipal judge in Stockton (California) has fined a barber 250 dollars (about £70) for refusing to cut a Negro's hair.

The barber claimed that he had not been trained to cut hair in "Negro Style."

Judge Earl Deane said a State-licensed barber "must learn to cut a Negro's hair."

Automobile, Statewide, making any discrimination by refusing to cut hair "The Way in America." Refused by all persons of unspecified nation and colour you cannot, spend your money, Where is the School of Americanism? P.O. Box 4971, St. Johnsbury.

Co-Existence Of Ideologies

Vice-President's Call

The Union Vice-President, Dr. Serpell, has declared that the "truth belongs to God while ideas belong to man," thus pointing out existence of not only diverse religions but also diverse ideologies would be possible. "Ideology need not produce discord,"

"Every nation thinks that wisdom is with it, that wisdom dies when it dies. It is this kind of proprietary right over that innumerable mystery—truth—that has created various ideological conflicts and disputes," he added.

Addressing the golden jubilee meeting of the Madras Students' College, the Vice-President de-

clared that if everyone realised that "truth belongs to God while ideas belong to man," then peaceful co-existence of not only diverse religions but also diverse ideologies would be possible. "Ideology need not produce discord."

"The world is a family of nations. No one is the sole proprietor of truth. There might be differences in the expression of truth (which is called Ideology). Each group must have the freedom to develop its own interpretation of truth. There is no democracy."

Dark-Skinned Serviceman

The serviceman said: "I'll come with you, but please take your heads off me. Remember, I am a British subject."

The policeman went into a nearby shop and placed for a "scripture" son, which ended some afterwards. The couple were ordered into the car—by this time the crowd had grown to several hundred—and driven back to their ship.

A large crowd gathered in South Street, Durban, on Monday when they heard a young policeman threaten to arrest a dark-skinned British serviceman and his white-skinned companion. Moments later the man and woman were headed into a police van. The man and his companion are travelling abroad the temporary Empire Ordeal now in Durban harbor.

When they left a white bar, the soldier and the woman were walking ahead. A policeman came up to them.

Witnesses heard the policeman threaten to arrest the couple, after telling them "Don't you know there is a colour bar in this country?"

The soldier replied to ordered English. "I am a British subject and I serve Her Majesty the Queen."

The policeman said "You are not a European."

Pakistan Cricked Team To Tour S.A.

Pakistan have accepted an invitation to send a cricket team to South Africa for a tour including three one-day test matches and two provincial tours in September and October.

A South African non-European official is expected to go to Pakistan to complete arrangements.

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A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA—K. G. Mathew	2	0			
SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARDS GANDHI Part I and Part II—Rajendra Prasad	6	0	Obtainable from:		
AMONG THE GREAT (Discussions with Gandhi, Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, J. B. Kripalani, Tagore and Sri Aurobindo)—B. K. Kumar Ray	22	0	'Indian Opinion,' P. Bag, Durban, Natal.		

Things In General

Over-Legislation

There was far too much legislation in South Africa, said the former Chief Justice, the Hon. A. van der Sandt Oortwijn, "Over-legislation breeds contempt for the law and serves to undermine our social system."

Mr. Oortwijn, who was addressing the Institute of Citizenship in Capetown, said: "Respect for the law is essential for the law is essential for the stability of the State and once that respect is destroyed the result must be chaos."

"Every legislature should first be asked that it is useless to pass laws which do not carry with them the approval of the great bulk of the people."

"The real and effective sanction for the observance of laws is not punishment, but the willingness of the people at large to submit to them for their own good."

Alexandra Township's Answer

At Alexandra Township enter laws issued at the Council and ratepayers waited to protect would-be passengers. Before a steady down broke over the township nobody got on to the bus and there was nobody for the police to protect.

This was Alexandra's answer to the Chamber of Commerce appeal to end the boycott.

Fifteen thousand people crowded the bus stop before the gates before. There were no incidents and nothing, as far as could be seen, that looked like but little satisfaction.

The boycotters shopped as they stepped out briskly on the main road, which the great majority of them have made six days' work for the last three weeks.

"Take the buses!" they said. "Now see me do that until the bus comes down!"

White Rooms For Indian Advocates

The Planning and Development Control Committee of the Durban City Council has approved in principle an application by an Indian advocate for chambers in the same building as European advocates.

It is the first application of this kind by an Indian advocate to come before the Council.

The committee took a gleeful decision "not to oppose" the application by Mr. H. E. Mall, a Natal Indian advocate, for a room to occupy a room on the

West Door of Lincoln House, Massasoit House—a building which houses mainly European advocates and Government officials.

Mr. Mall will also apply to the Group Areas Board for permission to occupy chambers in the new building. The Board is likely to hear his application in March.

Johannesburg Bar Open To Indians?

Mr. E. A. Goss, a 30-year old Balfour Indian, whose application for admission to the Johannesburg Bar is at present being "assessed," is the cause of a controversy among legal men.

Mr. Goss may be the first Indian advocate in the Transvaal. The question is: Will he be permitted to take chambers in His Majesty's Buildings with the other advocates, or will the Government prevent him from doing so, as in the case of the Transvaal's first African advocate, Mr. Philemon Fanele Dingo Ndlovu?

Legal Adviser On Group Areas

A Cape Town advocate, Mr. F. P. Roussouw, has been appointed as legal adviser on group areas—a post created recently by the Government, and the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Duggan.

Dr. Duggan said that Mr. Roussouw would be legal adviser to both the Land Tenure Advisory Board and the Group Areas Development Board.

The interesting duties as well as the complicated nature of the work of these two boards had necessitated the appointment of a legal adviser, who could give legal opinions and judicial decisions where necessary.

The function of the Land Tenure Advisory Board is to proclaim group areas throughout the country. The Group Areas Development Board buys and sells property at market value in areas due to be zoned. It was created to eliminate improper speculation in property.

Families Separated

The Union's Apartheid laws separated husbands, wives and children when 250 passengers from the Anchor Line ship *Gilgilla*, which dry-docked in Capetown, were accommodated in non-European and European hotels in the city.

The passengers were booked at the company's expense for two days at two European hotels and one non-European hotel. There were seven women passengers at the Coloured hotel whose husbands were at European hotels and two men at the hotel whose wives were at European hotels.

Two of the women each had three children at the non-European hotel and the manager of this hotel said that one husband had been accommodated with his three children while his wife stayed at one of the hotels for Europeans.

There was little comment from the men and women who had been separated. "It is the law of the country," they said, and we abide by it."

The *Gilgilla* is based for the United Kingdom from India.

Thousands Walk

Thousands of Africans walked from New Brighton Township to open (Fort Elizabeth) in the early hours on Monday when African National Congress organised a boycott of trains and buses in sympathy with the Johannesburg bus boycott. Claims were made that boycott was "90 per cent effective," but it was admitted there were exceptions. "There is no dissatisfaction over bus fares."

In Cape Town nearly 1,000 non-Europeans—mostly Africans—gathered on the Grand Parade for a three-hour meeting to applaud the Rand bus boycott and to demand the purge of "racist elements" in the police force, reports Sage.

The "Daily News" correspondent in Johannesburg says that the boycott of Alexandra Township have decided to continue the boycott, which entered its sixth week on Monday. Weekend talks on the situation, including discussions by members of Native Advisory Board, have not brought an end of the deadlock any nearer.

Nixon Going To Gold Coast

U.S. Vice President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon will fly to Africa next month to represent President Eisenhower at ceremonies marking the establishment of an independent government of the Gold Coast. Observance of the establishment of independence is to extend from March 3 through March 10. The Gold Coast will become an independent member of the British Commonwealth on March 6.

Union To Take Part In Ghana Celebrations

The Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Lowry, replying to Senator L. L. Robin (Natalist) in the Senate, said the Union will be represented at the celebration from March 3 to 10 when the new State of Ghana (the Gold Coast) is granted independence within the Commonwealth.

Asked whether he would in due course appoint a High Commissioner to Ghana, Mr. Lowry said consideration had not been given to this question.

Good relations between the Union and other African States are fundamental in the Government's Africa policy and are continually receiving attention, he added.

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— ત્યારે —

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માસ્ટર પ્રોડક્સ (પ્રા.) લીમિટેડ

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ધીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીઅન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

હમ પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીમાં માટે જમણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

બ્રાઈડીંગ અને લોહંગની સગવડ

કાચથી બોર્ડરને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિધાયિકા અને શાહુડોને પણ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. કાસમાં તે ખાસ પુરુષ વર્ગનેજ લેવામાં આવશે. ચોરસમાં નહું અને આધુનિક ડબલ હુનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉત્તરમાં માટે કુદરતને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી શેવરધની ચોપડી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ ઘણાની ડાળ, ખારેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચામેલી, વિગેરે સજીવો છીએ.

ધરતું અધિહું અધાહું અને સાચી ભૂતના પાપ હંમેશાં લઈયાર હોય છે.

એઈરથી સિખંદ અને કુદપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

Our great harvest is not
to see what lies directly at a
distance, but to do what lies
directly at hand.

—Carlyle.

INDIAN

OPINION

• Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi (1918-1936)

If people would speak about
only what they know, there
would be a great silence on
earth.

—Chinese Proverb.

No. 7—Vol. LV.

Friday, 22nd February, 1957

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KASTURBA GANDHI

ON February 22, 1944, 13 years ago, at the age of 74, Kasturba Gandhi, the wife of the late Mahatma Gandhi, left this worldly life of ours, to gain eternal peace. At the time Kasturba was a political prisoner under the British rule, in the Aga Khan

Once, during their stay in South Africa, before the Passive Resistance Struggle in 1913, Mahatma Gandhi, said to Kasturba, that she might have to go to gaol, because the Government did not recognise their marriage as it was not registered in court. Kasturba said



Kasturba Gandhi

Palace, with Mahatma Gandhi. As the helpmate of a great leader, she exercised great influence and sacrificed herself for the ideals which she represented and stood by his side in dark days as in bright. Although without very much education in the generally accepted sense of the word, Kasturba loyally followed Gandhiji and eventually caught the flame from his torch, and then, out of her own inner conviction, fought and suffered for the freedom of her country.

that she was sure she would die if she had to go to gaol. Gandhiji burst out laughing and said, that if she died in gaol, he would worship her as a Goddess. These were fateful words from Mahatma Gandhi, when he was just an ordinary advocate.

Thirteen years have gone by, but her memory is still fresh. She left a legacy which cannot be measured in gold. Her name is written on the annals of time, as one who died for the freedom of her country. Today, we honour her memory.

"COLOUR BAR DISCUSTING . . ."

—PATON

"THE colour bar is the most disgusting thing that Europe has given to us; it has corrupted a civilisation that should have brought rich and stupendous gifts," said Mr. Alan Paton, provincial leader of the Liberal Party, in Durban.

Mr. Paton was commenting on the recent incident in Durban when a visiting Coloured man and his White woman companion were apprehended by the police. On behalf of the Liberal Party Mr. Paton associated himself with the sentiments of one Mr. D. M. John, who wrote to the Press apologising to "our unhappy guests for this humiliation."

Mr. Paton said he was sure that the majority of the people of South Africa agreed with Mr. John.

"I personally was so ashamed to hear that the police had taken a Coloured seaman and his White woman companion back, to the ship on which they were travelling," he said. They were not causing us offence although it may well soon be made one for a White woman to walk with a Black man, or indeed for any White person to walk with any Black.

Mixed Races

"It is even impossible today for a visiting family of mixed races to travel together in a taxi or bus in

Durban. Such families, if they still wish to see Durban under such circumstances, must be broken up.

A short while ago a number of people sailing to India, many of whom had formed friendship with people of other races, were outraged to find that they could not visit Durban together. An influential company of Americans visiting Africa by plane were refused entry into the Union unless they left their non-White passengers outside the borders.

"I remember some years ago that Dr. William Nicol, Administrator of the Transvaal, advised all White South Africans to have at least one non-White friend.

I strongly endorse this advice, but it is mighty difficult to take. One needs courage to do it, for at any moment the police may suggest that the friendship is offensive.

Non-White Diplomats

"How does this foolish Government think that it will ever be able to entertain non-White diplomats

(Continued on page 75)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1957

Some Points To Consider In The Boycott

TWO new factors have entered the boycott situation and both necessitate a re-casting of strategy. If the boycott is to achieve its real goals. These are the government's threat to introduce legislation closing down the Alexandra bus service and the spread of the boycott to other parts of the country.

The threat is extremely difficult to understand on any grounds except against the bloodbath mentality which is so serious a handicap in the present government's approach to all problems involving the man of colour. At best it is futile and at its worst it is a piece of endemic stupidity which only people heavily handicapped by the temper of the slave owner can resort to.

For, what will happen if these buses are withdrawn from the road for good? The Africans will suffer, definitely. This prospect might cheer a government determined to put the nigger in his place. But those who will suffer most are those who employ the African worker.

Reinforce Determination

In this fight the threat emerges as the desperate resort of a government which recognises its powerlessness in the face of a situation which calls for something more resolute than the bloodbath mentality. It does not solve anything. Its chief value is that it will reinforce the people of the Rand in their determination to continue the boycott.

The spread of the boycott in other parts of the country is quite a different matter. African communities, as Mr. Gabriel Nyembe, the acting President-General of the African National Congress and recently in a Press statement, fear that the Minister of Transport's attitude will encourage bus owners everywhere to rush to raise their fares. Against this possibility the African cannot expect help from the government side, his only defence is to act in concert.

In itself this show of solidarity is magnificent. Justice will never be done to the oppressed in this country before they learn to act together in good times and bad. But while solidarity is just the thing we need to drive a little more sense into Apartheid's head, the timing of his demonstration must be inspired by a ruthlessly realistic approach.

Sympathetic Boycotts

In the first place a sharp distinction must be drawn between defensive boycotts and sympathetic boycotts. The former are defensive reactions to definite acts of provocation. While these acts remain there can be no

thought of retreating. The sympathetic boycotts are an indirect reaction and to be effective need to have limited goals.

The way the Cape is rallying to the aid of the Africans in the Transvaal is magnificent. It puts to shame the feeble response of the Free State and the inexplicable passivity of Natal. But as the Cape itself has been quick to point out, it has no quarrel with its own bus owners. The question this raises is: Is there realistic wisdom in declaring continuous warfare on the motorists? A token demonstration of solidarity is one thing—but a protracted boycott is quite another.

Where the relations between the bus owners and the users are cordial it seems to us that sympathetic boycotts should confine themselves to being token demonstrations extending only over a given period and not beyond. This strategy would have a number of important advantages—it would preserve clarity on the issues at stake where the government is doing its best to confuse them for purposes of breaking the boycott. Secondly, it would not saddle innocent and perhaps sympathetic companies with irretrievable losses. Over and above all it would be clear proof to everybody that the people who lead the boycott are responsible; can exercise effective control over it and that the boycotters are not, as the government is representing them, a rabble of people with no regard for law and order.

No Riots

The last point is one which leaders of the African National Congress would do well to consider very seriously against the background of the Transport Minister's obviously provocative attitude. These boycotts must under no circumstances be allowed to get out of hand. The people must under no circumstances allow themselves to be stampeded into riotous situations. One effective way to do this is not to lead them out in boycotts which will drag on indefinitely as if they have no clearly-defined goals.

This, in turn, raises the important question of morale—a consideration which will also weigh heavily with both the leaders of the boycott and the ANC. But this can be met by the technique of calling off the boycott for a while and then launching it again, on and off, until the bus owners see reason along the Rand.

There is another consideration against a continuous sympathetic boycott. Its leaders, together with the ANC, rightly deny that it is an anti-White demonstration. The convincing proof that it is not this is not to threaten friendly White companies with financial ruin for the mistakes of unsympathetic White companies elsewhere. If sympathetic White companies are confronted with the prospect of ruin in exactly the same way as those in the Transvaal the boycotters will find it hard to convince impartial observers that they are not fighting a class or racial war.

Vital Questions

These are questions of strategy—but they are vital in a situation which the government hourly tries to confuse.

S.A.I.C. On Durban Medical School

THE South African Indian Congress has issued a statement strongly condemning the Government move to transfer the Durban Medical School from the University of Natal to the Native Affairs Department.

"The Indian Congress," says the statement, "was totally opposed to the establishment of a separate Medical School for non-Europeans in Natal when the idea was first mooted. We had made representations to the Government at the time pointing out the grave danger which apartheid would eventually lead to for we foresee the emergence of a 'Jim Crow' institution."

"Our fears have now been fully justified. The first step was a segregated school but the Institution was shut under the University of Natal and it had drawn to it as members of staff men of outstanding ability and idealism who were bent on making the Durban Medical School a model medical school in the country. And now comes the second step, which will nullify all the good work done by the staff of the

Medical School.

"We fully share the fears expressed by the University of Natal and by right-thinking people throughout the Union. We condemn the present move of the Government and criticize any suggestion that an education and in particular in university education there can be no room for segregation and colour bars."

"We want the University of Natal that its own policy of segregation calls for a drastic review so that its own acceptance of academic segregation does not give the government the lever it requires to enforce the principles of Bantu Bachelors at the University level."

"Now is the time for all South Africans to come together in total opposition to the Government's new move against the Durban Medical School."

What Will Strijdom Do When Ghana Wants To Join Commonwealth

THOUGH the Union Government has decided to send official representations to attend the celebrations in connection with the independence of the Gold Coast (Ghana), the supreme test for the new direction in the Union's "Africa policy" is yet to come—when the Gold Coast applies for membership of the Commonwealth.

In stark contrast with Dr. Malpas's attitude of outright condemnation of independence for "barbarians," also his forebodings over what the "ill-considered British experiment" in the Gold Coast can eventually mean for the Union, the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, has consistently voiced a policy of "live and let live."

Beyond confirming that the Union will be represented at the independence celebrations, the Government has not stated the major any further.

In the present context a statement by Mr. Strijdom in the Senate last year is, however, of significance.

"South Africa could not possibly interfere in Britain's affairs on the Gold Coast but where South Africa might have a say is when an attempt is made to include any country in the Commonwealth which the South Africa does not wish to officially develop to become a member. Do such a matter South Africa's voice will be heard if the occasion ever arises."

Perhaps the biggest diplomatic and political question is whether South Africa will think that the "localisation" which the Gold Coast asks for Commonwealth membership.

South Africa's attitude might, at the same time, have a profound effect on the decision by the Gold Coast whether or not to apply for membership of the Commonwealth.

A rebuff from the Union could have the effect of driving the Gold Coast into the arms of President Nasser of Egypt.

—Natal Witness—

"Colour Bar Disgusting . . ."

(Continued from front page)

In the United. They will be welcomed at any time, or they will suffer this disgusting discrimination. If they do not suffer then they will read of others who do. I do not offer tolerance for the abuses of keeping any non-White diploma in South Africa.

"Our interference serves to desperately assist to reduce many of the abuses that develop abroad about South Africa. They pour out thousands of pounds to do it, but one story of 'boredom' without all the work. People say

"If that is what we happen, something must be badly wrong." I would like to say a word to those White people who support the policy in this union and think that they are defending White women's because of something of the sort.

"If one can only defend White women's honour by humiliating people of colour, why do men on their complicity, who has men's values confused. I look forward to the day when the Colour bar will be a nightmare of the past."

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Doctors Oppose Medical School Transfer

An Act Of Piracy

THE Government's decision to separate the Durban neo-Burghers Medical School from the University of Natal was described as an act of piracy unprecedented in the history of the Western dominions world by one of the largest meetings ever held by the Medical Association of South Africa, Natal Coastal Branch, in Durban.

The Association sent a strongly worded telegram to the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, Mr. J. M. Viljoen, stating that it would be impossible "to co-operate with any authority other than the University of Natal in the staffing of the Medical School."

This means that the Government are likely to find it difficult to staff the Medical School even with men of inferior academic status, according to the chairman of the Medical Information Committee of the Natal Coastal Branch of the Medical Association.

"Courageous Decision"

The chairman said: "If the decision of the Natal coastal branch of the South African Medical Association is heeded by the majority of the doctors and academic medical staff on the eastern seaboard, it is highly likely that the Government will find it impossible to implement their project."

He described the protest by the staff of the Medical School as "an historic and courageous decision."

The full text of the telegram sent to Mr. Viljoen reads:

"At an emergency meeting of the Natal Coastal branch of the Medical Association of South Africa, which was instrumental in the establishment of the Durban Medical School, it was decided to protest most vigorously at your intention to remove the school from the aegis of the University of Natal."

"Having due regard to the implications of the mixed status proposed by the Government, the branch will find it impossible to co-operate in any way with any authority other than the University of Natal in the staffing of the Medical School."

At The Meeting

The chairman of the Medical Information Committee told "The Natal Mercury" that among those present in the packed emergency meeting, were representatives of the medical faculty of the University, specialists from various branches, and general practitioners.

He said: "The question of the taking over of the Medical School by the Government was described as an act of piracy."

"It was pointed out that it was only from 10 to 15 years ago that the Medical Association of this area began the work of establishing a Medical School."

"It has always been the aim that the Medical School should be comparable with any in the world."

Associations

"In order to maintain that high standard," he said, "the Medical School should come under the aegis of the University. It is impossible to divorce medical education from other forms of education, where the staff and students have the benefit of association with men of learning, and of science, in other fields; not only that, but also the association with scholars from overseas universities."

He said: "If the school, is to be administered directly or indirectly by the State then its status in the eyes of medical men in this country will be worthless."

"For that reason the Government are likely to find it difficult to staff the school even with men of inferior academic status."

Had Been Warned

At the meeting he was given a full outline of what had led up to the Government's present action. He was told that Government representatives had been warned of the very serious implications that their action would have.

"Although they were warned of the full implications they were nevertheless determined to go ahead with their plan."

"The medical Association gave full support to the recent strong protest by the heads of the seven departments of the Faculty of Medicine through their co-operation and historic decision."

He said that the Government's decision was unprecedented in the history of the Western dominions world.

"Medical education must be entirely political and must be integrated with other education. It cannot be isolated."

Recruitment

"Another implication of the Government's action is that it most inevitably affects the recruitment of house surgeons, house physicians and registrars whose services are essential to the running of a hospital such as King Edward VIII."

"If the decision of the Natal Coastal branch of the South African Medical Association is heeded by the majority of other doctors and academic medical staff in this country—which is highly likely—then the Government will find it impossible to implement their proposal."

Cruz Of Matter

He said that the crux of the matter was this: "In a medical school administered by a govern-

ment, the professional interests, chemical, research and other will come under the aegis of their own peers, and their learned head is the principal of the university."

"What sort of teaching staff is going to be willing to place itself under the rule of a Government—no matter how good that Government?"

"No man worth his salt is willing to be directed in his professional capacity except by his peers."

"For that reason, if the action of the Medical School is changed, there can be no doubt that it will lower the standard and cause to such a dangerously low level that it is doubtful whether it will continue to exist," he said.

Some People Have Funny Thoughts On African

JAN BURGER, a regular columnist in the Johannesburg "Star" and reviews developments in the African community. The following discussion of a letter-writing campaign provides enlightening reading:

Pessimist

Africans are not just feeling about the African question. So many magazines and journals they are paying serious attention to the future. The "Broadway," the biggest African weekly magazine in the country, has just asked its readers how they picture South Africa and its racial situation in a hundred years' time and some frank, revolutionary answers poured in.

The magazine states in its latest issue: "Most letters revealed an underlying fear about non-White domination while a surprising majority expect the complex eclipse of the White man at the southern point of Africa."

A reader from Johannesburg (just Kimberley) is convinced that Coloured people will be found behind curtains in 100 years and they will also be hotel owners. In his mind's eye he also sees a African sitting in a rocking chair in a luxury residence while a White woman is served by the African's wife.

"Gold-mines will be in the hands of Coloureds and when a White man enters a church as African minister will conduct the service."

A South African even is more pessimistic. He predicts a blood bath between White and non-White at the turn of this century. The African race and White civilisation will disappear altogether.

The official language, according to the reader, will be "Suid-Afrikaans," a combination of all the African languages.

The editor, however, awarded first prize to the letter written by a woman from Port Beaufort, in which she said that the development of the African cannot be halted.

"In 100 years we will have to accept it that the Africans will control their own post offices, schools, banks, churches, etc."

"The Bantu aren't striving for equality, only for equal efficiency. To realize this equal efficiency, the Africans will utilize any method. Their aim is innovation and education and they will accept any method although they may not agree with it."

"As far as political affairs are concerned, I do not believe the Africa will be satisfied with separate representation. He will control his own parliament which will control matters relating to his own people."

Professors Say University Is Affronted

Medical School Staff Protest At Transfer

As the Government intended to go back on assurances concerning the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Natal (the non-European Medical School) there could be no foundation of trust between the University academic staff and the authorities now governing higher education in South Africa, said a statement issued by the heads of seven faculties at the Medical School.

The statement said: "The University of Natal authorities requested that until the special meeting of the University Council had been held on February 15, 1957, we should refrain from making any public statement of our views on the intention of the Government to remove the control of the Faculty of Medicine from the University of Natal. We are now in a position to make some observations.

"When we joined the staff of the University of Natal to initiate this new faculty, we did so because we believed that this University would ensure full academic development and the maintenance of a high standard of medical education.

"These objectives have in fact been achieved and the curriculum of study approved by the University Council and the South African Medical and Dental Council has been issued on the basis of modern trends in medical education.

"The student body includes Africans from various States of Southern Africa, as well as Africans, Coloured and Indian students from the widely scattered parts of the Union.

"In spite of the initial suspicion of the student body and the non-European public generally as to the quality of a faculty which did not include European undergraduate students, a basis for confidence has been developed. Within a short time, a considerable degree of trust has been established between staff and students.

"The foundation for this trust was provided by the inclusion of this faculty within the academic structure of a recognized university.

A Challenge

"Without reservation either with the University of Natal or members of its academic staff, the Government has decided to change the status of the faculty. This disregard of the university structure, in our view, is a serious challenge to university education in general, and as direct to our University in particular.

"While there has been an Government statement as to

which authority will in fact assume control of our Medical School, it is significant that the University of South Africa has been asked to become the examining body and to award the degrees only.

The University of South Africa claims for external students only. Furthermore, it has been reported in the Press that the relevant Bill is to be introduced by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, and not by the Minister of Education, who must now have been the responsible Minister in respect of higher education.

Unpublished Report

The Minister of Education has stated that the decision to change the status of this faculty was reached on the basis of a report by a committee of Government departments. Neither the University authorities nor any member of its academic staff were interviewed by this inter-departmental committee. Equally disturbing is the Minister's refusal to make public this committee's report.

"We regard this action as being particularly deplorable in the light of the history of the establishment of our Medical School and the intercommunal efforts made by the University of Natal over the past 10 years.

"When relations between a Government and a University reach the stage at which there is no confidence on matters of vital concern to the university, the democratic foundation essential for the development of a free university education no longer exists.

Assurances previously given are apparently no longer valid. That, at the official opening of the new medical school buildings on July 5, 1955, the present Minister of Education emphasized that the Government would not interfere with the university's development of this faculty.

"If transfer of the control of the faculty, without any consultation with the university, is not regarded as interference, then, indeed, moral values have little further meaning. In these circumstances, there can be no foundation of trust between

university academic staff and the authorities now governing higher education in the country.

"In the absence of this basic trust, and with the separation of this faculty from a free university environment, we see little possibility of carrying out the intent of the policy which motivated us in joining the University of Natal."

The statement is signed by

J. Gordon (Dean and Professor of Pathology), E. S. Adams (Professor of Medicine), Duth Gieken (Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology), Theodore Gillies (Professor of Physiology), A. R. Kark (Professor of Surgery), Sidney L. Kark (Professor of Social, Preventive and Family Medicine) and J. A. Kien (Professor of Anatomy).

Convocation Head Condemns Move

The University of South Africa, to which the Government proposed transferring the non-European Medical School at Durban, included among White graduates and the position would thus not be altered at all, Mr. E. G. Kewney, president of the Convocation of the University of Natal, said in a statement.

Mr. Kewney said in a statement to the "Natal Mercury" that the Government's decision did not alter the position of the non-European students at all except that it would convert their allegiance to a different state without any reference to academic segregation.

The decision would receive the strong censure of the convocation. The University of Natal fully associated itself with the attitude of the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

Retrograde

This policy of racial segregation in universities was regarded by outstanding persons in the academic world as completely retrograde. It was now to be extended to the University of Natal by the Government's arbitrary decision to divorce the non-European Medical School from the University.

Mr. Kewney said that the Government had made it an explicit condition to its acceptance of the change in the financial responsibility for the school that the school was to be used exclusively for education of non-Europeans in medical service.

Despite this questionable plea of bailing up, involving the tampering with the universally accepted principle that a university had the sole right to determine what student it would admit, the University accepted the point and temporarily accepted this condition, he stated.

No Violation

Mr. Kewney added that although the convocation had such year consistently challenged the policy of racial segregation in the university it

could not be alleged that the Medical School had at any time violated the racial policy embraced by the present Government.

The Medical School has been a composite which had, within the limits laid down, been the best possible. To divorce the school now from the university and in effect make it a Government department, and thus without the obvious expediency or courtesy of a discussion with the University Council, must receive the strong censure of the Convocation.

The CATA Case

In view of the fact that more than fifty African teachers had been dismissed from their posts since the passing of the Bantu Education Act, without any reasons being given for all cases, any action for the teachers concerned, the Cape African Teachers' Association brought the matter of the dismissal of two of their teachers before the Supreme Court at Grahamstown. This Court has now ruled that these dismissals are null and void. The Cape African Teachers' Association has therefore instructed lawyers to apply for the reinstatement of the other fifty teachers who were similarly dismissed.

The two teachers in question have claimed a total of £275 arrears salaries for the period during which they were unlawfully dismissed. Should the other fifty do likewise, the amount to be paid to them might be more than £5,000.

We forecast another amendment to the Bantu Education Act.

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Sabra And Indians—V

THE last of the six papers read at Sabra's January conference last year was a thoughtful demand by Dr. P. J. Meyer for "drastic" Government action against Indians. There was no promise of non-violence, or pseudo-altruism. Dr. Meyer doesn't like the Indians, will not accept them as part of this country's population and will do so very bluntly. He would have been thoroughly at home at any Nizkorist Party rally proposing one of those city-clearing resolutions that "all our Indians be put in one large ghetto where parents can prey on parents."

Dr. Meyer once held a prominent position in the Ottawa Boarding and was a spokesman for that organization. He has lost both of its attributes, though he has acquired a superficial veneer of authority. He is also the Johannesburg public relations officer for a group of Afrikaans companies. In this role he inevitably typified the "pink" intentions of certain white businessmen towards India: commercial interests, in which Mines, Crops and Livestock (referred to by the Indians of West Rhodesia conference a week earlier) as designing the Group Areas Act "to make room for the incoming Afrikaner trader and urban businessmen in the field who wield more political power than the Indian minority."

With a following dispersed by the bombing, their characteristic areas of the earlier Sabra papers Dr. Meyer seldom brought in. "Indian Communism" was particularly responsible for "mobilizing the dark forces behind the scenes against the coloured minorities of white minorities in Africa." Nor did Dr. Meyer say any distinction between Indian Bantu, so-called Communists, the lot of whom (he had, apparently) little influence on the powers of the Indian government. Coming nearer to the title of his paper—"The Political Position of the Indian in South Africa"—Dr. Meyer seemed his listeners that both the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress were "controlled by Communists." This is, of course, perfectly true. Mr. Swart has stated, based on privileged access of the leaders of these organizations as "Communists." But then Mr. Swart's use of language is prodigious and anyone is a Communist whom Mr. Swart declares as such. This does not, therefore, advance us much further. In fact, the one

or two genuine Communists in their organizations neither "control" nor "dominate" and are therefore irrelevant to their ideology as party line but to their uncompromising opposition to the colour bar and the Government's racial policies. This latter attitude is increasingly and inevitably shared by nearly all Indian Congress leaders, as the Nizkorist newsletter tells on its November cover.

C. W. M. GELL

It does not, therefore, require any special intelligence to report that the growing Indian awareness of their solidarity with Africans and Coloureds is not due to "Communism," that their alliance with the African National Congress (even here "Communist-controlled," despite Dr. Meyer's accusation) is a natural corollary of the pressure both Indians and Africans are being subjected to by the demand for "equal political rights" is not a typically "Communist" demand but the ideal of all free men, and the ideal for which our own freedoms due to hand down to us; that the requests to UN and others are not motivated by "Communist" aspirations, but are the immediate consequence of mistreating our Indians as "an alien element." Dr. Meyer further alleged that the idea of a common area where (even) was "directly inspired from India." It is a pity that Mr. Meyer has told Indian students in Africa that he has no sympathy for any demands they make on their own behalf that do not include the indigenous African population in their objectives. But the statement was addressed to B. A. Africa. In the Union, since the Nizkorist came to power and the Dutchies now shared Indian and Africa politicians the impact danger of wilderness ignored on by domestic rule makes, the co-operation has been unnecessary. This was a political leader recognized in necessity before Mr. Nizkorist spoke, though his words may have been to convince the dominating hand of individual opportunists that their hand was a Yashorog against the Nizkorist "mixed pack."

Dr. Meyer's main theme was that "friendly co-operation" between Europeans and Indians in the Union would only be possible

if "drastic action" were taken on the following lines:

- (1) Indians to enjoy only "basic rights" in South Africa, over the other rights of established communities.
- (2) Indians should return to India and Pakistan as soon as possible and that Europeans would have to "help" pay for it.
- (3) Indians to sell the properties they own in "European Areas" as soon as possible and then "try to get their own residential areas with the help of the Group Areas Board."
- (4) Indians to make "a definite start" in reducing their commercial activities.
- (5) "Measures to investigate the possibility of and plan reasonable ways for the Indians to make a living while they were temporarily

"using the hospitality of this country."

After all I have written on the subject in these columns this last six months, I hardly think I need analyse these apparently one-sided proposals in detail. I am tempted to ask Dr. Michel Palmer of the Institute of Race Relations to do down with them, before he and suggest to the Indians how they should undertake the negotiations he urged on them with the Union Government, using this five-point plan for suicide as a starting point. However, let me record that at the Sabra conference Mr. F. J. Moll, a lecturer at Pretoria University, found Dr. Meyer's proposals "naïve and obvious." And the Rev. C. M. de Villiers from the Rand thought that "the Indian problem cannot be solved by traditional democratic methods. I fully support Dr. Meyer's recommendation for more drastic action, though I realize I am opening the way for more action than we are a police state." I think I may leave it there.

(To be continued)

Schoeman Unwilling To Meet Africans; To Sanction Wage Increments—But Police Ready

THE Minister of Transport, Mr. S. J. Schoeman said that the Government did not intend to hold further talks with African leaders in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth as an attempt to end the bus boycott.

He was replying to questions put by Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn (D.P., Verreiging) in the House of Assembly.

The Minister said that the Government did not intend to introduce as emergency measure allowing employers to pay the increased fares for their African employees.

Employers had suggested that in order to avoid future boycotts the principles contained in one of the measures might be reconsidered.

This measure requested employers to pay their servants as much as equal to increments made for public transport.

"I indicated that I was not prepared to introduce legislation to compel employers to increase wages."

"If the employers voluntarily decided to increase the wages of their employees it was their concern," Mr. Schoeman said.

Dealing with the recent talks with influential Africans who belonged either to the African

National Congress or the boycott movement, he said that the more suggestions had been unacceptable to him and his Department did not contemplate further talks.

The suggestion was that the bus company P.U.T.C.O. should be allowed to revert to the old fare pending the outcome of a thorough investigation of the position.

Mr. Steyn also put a question to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. B. Swart, on police preparedness for those who did not wish to boycott.

Mr. Swart assured the House that such preparations were being given.

"Special police units have been allocated to the routes of these buses which are being boycotted to ensure effective protection to Africans who wish to use the buses."

Landlords were also being cautiously persuaded to permit the boycotters.—Natal Mercury.

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Drill Hall Diary

(8-2-57 To 15-2-57)

AT the end of the 26th Court day this year, the Crown had handed in 8,731 exhibits—documents and books—at the Drill Hall, Johannesburg, where the Tsimane are proceeding before Mr. Wessels, the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

Below we give in brief the day-by-day happenings from Friday the 8th February 1957 to Friday the 15th February 1957—

Friday 8th February, 1957 :

281 documents handed in, being the highest number of exhibits up till now. After 9 o'clock witnesses had given evidence and leave-taking proceedings while Crown is dealing with the Rev. D. C. Thompson. When leaving resumed by agreement with the defence evidence is no more led but documents are handed in in such order and numbers as had been sent.

Under this new procedure much time is saved. The total number of documents handed in from Rev. Thompson reaches the highest since—173—leaving the present highest record of Mr. L. Boreman by 147 exhibits.

Monday, 11th February 1957:

618 documents added from 18 accused in the Tsimane are handed in under the new procedure. The lowest score is Member of Parliament Les Werthe with only 3 exhibits. The Crown complains the Tsimane accused and at 10.30 a.m. commences with Cape accused. Miss Ruth Pitt of Transvaal starts 113 while no one from the Cape enters a court.

Tuesday, 12th February 1957 :

Court commences late in order to enable the Cape accused to check their lists of documents with the Crown. In all the Crown hands in 252 documents added from 18 Cape accused, included among them is Professor Z. K. Matthews, Rev. C. J. Collins and Mr. Matthews. He was from the Cape stores a court. The Crown takes account at least to send transcripts from the day-log documents added from Professor Matthews.

Wednesday, 13th Feb. 1957:

The Crown hands in 362 exhibits added from 9 accused in the Cape Province and one accused from the Transvaal. Most of the Cape accused send a court.

Thursday, 14th Feb. 1957:

The Crown hands in 521 exhibits—books and documents—

added from 14 accused in Natal. Included among them were G. Harbison scoring 131, Albert J. Lubell (57), Stephen Dlamini (175), K. M. Moseley (75), Dr. M. M. Moseley (17), Billy Nair (41), A. Nyikhe (147), and V. S. M. Pillay (35).

Friday, 15th Feb. 1957:

The Crown hands in 100 exhibits being books and docu-

ments added from 18 Natal and Orange Free State accused. Among the Natal accused were D. A. Sinden with 75 documents, M. B. Yengies (25), David Shale (35) and Dorothy Shale (50).

When the Court adjourned at 12.30 p.m. to reassemble on Monday the 18th February, the only Natal accused whose documents had not been dealt with are Dr. G. M. Naidoo and Messrs. J. C. Mee, N. T. Naidoo, P. N. Simelane and M. P. Naidoo.

vehicles travelling outside the Leslie Buth Avenue were also being "blacked-out"...

We suggest that all members of the community who wish to register their personal protest against injustice, intolerance or inhumanity make it their business to transport Africans away from the township. A spontaneous show of this sort may provide time for people to not force to settle the laws, to give the African non-violence movement that the Government has not made a complete denial of his sacred Christian values.

S.A.I.C. And The Buss Boycott

THE South Africa Indian Congress welcomes the well-reasoned statement issued by Mr. G. S. Dlamini Nyikhe, Acting President-General of the African National Congress, clearly setting out the issues involved in and the attitude of the A.N.C. towards the bus boycott," says a statement issued by the S.A.I.C.

The statement continues: "We give our wholehearted support to the stand taken by the African National Congress for we are of the firm belief that the boycott is an expression of the common grievances of the African people, to whom a policy like in transport constitutes a very heavy burden."

"It is the duty of the Indian

people of South Africa to understand fully the implications of their magnificent demonstration against economic hardship which the Africans more than any other individual suffers in the Union. The boycott has been carried out peacefully and non-violently with dignity in the face of grave provocations by the police and the Minister of Transport."

Lifting Boycotters Gives Time For Reason

A LETTER to the "Rand Daily Mail" shows the non-violence "TWO" were:

Mr. Dlamini Nyikhe stated that from boycotting the bus boycott are simple, however tangled the present situation. The facts are the bus company cannot operate economically unless fares are raised by 10%, the bus strike is the most serious, and we should the same demand because that this appeared the answer. The African movement, therefore, raised their voice with the only means of protest open to them—the boycott.

We cannot believe that any person, of whatever colour or political faith, would be prepared to carry in his daily duties and trades as much as a day before he has the strongest conviction of the righteousness of his cause.

The official attitude to the Africans' protest, openly expressed by Mr. Dlamini Nyikhe, and less openly by the police, is, we consider, fundamentally at its most explicit.

We Europeans are proud of the claim that our way of life is based on Christian democracy, and that we are an upholder of Western civilisation and values. The one certain basis of Western civilisation is its tradition of justice for all men: its tolerance of opposition, and its respect for the moral obligations to one's fellowmen which are inherent in Christianity.

If we cherish this precious heritage it is not our duty to protest against inhumanity, to be discriminated against. While or Black? There are, of course, many ways of protesting here in the European (in contrast to our African communities).

Common sense, industrial, industrial revolution of modern times, public-spirited men and women have attempted to solve the economic difficulties underlying the boycott. For what of the "men on the street"? That he wishes to express his disapproval of the official attitude to the boycotters is obvious. We need only quote the fact that, on January 31, "...one out of three

An Apology Letter To The "Natal Mercury"

Sir,—May I, as a White South African, say your columns a public apology to the victim in our city—a Coloured British schoolboy and his European companions—who were publicly humiliated in South Street a few days ago by the police.

It is unfortunate that this statement should come from a mere private citizen, and not from responsible authority. But we know that no official apology will be forthcoming, because an acceptance of identical responsibility was also admitted the possibility of being wrong. It is important that our victims should not seem that we are alone of Durban, by our silence, conscious in the million treatment they have suffered.

I should like our citizens to realise that although it may seem that the situation is bleak, in fact it is White South Africa which has been humiliated and not to shame by this incident.

May I express the wish that our victims will not feel too humiliated by their membership of our traditional hospitality to return to our country, and that when they do, the spirit of the Coloureds, the African in human dignity and the dignity of Christian unity, will be a lightness of the past.—D. M. JONES.

Anti-racial young men can quickly turn high values to something, and something, however, something. Every one of us should be educated to be a better person, and every one of us should be a better person. The School of Antiracism, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

February 19-1957

MR. J. H. LOYD, an adviser to the Bank of England, will arrive in Nigeria shortly to study and report on the problems involved in the Nigerian Federal Government's plan to establish a central bank and to introduce a Nigerian currency.

A message from ex-Chief Luthuli which was telegraphed two days before the South African police arrested him and then "smuggled" to Botswana, was heard at a meeting in London recently. The message, suggested by Christian Action, was to support of the people served in South Africa for alleged treason. The message was: "I speak as one belonging to an oppressed group—the non-white in the Union of South Africa—where discriminatory laws, in growing numbers, are bearing heavily on non-white. We are witnessing a further curbing of the apartheid policy of the Union Government in the limited and arbitrary manner less enjoyed hitherto by non-white. The systematic displacement of people from their long-established homes, and the mounting harassment of people who protest against these and other measures of injustice, are the order of the day. But we are not despairing. We are encouraged in our struggle for freedom by setting our stand at opposing apartheid, motivated by the justice of our cause, and the unbroken growth of the freedom front in our country. It is also encouraging to us to see that we are attracting the support of such organisations as yours. I wish to say in all sincerity how much we appreciate this support we are getting from Christian Action and from other Churches and similar agencies in many lands. Long live justice and free play! Long live freedom. Long live Africa!"

CAROL L. JOHN COLLIER, chairman of Christian Action, explained that the tape message had to be "smuggled" but because ex-Chief Luthuli feared the mail was being intercepted.

Paris

Something very like parliamentary government will be introduced in each of the 26 provinces which make up

French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa as a result of the debate which went on in the Assembly and which induced the Government to make some important concessions. The council of government which was originally to include 5 nominated and 5 elected members will instead be entirely elected. A sharp division became apparent between two groups of African deputies in the National Assembly. The African Democratic Rally, represented in the government by a deputy for the Ivory Coast, welcomed the development of provincial institutions rather than institutions for French West Africa and F.E.A. as a whole. The leader of the Overseas Independents, a deputy for Senegal, on the other hand criticised the government's proposal for not developing self-governing institutions for the whole of each of the two big areas with their capitals at Dakar and Brazzaville. He accused the Government of "colonisation." French Africa and of basing the new institutions on a racial basis. The new institutions for Madagascar follow a slightly different pattern. There there are to be not only 6 provinces with local assemblies and provincial councils but also an assembly and a council of government to deal with the affairs of the whole island.

Ghana

When the committee stage of the Ghana Independence Bill was resumed in the House of Lords, Lord Pannik and the idea of redrafting the Bill had to be ruled out. It was understood in Ghana that, once independent and no longer of colonial status, it was natural and right that colonial development funds should not be available for them. The British Government, however, could and should help where there was need of such help. The opposition amendment was defeated, and the Bill was read a third time and passed.

The deadlock over constitutional reform in Ghana has been broken thanks to the good offices of the Colonial Secretary and the stewardship of the Ghana Leader. The White

Paper issued by the British Government draws a picture of negotiation and conciliation conducted in the calm of time. The main issue arose over the proposal for a constitutional amendment. The solution found is that certain sections of the constitution are to be untouched. While other clauses can be amended by a two-thirds vote in the Legislature

along the entrenched clauses (which refer among other matters to the position of regional assemblies and chiefs, to the public service and the judiciary) can be amended only with concurrence of at least two-thirds of the regional assemblies. The danger of a breakdown between the main political parties has been averted.

Israel Demands "Tangible Guarantees," Eban Tells Dulles

Washington.

ISRAEL'S Ambassador Abba Eban declared after meeting with Secretary of State Dulles that the Israeli Government continues to demand "concrete and tangible guarantees" against the renewal of conflict in Gaza and the Gail of Aqaba and before Israel withdraws her troops.

After discussing the Middle East situation for 70 minutes with Secretary Dulles, Ambassador Eban told reporters that "a verbal assurance" by Egyptian President Nasser would not be enough.

Asked what Colonel Nasser would have to say or do to satisfy Israel, Eban replied:

"We stand for non-belligerency, free navigation, and a new order—a new deal—in our relations with our neighbours in Gaza and elsewhere."

Eban said he would then talk things to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

While the Israeli Ambassador was conferring with Mr. Dulles, Hammarskjöld was reporting to the UN in New York, that he had made no progress in the deadlock situation and sought new instructions from the UN.

Eban told reporters that he brought "an new proposal" to Mr. Dulles. He had a "no comment" when asked if he delivered a message from Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion.

"I have had no exchange of views with the Secretary of State on the problems which we have been discussing in the UN," Eban said. "I refer to the Gail of Aqaba and Gaza, the question of troop withdrawal, and the question of measures to avoid the recurrence of conflict."

Eban, answering questions about economic sanctions, said he is "not aware of any such proposal" having any status. The subject was not discussed with Mr. Dulles, he added.

Apartheid Serves Highest Interests Of All

WHITE men and Black men are locked in South Africa more or less at the same time and neither could claim birthright to the existence of the other. The South African Ambassador, Mr. Wessels de Fries, told the English-speaking Union in Washington.

"We both belong and we both have the right to stay and to have our lives in peace."

"The policy of separate development or of apartheid serves the highest interests of the various communities."

An erroneous assumption is that the Black man is being exploited to serve the White man's ends, whereas the truth is that members in the white of Africa is so much being done as in the Union for the education and uplift of the Bantu, for his economic and social betterment, and for his training to fit him-

self into the pattern of modern life which includes training to assume responsibility for exercise of political rights within his community.

"And members in the white of Africa does to receive higher wages, more for man and job for job, than he does in the Union."

"Wherever is there greater understanding of his needs or of his wants and a more sincere desire to help him to develop that which is best in him?"

R. VITHAL

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— ત્યારે —

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આપો દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીયન મોજન મળી શકશે.

હાલ પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણીની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હાલ શુભ પ્રસંગે માટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને લોજીંગની સગવડ

કાવધી બોર્ડીંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિવાહીઓ અને રજાઓને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર યુરોપ યાત્રાને લેવામાં આવશે. બિરાદીઓમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક હાલતું ફર્નીચર સાવવામાં આવેલું છે. રેશમાં જતાં અથવા તે રેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળો માટે કુકરને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અથે રેશી સેવરની ચોખ્ખી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ ઘાઘુની ઘાઘ, ખારેક, પિરણ, અને બારેલી, વિગેરે તાપ્તિએ ડીલે.

ધરતું આધિલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતની પાપડ ફરેશમાં તરબારે લેવા છે.

ગોર્ડેશી સિખંડ અને કુલપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.



INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi 1933-1936

Religion is the ordinary view of those who live in the world of religion without the spirit of it.

—Stendhal.

To die and part is a little better than to part and live, there, there is the moment.

—Landseowne.

No. 8—Vol. LV.

Friday, 1st March, 1957

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VERWOERD NOW WANTS TO CONTROL CHURCHES

PROVISIONS designed to tighten the control over the movements of Africans and to facilitate their removal from urban areas are contained in the Native Laws Amendment Bill. It has been introduced in the Assembly by the Minister of Native Affairs (Dr. H. F. Verwoerd).

One of the amendments contained in the Bill is designed to prevent the indiscriminate return of seasonal labourers to areas within which they were previously employed for a specific purpose.

African labour bureaux will in future exercise sole control over the entry of work-seekers into urban or proclaimed areas. At present it is possible for the municipal officer to allow African work-seekers to enter his area indiscriminately.

An explanatory memorandum says it is the Government's policy to establish rural villages in African areas and that such villages should, where practicable, also serve the needs of neighbouring White towns.

The Bill makes it possible to order Natives living in an urban area—but outside a location, African village or town—to go and live in the rural village.

The Bill lays down that no person may conduct in an urban area but outside a location, African village, African hostel or area approved for the residence of Africans, any "church,

school, hostel, club, institution or any place of entertainment" which was not in existence on January 1, 1955, if that institution is to be attended by an African, unless he has first obtained the approval of the Minister.

This means that churches in towns which were estab-

lished after January 1, 1955 and which at present admit Africans to their services, will have to get Dr. Verwoerd's express permission to continue to do this.

The same limitations will also apply, for example, to cinemas in small country towns which, under certain circumstances, admit Africans to a reserved part of the auditorium.

At present, meetings in local authority areas have to have the local authority's

approval. The Bill stipulates that if Africans attend such meetings, the approval of the Minister is required as well.

Under the Bill Africans whose papers are not in order can be turned out of a local authority area by the registering officer and ordered not to return for a specified period. At present such Africans can be removed only after a conviction.

Another clause gives Native commissioners and Magistrates summary powers to remove Africans from locations, villages or hostels.

Daily News.

"WE DO NOT WANT THIS BRITISH LOVE"

—SAYS NEHRU

THE Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, at an election meeting bitterly attacked Britain for her attitude over Kashmir. He claimed that British imperialists were trying to sow disunity on the sub-continent while protesting their love for India. "This is the kind of love that wants to cut the throat of India," he said.

Referring to the Security Council proposal to send a United Nations force to Kashmir, which was voted by Russia, Mr. Nehru said an invasion of Kashmir by any country would be considered an invasion of India. Whatever might be the consequences on foreign troops would be allowed to enter India.

Mr. Nehru said he pointed him very much that Britain should behave as she was towards India now "even

when we forget all the wrongs done to India by British rule."

He asked the people to remember that the people of Britain were not the enemies of India but that the British Government were behaving in a different way.

Before independence British imperialists had sown dissension among Indians and Muslims and others. The result of that policy of "divide and rule" was the creation of Pakistan.

Similar tactics were now being adopted by these powers from outside. They protested their love towards India and pointed out that they wanted to bring about settlement between India and Pakistan.

"This is a kind of love which, wants to cut the throat of India," he added. "We do not want this love."

The sponsors of the resolution completely forgot that Pakistan invaded Kashmir, committed loot, rape and murder. Why was it that wherever else in the world this kind of thing happened it was strongly opposed but, in the case of Kashmir, certain powers closed their eyes to it? he asked —The Star.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 1ST MARCH, 1957

The New Boycott

THE Minister of Native Affairs proved a very apt pupil of the African National Congress recently when he together with a few other Nationalist Senators, walked out of the Senate and boycotted Senator Leslie Khekin. The ANC would have every reason to congratulate itself on winning such a convert, even for a passing moment. But it will be a grievous error if the ANC reciprocates the compliment by copying the Minister's example elsewhere and allows some of its victories at the moment to go into its head.

There is no doubt that in important essentials the bus boycott in various parts of the country has been an impressive demonstration of African solidarity. The vital important fact is that millions responded similarly powerfully to a challenge which faced a section of their people on the Rand. The other, not so pleasant fact, that in some places the boycott flopped, does not in any way invalidate the truth that even in those areas African opinion was strongly in sympathy with the Rand boycott. The fact is underline and for which every true democrat should be grateful is that it reveals now that the African everywhere is getting it mean to give similar answers to similar challenges. If this does not mean that African unity is a living reality, we do not know what it means.

ANC And Events

We are certain the African National Congress has been following the course of events very closely and in other places influencing them. There is reason to believe that the movement has come to be satisfied that the African community is now ready to take a firm stand against apartheid. To us the decision of the Port Elizabeth community to boycott Nationalist establishments and products is intelligible only against this background.

But while we believe that sooner or later the African people will need to take an effective stand against apartheid and while we commend the ANC for thinking of a boycott which should be successfully non-violent, we have a lingering doubt about the wisdom of launching the anti-apartheid boycott at this moment—before the Rand crisis has been cleared up.

The anti-apartheid boycott is quite clearly a political demonstration and nothing less. The ANC and the boycotters have made the world understand that the bus boycott had economic and not political motivations. They were right to do this. It seems to us that to rush to give a political hue to a situation which was basically economic might possibly restore darkness

where light was fast becoming recognised as the influence which should prevail.

Second Weakness

There is a second weakness. The boycott was basically a spontaneous movement. African communities, in various parts of the country, realised that Minister Schoeman's attitude exposed them to the danger of rises in bus fares everywhere. To defend themselves in advance they staged sympathetic boycotts to impress the Minister with the urgency of the need to take up a more realistic attitude. Mr. Gabriel Nyembe, the acting President-General of the African National Congress, made this point clearly in the statement he released to the Press at the height of the boycott.

In some places the ANC gave direction to this spontaneity; in others it did not. What all this means is that there was not sufficient co-ordination in the boycott movement. There is no convincing indication that Natal knew what the Cape wanted to do—or did the latter know Natal's real intentions. The goals were certainly common cause but there certainly was no single master plan.

Possibly in sympathetic boycotts with limited objectives and intended to be of short duration this was not a major defect. But where a major campaign is planned on a national scale to continue for the longest time possible, it is unwise in the extreme to overlook the need for co-ordinated action.

African Side Only

Co-ordination here does not mean planned action on the African side only. To be really effective, particularly against the background of the fact that the bus boycotts have shown that the African has numerous friends and sympathisers on the White side, an anti-apartheid boycott would need to be backed by people and organisations in the other sections of the nation.

It would be a fatal error for any section of the African people to be goaded, by apartheid's stupidity, into believing that their struggle is racial with goals limited by race. The real issue at stake is that the way of life which the majority of the people of South Africa would prefer is being destroyed by the Afrikaner Nationalists. Such destruction would be disastrous for the Africans as much as it would be for the European, Indian or Coloured democrat. All the latter are not just allies—they are co-fighters equally in the front line of attack, placed in peculiar positions to make particular contributions strictly by their peculiar circumstances.

If the African National Congress plans a frontal attack on apartheid in the form of a boycott of Nationalist establishments and products, it must win over to its side as many people, regardless of race or colour or creed as possible. The boycott must be effective not only in predominantly African areas. Even in an exclusively White area the White democrat must be enabled to feel that he can do something for his cause.

(Continued on next page)

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER I

Childhood And Marriage

[We are selecting this story of the life of Mahatma Gandhi, written by Mrs. Cornelia Murray-Chew, a U. S. A. very simplified version, mainly written for children. The author is an Englishwoman who was married to an Indian and spent a number of years in India. She had dedicated this book to the memory of her father, Mr. John Murray, from whom she first learned to know Gandhi. Mrs. Murray-Chew has very kindly given us the privilege to publish this book in serial form in Indian Pioneer. We are indeed very grateful for her generosity in not charging a penny for her services. It is very simple but suitable piece of work.—G.J.]

THERE is no boy or girl in India who does not know of Gandhi. His kind smile and sweet expression are as familiar to us from a thousand pictures and photographs that we feel as if we knew everything about him. Almost every day of our lives we have heard his name spoken with love and reverence. Yet few of us know of half the wonderful things he has done for India. If we studied his life and his work carefully, we should not be content with just loving him, we should try to follow his teachings as well and to be as like him as possible. This is not so difficult as it sounds, because he has left us many rules to follow. These rules make living very good and just seem very simple and easy. All that we have to do is to go on following these rules every day, and never give up following them.

Gandhi himself was not always good or good. He was once a full of faults as anybody else. But for love of God he tried to become a little better each day. He did this so faithfully that in the end millions of people looked up to him as a saint and obeyed him in everything. Yet he always said that each one of us could become like him and do the things that he did if he wished. This thought should give us courage whenever we grow weary of trying to follow in his footsteps.

Despite so many of us always think of him as Gandhi, I will call him that from the start, instead of by his first name of Mahatma.

Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar, a small town in Kathiawar. His father was the Deroo, or Prime Minister, of Porbandar, and Gandhi was the youngest child.

Gandhi's mother was a very sweet, kind and religious woman. She visited the temple daily,

often taking her little son with her. She fasted frequently too. Once she made a vow to eat only one meal a day for four months, and not to take even that one meal unless she had first seen the sun shiner. As she had made this vow in the rainy season (the rainy season lasts from some time in July to some time in September) it was almost very difficult to see the sun about at all. Her children, who could not bear to think of their dear mother going without food all the twenty-four hours, would stand staring up at the sky, waiting to catch the first gleam of the sun. As soon as a ray appeared they would dash into the house and call their mother as come and eat for herself. By the time she came out the sun had often gone behind the clouds again. "It doesn't matter," she would say cheerfully, "God does not want me to eat today," and back she would go to her household tasks. In this way Gandhi learnt from his good mother how to be generous cheerfully for love of God.

As a small boy of five or six Gandhi was just like other children at that age. He found it very hard to learn the multiplication table. He would get cross with his poor teacher and call him names behind his back, just as many little boys do. At that early age a child does not understand how hard a teacher's life is, and how many pleasures he gives up for the sake of the children he teaches.

In spite of his boldness in calling the teacher names, Gandhi was otherwise a very sweet little boy. He was very much afraid of the dark, and ghosts and snakes. He used to think that good men and evil spirits were lying in wait for him if he had to go into a dark room at night. All these feelings made him miserable for him. Fortunately his aunt, a good woman named Ramabai, came to help of all this. She told him to



KIND SMILE

repeat the name of Ram whenever he felt afraid. He explained to him that evil spirits have no power against the holy name of God. At last he did as she told him just because he loved his old nurse and liked to obey her. Then he found that he felt brave and safe whenever he repeated the holy name. In this way he soon overcame his fears.

He never forgot the teachings of his good old nurse, and all his life after he had the greatest faith in the power of the holy name of God. We know that he died with it on his lips.

When Gandhi was seven years old his family left Porbandar and settled at Rajkot. There he was sent to a primary school. He was a very honourable little boy and never told lies

even to save himself from a scolding. He never lied for school prizes. He was in fact a model child at that time.

He was terribly shy and always feared that the other boys might tease him. He would soon be called out from as fast as he could, the children the school was over.

No matter how hard the lessons were he would never copy from a companion's book. He felt the greatest respect for his teacher and would not have deceived him for anything in the world. All the teachers that had made him call his first teacher names had now left him. He only wanted to do his duty.

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(To be continued)

The New Boycott

(Continued from previous page)

men cause. Now, that sort of a thing requires a lot of careful planning, mutual consultation and co-ordination of activities.

Positive Contribution

For our part we think that the African National Congress has made a positive contribution to the struggle against apartheid in thinking of a boycott with virtually unlimited possibilities in some fields and which can be kept strictly non-violent. We feel, at the same time, that such an important matter should not be confined to the African people alone, where the others have demonstrated a clear and convincing readiness to rise and fall with the most cruelly-oppressed.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones ?

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

February 14th-25th

CAMRON JOHN L. COLLIER, sold a Nottingham audience at a work and meeting that if he were an African he would not be a Christian. He would become a Communist. "Where else can they live?" he asked. He told the Africans were hounded from morning to night and from night to morning throughout their lives. "The churches themselves have not given Africans the assurance that in Christ all men are equal and all men are free," added Canon Collins. "They have said it but they have not shown it in practice. The Africans are longing to wonder whether the Church of Christ is for whom man's powers. It is for us Christians to do everything in our power to see that the South African regime of racial discrimination is brought to an end."

Political madness and co-operation we are aware that the foundation of our independence which is now being truly laid, will support the structure of our political and economic life and lead to greater happiness and progress of all sections of our nation." On behalf of the Opposition Dr. Bessie pointed out that his movement accepted the White Paper and Order in Council as a workable compromise. He added "It did not indeed provide all we asked for, but we are prepared to co-operate to make it a successful foundation for the democratic way of life which we all desire to see established in this country. As the first African country to achieve independence we have a special responsibility and challenge."

London

Mr. E. A. Butler, Lord Privy Seal and Home Secretary, will be one of the Government's representatives in Ghana when the new dominion takes its full independence. He announced this in an address to the Institute of Public Relations in London. So far no other details of Government or Parliamentary representatives at the celebrations have been announced. The Queen will be represented by her Duchess of Kent. The independence day will be on March 6, but the celebrations will begin on the previous Sunday. They will continue for a week, finishing with a national day of prayer on Sunday, March 10.

The criticism to the judicial committee of the Privy Council brought by Daniel Kinnah, who is under sentence of death for having a pistol contrary to the Kenya Emergency Regulations, was refused after a two-hour hearing. Kinnah asked his counsel to appeal against his conviction in the Supreme Court in Kenya on November 29, 1956, on the pistol charge, and on a further charge of having ammunition, for which he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment with hard labour. His appeal came to the East African Court of Appeal, but was summarily dismissed in December. The Privy Council application came before Lord Tucker, Lord Somer-

vell of Haveray, and Mr. L. M. B. de Silva. Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., for Kinnah, contended that Kinnah was not allowed to steel himself of a possible defence that he had a pistol licence for carrying a pistol. Chief Justice G'Conner had directed the attorney that it would not afford a lawful excuse for a terrorist to carry a pistol and ammunition to protect himself from other terrorists, whom he might have attacked. Lord Tucker said "The question is whether, on the facts proved, this defence could possibly have been opened." Mr. Dingle Foot also contended that the Chief Justice conducted himself at the time he was approached, he was coming in to surrender. In view of that and the fact that the Chief Justice granted a certificate of appeal, it was entirely a case which, should have been tried not in the East African Court of Appeal, and not summarily dismissed. The rule under which the appeal was summarily dismissed was promulgated in 1953.

when the emergency was in being, to meet a need of a pistol for his defence. It could not be said that the power was given within that emergency.

Salisbury

New industries which could be developed in Nyasaland in the future Kwa Nyasaland scheme of development include the production of aluminium, wood pulp, livestock, aryl alcohol and cotton. This is forecast by Prof. H. Clark, whose report on a survey of Nyasaland power requirements made at the request of the Federal Government has just been published. Prof. Clark also believes that electric power could also be used for drying tea and curing tobacco, and that within the next five years the demand for electricity in Southern Nyasaland, where almost all the prospective industries would be sited, is likely to be at least trebled. He says that the present demand for electricity there is 2.7 megawatts, and forecasts that it will increase to 2.5 megawatts by 1965 and to 10.5 megawatts by 1975.

Accra

The Premier, Mr. Nkrumah, and the leader of the Opposition Dr. Bessie, will make policy statements on the British Government's White Paper on the Ghana constitution in the Legislative Assembly. Meanwhile the reactions of all sections in the white paper seem to be favourable. Speaking to a large crowd in Kumasi, the chairman of the Ashanti, Dr. Bessie and the White Paper showed that the N.A.W. had won a big victory for the country. "We have fought for a constitution, and I would like it to be known that, though we are happy about what we have got, we are still going to fight for more. We have now made it very difficult for anybody to establish a dictatorship in this country before or after independence." He thanked the Colonial Secretary for coming to this country to help to smooth out the constitutional differences.

The Legislative Assembly was packed by Dr. Nkrumah and Dr. Bessie made policy statements on the British Government's White Paper on the Ghana Constitution. Dr. Nkrumah said "I and the leader of the Opposition consider the White Paper and Order in Council acceptable as a basis for the working of our independent constitution. With

Union Heading Blindly For Disaster

THE London "New Chronicle" (Herald) declared that the present South African Government's policy was leading the Union blindly to disaster.

Commenting on the African boycott in Johannesburg, the newspaper said, "In the words of a famous phrase they are 'voting with their feet.' They are falling back on the best and most powerful weapon of the otherwise defenceless, passive resistance. Has the Union Government read on boycotts..."

"Against mobilised passive resistance, legislation, repression, and police are in the long run useless. Only when the Union Government recognises the mutual independence of White men and Africans can there be any hope of unity and justice."

In an editorial on the boycott headed "The Fraud Withers," "The Times" (London Independent) said, "The Government is to be credited with the desire to reach a settlement by negotiation, and African leaders, it is understood, are in most high spirits and enthusiastically Missions."

"The whole episode stands as a warning that a majority

despised political expression will always find means of asserting the latent strength of numbers."

"The Times" also commented "The arrest of 2,000 Africans in a single night, in connection with the Johannesburg bus boycott constitutes a series of domestic atrocities by the South African police. Nearly 5,000 arrests have been reported since the boycott began in the first week of the new year."

"There, one would naturally suppose, are the sons of a God, exempt that either believe in Him, or wish to be believed, to stand under threat of rebellion."

UN Survey

The General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations has recommended that a survey be made of the progress in the non-self-governing territories which has taken place in the last ten years. The recommendations, arising from the approval of the Assembly itself, should be ready by 1959. Australia, France, the United Kingdom and Pakistan threatened while Belgium, voted against the recommendations.

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Lal Pari	3 "	1	4	9
Kismet Ka Khil	4 "	1	4	9
Milap	4 "	1	13	0
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Indian Community Contributes £1000 To Treason Trials Defence Fund

THE Natal Indian Congress [N.I.C.] contributed a cheque of £1000 to the local branch of the Treason Trials Defence Fund. The cheque was handed by Dr. Padayatchi, the chairman of the N.I.C., to Mr. Alan Paton who is a Trustee of the National Fund and a member of the working committee of the Treason Fund in Durban.

The N.I.C. has been raising funds from the Indian community, mainly in Durban, and its Branch officials have been making a door to door financial drive by the schools with the assistance of members of the recently formed Natal Indian Women's Congress. The officials of the Natal Indian Women's Congress have undertaken a street by street drive in Durban and from localities ranging from 2½ to 5000 ft. have already raised and handed to the N.I.C. over £1000.

Apart from direct donations towards the N.I.C. and the Treason Fund, donors and surely shown organised mainly the women and students have raised approximately £150, and by the Women's Committee are preparing for further variety concerts and a fair during March and April respectively.

Target £100,000

The N.I.C. has been advised by its sponsors of the Treason Fund that the target of the Bishop's National Fund is £100,000 required mainly for legal defence, the maintenance of the families of the 126 persons attending the Koppies and for necessary travelling expenses for the leaders from and to Johannesburg during intervals in the Trial.

Defence Costs £160

A Day

At present it is estimated that defence costs amount to one hundred and fifty pounds a day, despite the fact that General de la Rey in the trials has reduced these fees to one-third amount to less than a quarter of their normal tariff. Each week of the hearing is costing £750.

Maintenance Of Families £500 A Week

Although not all of the 126 families involved require attention it is estimated that the weekly cost to maintain those requiring help is between £400-£500. This will involve

the Fund to the extent of £5000 covering expenditure for such much the trial lasts. It is reasonably expected that the trial will continue for at least the better part of this year and may be longer.

Appeal To Community

The N.I.C. makes a special appeal to every member of the community, in every walk of

life, shopkeeper, professional, housewife, student, worker, and businessman to give generously and till it hurts, to the N.I.C. and the Treason Trials Defence Fund so that the target of £100,000 can be reached and secured in the shortest possible time. It makes an appeal to all collectors, members of N.I.C. Branches and the Women's and Youth Congress to start fund raising as a political task of the first importance and to give priority to this task. The community is ready to help.

American Senator Condemns Apartheid

Washington.

CONTINUATION of South Africa's policy of racial segregation will "ultimately create conditions favourable to a tragic explosion," according to a report by Senator Theodore F. Green, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on his trip last year through 25 African States.

"South Africa's booming economy development could give to a stable basis if 'racial tensions were to 'explode' the boiling point," because African labour has been heavily segregated into South Africa's 'white industrial,' he says.

The United States policy is calculated to suppress these rights of political, economic and social liberty without which an entire class must remain in a inferior position. I cannot believe that this policy will succeed."

The United States has 40

consider carefully several matters in formulating its policy towards South Africa, including the policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States and its traditional "interest in the preservation of human rights and freedom everywhere."

"The Senator has high praise for the United's economic progress and says it is "one of the most advanced countries of the world, in which modern technology is used extensively."

While the United States has almost no aid programme to South Africa, United States private investment and interest in the United is mounting. Several American foundations have started assistance programmes of their own, he says. An example is the work of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in stimulating scientific research between the two nations—Japan-United States.

own, driven by Liberal Party members, gave life to the walkers.

500-Mile Walk

Thousands of boycotters completed their 500th mile as they reached No. 3, Squatter, Alexandra Township. They formed an anti-widening circle around their leaders, who stood on a table in the centre.

Mr. T. H. Frith, managing director of Paton, said that full services would operate to Sophiatown and the Western Native Township on February 21, citing an information that

the boycott will end in those areas.

Mr. G. E. Sibus, chairman of the Sophiatown boycott committee, said this is no important, unless and a return issued by Paton. He added: "The people decided only last Sunday to continue the boycott. How can it now end?"

"In the Western Native Township, Mr. Mphahle, who leads the boycott there, is backed one in ten. He says the boycott goes on."

"Mr. Peter Jurgens, chairman of the Johannesburg Joint Advisory Board, who lives in Johannesburg, and is often described as a 'moderate' African leader, said 'there is no truth in these rumours.'"

Liberal Lifts

Members of the Liberal Party carried hundreds of boycotters to Alexandra. Their convoy left St. Andrew's Road, Houghton, at 2.30 p.m. and soon after set a "door" several hundreds of yards long in the line of boycotters walking home.

Only about one in three of the 30 cars used was stopped at the check-point at the other end of the journey. Most of the lift-lifted spent some hours searching short distances up Louis Botha Avenue and taking some loads down to Alexandra.

In East London the African National Congress-inspired bus and train boycott which began on February 21 received substantial support. Nighttime members of popular African groups, gave boycotted suburban trains, and much criticism showed that the number of patrons of the East Bus Line has fallen, the only non-European bus service in East London, was down by not more than 10 per cent.

Boycotters Say They'll Starve To Death

"GOOD-BYE, PUTCO. IF we find it totally impossible to go to town we will starve and starve to death." This statement brought loud cheers and "Amen!" from over 5000 boycotters at No. 3, Squatter, Alexandra Township on February 21.

It was the boycotters' answer to the ultimatum issued by Paton and the Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman—that, if the buses were not used by March 1, they will be permanently withdrawn.

In Louis Botha Avenue, Johannesburg, a convoy of 30

own, driven by Liberal Party members, gave life to the walkers.

500-Mile Walk

Thousands of boycotters completed their 500th mile as they reached No. 3, Squatter, Alexandra Township. They formed an anti-widening circle around their leaders, who stood on a table in the centre.

Mr. T. H. Frith, managing director of Paton, said that full services would operate to Sophiatown and the Western Native Township on February 21, citing an information that

Liberal Emblem Is Black-White Handclasp

The Liberal Party has adopted an official emblem which is to be worn by members as a lapel badge.

It shows two clasped hands one black the other white.

"The emblem gives meaning to our national motto that unity is strength. It symbolises friendship and reciprocal help and the interdependence of the white and black parts of the population."

World Newsreel . . .

Children's Club At Pheasant Settlement

ADDRESSING the people of the Keweenaw Quonset before on Friday last, General (Noble) Smith said that the American Centre of South Africa under the auspices of the Pheasant Settlement will open a Children's Club at the Settlement on Thursday, March 7.

Proper services will be held every Sunday morning from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m.

General Smith made told the children about the importance of prayer and belief in God. He also said that a Holiday Home for school children in Northern Rhodesia will soon be established by the American Centre at the Tuguelet Ranch.

Gift Of Cloth For Poor African Children

An Indian Missionary Society is distributing cloth to poor African children in Northern Rhodesia and other places in Kenya. The Society is the Evangelical Mission, a non-sectarian association which uses hospitals, schools and welfare centres for many thousands of people in India.

Over 4, 50 yards of cloth was handed over on behalf of the Mission to the Services Army, which is to distribute it to children of the Displaced children's centre in Nairobi and at Malindi, Querey Road, Malindi and at Taita to help children.

The cloth is of various types and may be used in the required colour to be suitable to children's clothes. About 1,200 children will benefit.

Carnegie Grant

The Carnegie Corporation has awarded a grant totalling more than 1 million for seven carefully programmed to improve international relations.

The grant was announced by John W. Gardner, president of the Philanthropic Organization founded in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie, to promote better understanding between the U.S. and other nations.

Sat Next To Negro—Fined

Sharon she sat beside a Negro at a public meeting, a woman in the name of Virginia was fined \$100 for defying Virginia law which forbids a white person to sit beside a Negro at public meetings.

Missionary Refused Visa To Visit S.A.

Dr. George W. Carpenter, a leading missionary official who issued a statement in the Times two years ago by stating that African missions on the West coast "The 15th Century since liberation" has been refused a visa to enter South Africa.

A letter received by the Rev. A. W. Russell, of the Christian Council of South Africa, stated that Dr. Carpenter's application for a visa had been turned down after being given full consideration at Ministerial level. No reasons were, however, given.

Dr. Carpenter—an American citizen—was to have visited the Union as a member of the International Missionary Council Secretariat. He had planned to arrive in South Africa on March 10 for a 11-day tour.

Plans had been made for him to meet leaders of all churches in the country.—Daily News.

White On Top

"The colour bar is not vertical—it is horizontal. I'm above, you are down there!"

Rogers' Hapgood's words made a sharp impact on his audience at London, Somerset.

He was speaking on Black and White in Africa and America, in a full meeting in the Friends Meeting House organized by Quakers there and supported by the Rev. Kenneth Bawlings and chaired by Constance Barber.

Stevens Fellowship To Negro

For the first time in its history, the Henry H. Stevens Fellowship Committee has approved a fellowship grant to a

Negro. The Stevens fund was established in 1921. The first grant was made for the study of the philosophy.

The committee, meeting in June, made the grant to William H. Jones, 24, who is studying for the Bachelor's degree at Harvard Divinity School.

Mr. Jones is a native of Louisville, Ky. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa while attending Howard University, Washington, D.C.

1957 Nobel Prize

Alfred W. Parker, of Oakland, California, has been nominated for the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize by Japanese parliamentarians headed by Suetaro T. Yamada. Member of the Mitsubishi Electric. Alfred Parker, Secretary of the International World Peace Day Committee, has been the international fund which provides for the planting of fruit trees in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He is also connected with the world campaign to end capital punishment.

India's Sixteen-Mile Dam

The 16-collecting dam on the Mahanadi River, opened recently by Prime Minister Nehru, will provide power for 100,000,000 people in north-west India. The

dam will regulate the flow of the river, which sometimes runs dry for years, causing widespread famine, or at other times erupts into disastrous floods. It will irrigate an area of more than a million acres of farmland, and produce electricity for industries in the region, including a large aluminium plant.

When the project is completed in 1959, the dam will have a total capacity of 232,500 kilowatts of electric power.—United Press.

Law Chief Of Zambezia Is A Zulu

A Zulu is the Heratworth Native Affairs has been appointed Attorney-General at Salisbury.

Born in 1910, Mr. P. N. Dabane was last educated at the Zulu High School at Nkomo, Natal. He later went to England and there eventually attained Cambridge where he passed his advocate's examination and was called to the bar. This was in 1935.

In 1937 he was appointed a magistrate in the Gold Coast and in 1946 became Crown Counsel. In 1951, he was appointed Solicitor-General of the Fiji Islands, and now he has received his appointment as Attorney-General at Salisbury. His parents were both Zulu law librarians.

Seven Months With Mahatma Gandhi

Being an Indian View of the Peace on the occasion, November of 1950-51.

By Krishnakant

Edited and revised by Richard S. Cross

Writing of the two volumes of which this is an abridgement Gandhiji wrote: [I] have gone through them. And the facts appear to me to be correctly set forth and exhaustively dealt with..... The volumes are the only narrative we have of the seven months with which Krishnakant deals."

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PEOPLE
LOOK

AT YOUR SHOES



See they get 'NUGGET' Polish every day!

A Countryman's Diary

"By PARDESI"

44 **W**HOM the gods would destroy they first make mad." This dictum of ancient Greece seems to hold when we see what is happening to our young people today. The age of healthy relations has passed, and "Guns, knives and other hobby-darning things have become the warp and woof of daily living.

Young people today go for all manner of activities—no party is complete without a "dinner-dance" of the system with the devil on his heels (disgraceful to the natives!) Thank God, rock 'n' roll has not yet become a fad....

The Press And Race Relations

The Press is supposed to mirror public opinion; in reality, it only moulds it. It is said, the White South African Press is prejudiced in the habit of depicting Negroes as over-Keen. It is directed to lead the way, people might as well be blindfolded. Captions like "NATIVE GETS A DRESSING," "NATIVE RESCUES A DOCTOR" are a feature of the South African Press.

Yet, despite all the colour indignities that are heaped upon them, the Negroes of this country can be made to behave if the White Press accepts its responsibility to foster Black-White unity. The White public must be taught to distinguish between the mythical idea that non-European are inferior.

One English daily, commenting on the recent incident in the

heart of Durban where a Coloured woman was arrested because he was seen walking with his White woman companion, vividly justified the arrest and appeal. But the newspaper friends are made on their own liberty, they kick up a fuss.

Justice is of two kinds in South Africa—Black Justice and White Justice....

Indian Ma-Sick On The S.A.E.C.

Liberals who tune in to the Indian programme on Sunday mornings may soon get some relief if the S.A.E.C. yields to pressure from the South Indian Music Society and other such organisations to play popular music on the half-hour programme.

Indian Liberals have suffered miserably for a very long time now, and since most of them are without any real contribution towards the S.A.E.C. because by way of licences, they are entitled to have their programmes aired.

If things carry on as they are at present, then I, too, may get a chance to go on the air!

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આખો દિવસ વેંછટેરીઅન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોદ્દા શુભ પ્રસંગે માટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને હોલિંગની સગવડ

અમથી બોર્ડિંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શાશકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. શ્રીરાષ્ટ્રીઓમાં નહીં અને અત્યુનિક 'કમન્યુ' ફર્નીચર સામગ્રીમાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અથવા તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉભાઓ માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી ભેવરમાંથી લોખંડી કોફી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણીની ટાળ, ખારેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચાવેલી, વિશેષે રાખીએ છીએ.

ઘરનું આથિલું અમાણું અને સારી જાતના પાનદાર હુંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગ્રોઈસથી સિખંદ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

The life of a man is the sum of his moments which, when it is religiously conducted will yield the ingredients of a higher joy than any fiction.

—Emerson.

INDIAN

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editor, *Madras Gandhi* (1918-1926)



Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it.

—Lincoln.

No. 9—Vol. LV.

Friday, 8th March, 1957

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GHANA ON EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

ACCRA, March 3.

THE arrival in Accra on Saturday of the Duchess of Kent set in motion a hectic week of ceremonies and celebrations to mark the birth of the new, Independent State of Ghana.

Overseas delegates of 70 nations, as well as chiefs and tribes throughout the Gold Coast, will join in the celebrations, which will reach a solemn climax on Wednesday, when the Duchess will open the Parliament of Ghana as the Queen's representative.

The festivities began on Sunday leave the moment the Duchess stepped from a special R.O.A.C. strait-jacket on to the airport.

After meeting local religious and service leaders and members of the Cabinet, the Duchess drove past thousands of cheering citizens to the city centre, where tribal priests blessed her.

The American Vice-President, Mr. Richard Nixon, was besieged by journalists and photographers when he arrived at Accra airport in a United States air force Boeing C-54 transport aircraft at 10 a.m. today.

He was welcomed by four Ghana Cabinet Ministers, led by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Kofoed Gbedemah, who apologised for the unavoidable absence of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Nixon, who was accompanied by his wife and some Congressmen, said that he was delighted to be in Ghana on this historic occasion.

"We in the United States, our people, Government and President, wish to extend our very best wishes

to the Government and people of Ghana. I hope within the next few days to show the extent of the friendship and affection of the people of the United States for the people of this newest member of the family of nations.

"I want to pay tribute to the people and leaders of Ghana and of the United Kingdom that independence was achieved in an orderly fashion. The future is therefore indeed bright for this country as an independent member of the Commonwealth."

Police State

The South African High Commissioner Extraordinary, Mr. R. Jones, arrived in Accra to find in the morning newspaper, "Ashanti Pioneer" a report headed "Police State."

The report said South Africa had taken another step in the direction of a police state with the police powers but which "gives the police the right to withhold anyone who interferes with the police."

The Rev. Michael Scott, who has often opposed South Africa's control over

South-West Africa in representations to the United Nations, arrived two days ago. Mr. Scott is one of the Prime Minister's guests.

Another arrival at Accra was the Russian Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Ivan Bana-dikov, who said the Russian people rejoiced with the people of Ghana "as their newly gained independence."

Arrivals also included Mr. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of the Rhodesian Federation, and Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Power and Home Affairs.

Among the greetings read out from the volume at a ceremony in the House of Commons (London) was one from Father Huddleston which said: "Because I love Africa and because I love so many Africans who have been and are my friends, I pray above all that Ghana may by her example inspire and sustain those no-man-of-Africa new subject to the tyranny of racial oppression in their determination to achieve a life dignity and freedom."

Daily News Correspondent, Times News Service, Napa.

VERWOERD BILL TO BE DISOBEYED —CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

A STATEMENT released to the Press by the Christian Council of South Africa and signed by Dr. A. W. Blaxall says:

At a meeting of the Action Committee held in Capetown on the 1st March it was decided to make the following statement, as representing the views of the 23 Churches and missionary societies affiliated to the Council:

The Native Administration Amendment Bill, if it becomes law in its present form, will impose on the Christian conscience a demand which must be disobeyed, inasmuch as we believe in conflict with the law of Christ.

The Church has no plain mission from God's word

over natural values and to let the light of God's word fill all human relations. We believe that to achieve this the following basic rights of religious freedom must be recognised and upheld by the Christian State.

The right to assemble for unlicensed public worship.

The right to freedom of association and fellowship.

The right to preach the Gospel publicly.

The right of a church to formulate a creed and to appoint a ministry.

(Continued on page 99)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 8TH MARCH, 1957

Ghana

By the time these words appear in print the new, sovereign independent republic of Ghana will have come into being and men of goodwill, not only in Africa, but all over the world, will join in congratulating the people and government of Ghana on having attained independence. We identify ourselves enthusiastically with those who rejoice with Ghana on the occasion of her becoming recognised as a free nation.

This attainment of independence by the former ex-colonials in Africa marks a turning-point in the history of the continent. On the one hand it indicates that the peoples of Africa are determined to wage unceasing warfare against race oppression and that the freedom to create for themselves a world after their own design realises their goal in exactly the way it has been that of all the other sons of man.

Profound Impact

On the other, the emergence of a purely African sovereign/independent state is bound to have a profound impact on the present alignment of political forces on the continent. Ghana, will, as a matter of historical necessity, find herself at the head of the anti-colonial movement and, consequently, called upon to lead the anti-apartheid movement on the continent. That will affect profoundly her relations not only with the emancipation movements in the various colonial countries but also with all the colonial peoples on the continent.

At the same time Ghana will occupy a truly unique position in the Commonwealth. Her spokesmen in Commonwealth councils will be regarded as voicing the wishes, not only of the Ghanaians, but of all the African peoples under colonial rule. The Commonwealth's reactions to this might give a meaning to its bonds which can become powerfully satisfying to the African. Or, the exact opposite might happen.

Up From Slavery

Finally, the attainment of independence by the people of Ghana gives special meaning to a phrase made famous by one of the most celebrated sons Africa has produced. If Booker Washington were alive today he probably would rejoice to see that an African nation has risen from slavery to freedom. We particularly rejoice that this is the case because we see in it a major reinforcement to the anti-apartheid side on the continent and therefore one more victory against the evil doctrine that race determines a people's destiny.

Of especial interest to us is the fact that contrary to what the world had been told about Ghana, the newly-emancipated peoples have reached their goal without the convulsion which the prophets of doom had forecast.

Christians And Verwoerd

THE Christian Council of South Africa has issued, through its secretary, Dr. Arthur W. Blaxall, a Press statement which, among other things draws attention to the conference the Council will hold in Capetown next week to discuss the B3 which seeks to make it difficult for Black and White to attend mixed gatherings. The conference will be a very important development and will be watched with the keenest possible interest as much in this country as abroad.

The latest decree is basically an attack on the Christian's right to seek to do the will of God. This explains the fact that prominent Church leaders have not hesitated in coming out to condemn it openly and to announce that they and their people will disobey it if it becomes the law of the land.

Verwoerd Promises

Dr. Verwoerd has replied to these protests by saying that the Churchmen have nothing to fear. There are dangers in this. In South Africa even Christians still think in terms of race. If the Government comes forward with guarantees that the Churches will not be interfered with it is quite possible that most White Christians might accept the Minister's assurances and stop resistance to an evil law.

For our part the important thing is not that the Minister might make concessions to the Churches. It is that a liberty threatened in this country is almost as good as a liberty lost. That has been our experience in the years since Union. Against this background the Minister's promise could quite conceivably be a very shrewd trick to throw in a very effective wedge between the Black and the White Christians, by way of a counterblast to the Bikoistoleis Revolution passed last October.

If the White Christian is impressed by the promise of guarantees, the African will not, against the background of the persecution of men like Reverend James A. Calata and others, hasten to accept the Minister's assurances.

Solemn Pledges

There is another, far more serious reason against accepting the Minister's assurances. Experience since 1948 has taught us that the word of a Nationalist Government is binding on its conscience as long as the Nationalist Party feels unable to do its will. When the Africans were driven out of the open universities to have a medical school of their own, most solemn promises were made by the same Dr. Verwoerd. To-day those pledges are just a scrap of paper. If the Minister gives guarantees that the Churches will not be interfered with, what is there to stop him doing

exactly what he has done to the Medical School at Worcester when he gets into a different mood. He is so drastically unpredictable.

The point we are driving at is that what the Cape-town conference will do will be to indicate whether or not the Council continues to be the keeper of the Christian conscience in this country. If the Verwoerd bait is swallowed the Government shall have achieved its purpose of digging an unbridgeable gulf between the Black and the White Christians. If, on the other hand, the Christian Council comes out with a decision which will bind together the Christians regardless of race or colour, against the challenges which threaten their faith, it will have saved South Africa from what is now an inescapable disaster.

Verwoerd Bill To Be Disobeyed

(Continued from front page)

The right to refuse last Christian fellowship all who desire to join.

The right to instruct all members and converts in the Faith.

We must utterly reject any law which restricts the freedom of men to assemble in public worship and express their views on worship and the sacraments should depend on the provisions of any State authority. In the face of State coercion of any conscience we must declare in the words of the apostles: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to obey men more than God, judges ye."

Lastly, we would lay this matter on the conscience of the whole Church believing that wherever any church has for centuries been related to the conscience of the whole Church, other churches should recognize the principle that it is not only right but should render such assistance, spiritual or practical, as may be required by obedience to God's will.

It was further decided that a conference of leaders from the churches and missionary societies be held in Cape Town on Tuesday the 19th March for the purpose of considering how, in the light of the above stated principles, the churches will act if the Bill becomes law.

Churches not affiliated to the Christian Council will be invited to send delegates or observers to this conference.

Methodist President Will Resist

The Rev. William Dillie, president of the Methodist Church of S.A., has made a protest against proposed changes in the Native Laws Amendment Bill (making the attendance of Africans in white churches built since January, 1948, dependent on the pleasure of the Minister of Native Affairs.)

Mr. Dillie is touring the Transvaal circuit.

In a statement he said that he himself would resist and he would urge all others to resist the enforcement of such an anti-Christian legislation.

He said that he spoke on behalf of the 508 ministers and 1,210,000 members and adherents of the multi-racial Methodist Church of South Africa.

"I protest in the strongest possible terms against this proposed discrimination on grounds of worship. No Christian could accept such wretched limitations of his sacred rights."

Mr. Dillie, added that recently for the first time in almost 50 years of missionary work in South Africa, he had to obtain a permit before being allowed to enter an East London township.

"The Africans were informed that the head of their church had in fact approved before he could enter the places where they live and worship as an official visit," he said.—Sapa.

Alexandra Boycotters Adamant

ONE hundred and fifty boys moved out of Johannesburg on Tuesday at 4 a.m. on Tuesday, March 2, for Youthful Work for Africa. Their going has left 150,000 Africans here without transport.

This was Peter's answer to the boycotters, who the previous night rejected the offer from the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to pay their money interest in bus fares.

Mediators Are Shocked

The agencies of this offer has shocked the many people who have worked assiduously for a solution to the boycott.

It has been a serious setback to European sympathy for the boycott and public opinion has hardened against these Africans who refused what is considered to be a generous offer of help. Fewer Europeans stopped their cars on Sunday to give boycotters lifts.

On Friday afternoon thousands of boycotters thought they were avoiding buses from work for the last time. On their way they were more light-hearted: "tomorrow we ride," many of them said.

As later happened before most of the workers were home—a meeting in the township rejected the Chamber of Commerce's offer and publicly burnt its written terms.

This action was resented by

some who less than 24 hours earlier had undertaken to encourage the people to accept the offer.

No Negotiation

Now there are no more buses to boycott and the people in Alexandra can look ahead only to the dusty walk to and from the city for six days a week in all weather.

All negotiation is at an end. The managing director of Police, Mr. T. H. Fokk, told the "Daily News" that he would no longer attempt with outside interests for any possible solution.

"If responsible African leaders wish to come to me and tell me that they want the service back at 5d. fare I shall talk to them. I cannot go beyond that," he said.

The President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr. D. H. C. Masekela, said in a statement:

"As the buses have now been withdrawn, the Chamber's office falls away."

Landlords Upset

Alexandra's property owners, who used to lose most of the withdrawal of the bus services, met the following day to discuss their losses.

They felt they will lose many of their tenants and that Alexandra will become a ghost town as people move out to areas where there are bus services.

Treason Suspects Spend A Week With Their Families

Johannesburg.

THE 155 treason suspects are spending this week with their families in different parts of the Union. The great exodus began from the Drill Hall, Johannesburg, on Friday last when the Court adjourned until Monday 4th March, 1957.

Many of the accused left by car directly from the Court immediately on adjournment and at least one accused, Professor Z. K. Masekela, by arrangement with the Government, remained at the Cape as he had before the Court was last seen.

When the Court adjourned, the Government was in the midst of leading Police evidence on speeches alleged to have been delivered by the accused in the Transvaal. Their statements were now re-examined by Mr. N. C. Roodenry, Q.C. and by Mr. V. C. Berridge for the defence.

A complete transformation took place at the Drill Hall on Monday 19th February, 1957 when Detective Sergeant Albertus Stephanus Jacobus Helling entered the witness box as the first witness to give oral evidence on speeches made by the accused. One was the document which had characterized the proceedings while documentary evidence was being introduced only heard of in form of the beginning of the year. The public galleries were again filled with bus passengers.

The next number of exhibits handed in by the Crown in the first phase of the case dealing with books and documents seized from the accused is now 5,158.

It is strongly rumored that the Crown has interrogated between two hundred and six hundred speeches and evidence dealing with these is likely to take a very considerable amount of time.

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER I

Childhood and Marriage

(Continued from last week)

Once he was allowed by his father to go to the theatre to see a play. It was the story of the good King Harischandra, who sacrificed everything he possessed in the world, even his wife and child for the sake of truth. This play made a great impression on the young boy's mind. He determined to be just like Harischandra and suffer anything, even death, rather than tell a lie.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Harney-Correa

King Harischandra is a popular figure in Hindu mythology. He was born by the gods to be the most virtuous and truth-loving man in the world. Yama, one of the celestial beings at the start of the gods, asked the good King to sacrifice the perfection of his virtues, and begged the gods to allow him to see Harischandra's behavior in the universe. With the gods' permission Yama assumed the form of a poverty-stricken old Brahmin and presented himself to Harischandra's court, where he implied the good king to grant him a boon. This kind and unassuming old man said that he might ask for anything that he liked. The Brahmin immediately asked for something less than the whole world, so he immediately asked for the child of the Brahmin's queen. Yama, who was disguised by himself, thought about this and, giving him his longed-for wish, gave him the son of the Brahmin queen.

No gift to a Brahmin, however, could be considered small unless a second gift accompanied it. This second gift was known as the "Dakshina," and would be given a small thing. The Brahmin, however, insisted that he like "Dakshina" nothing less would do than the King's wealth. He said that he had to take this wealth to the king's treasury, so Harischandra gave him the requested quantity of gold to be brought from the royal treasury. The Brahmin would not hear of this, however.

"If this kingdom be now mine," he said sternly, "all its resources also now belong to me. The gold is therefore no longer yours to give."

The unfortunate king passed out like a dead man the same he had no longer anything left with which to make a secondary gift to "Dakshina."

"Ah, but you have," said the phoney Brahmin. "Your wife and child will belong to you, and as does your own person. Sell your wife and child to me, and allow yourself for sale to me. The money paid for the three of you may be given to me as my 'Dakshina.' But if this idea does not appeal to you, if you would rather break your word than give your young husband—you may keep your kingdom."

These words were terrible to Harischandra's ears. Break his word? Never while he lived!

So the King, the Queen, and their little son were sold as slaves by public auction and their purchase price was given to the Brahmin. The Queen and the little Prince were brought by a cruel, merciless man who treated them with the utmost cruelty. Harischandra, because the slave of a terrible monster who was also the public executioner.

After such sufferings and treatment, which caused the death of the little Prince, there came the last terrible day when Harischandra's virtue was to be tested to its utmost limit. His poor Queen, still weeping for the loss of her child, was accused by her wicked master of having killed the little boy! While the poor mother was being tried by the magistrates on this false charge, the old Brahmin (who was now Harischandra's master and ruled the kingdom in his stead) sent for the former King.

The Brahmin gravely pronounced to him that the Queen was now and even to give back the kingdom if Harischandra would but admit that he had acted foolishly in keeping his word to give whatever loss the Brahmin might ask.

"You only need say that you regret your action—and you can be King once more," concluded the Brahmin. But our story ends here. He believed what would Harischandra after such words? For how could a man who loved virtue as he did, regret having kept his word?

The Queen was now sentenced to death and Harischandra's master, the executioner, ordered

the King himself to carry out the sentence by cutting off the Queen's head!

Kill! said with anguish, the poor King, told himself that a stern's duty is to obey orders without questioning. His eyes streaming with tears, he raised the fatal sword, a heavy, mysterious power suddenly pervaded his arm.

All around there appeared a throng of shining heavenly beings while heavenly voices resounded, pronouncing Harischandra's great act of soul and the sentence of his Queen. Three child, suddenly returned to life, also appeared to their delighted bewildered eyes. While the old Brahmin who had caused them so much suffering, now revealed himself to be also a being from heaven who now came to give back Harischandra's kingdom and about that his attempt to test the King's virtue had only served to make it shine more brightly than ever.

Shirama is another popular figure of Hindu mythology. Shirama's parents were too old and feeble to go on a pilgrimage though he did so as their devoted son. In order to give them their heart's desire, Shirama himself carried them on pilgrimage—in rags, having shaved his head.

Just about the same in this, he happened to read a book about Shirama, the devoted son. Gandhi was not at all fond of reading as a child, but this book interested him very much. He made up his mind to be so loving and devoted to his own dear parents as Shirama was to his.

Although he has only been reading for a few minutes, I think you must have already noticed a very beautiful side of Gandhi's character: that whenever he comes across good in anything, he is ready to be as good as he can be to imitate it. He was never content with just admiring, at most at an art.

Though it was very natural in those days, the Hindu to see with people of other faiths, Gandhi's father had many friends outside his community: Jain, Parsi, Muslim—all were welcome in his home. With these friends the good man would talk much about religion and ask his visitors to explain their beliefs to him. His little son would always be near by at these times, for the father was often sick and required his help in many ways especially for rubbing his feet and legs when they ached. Gandhi always loved sitting

fully to these grown-up talks on religion. From then he learned to respect every religion, for ALL religions are meant to lead men to God.

As he grew up he understood that men and men. At last he came to see that no religion teaches us to be good, truthful, brave and faithful, there is really only ONE religion in the world, and that is to love God and to serve our fellowmen with all our might.

When Gandhi was only twelve years old he was married, according to the Hindu custom of those times, to a little girl just his own age. Her name was Kasturba and she was very sweet and pretty.

Marriage is a serious and holy thing. It joins two people together for their whole life. It is bad for a child to understand how great a thing marriage is, and nowadays people do not think it good for children to marry. In those days, however, the old-fashioned Hindu thought differently, and so Gandhi and Kasturba were married.

When he grew up Gandhi admitted that all he thought about on his wedding day was the ceremony, the music and drum-beating, the lovely clothes that he was given to wear, and all the good things there were to eat! He was very glad, too, that he would now have Kasturba for a playmate.

Wedding cost a great deal in those days in India. Families were often ruined by the expense of one. That was because each family wanted to show off and appear richer than its really was. Hundreds of people were invited to eat and all of them could manage to eat. Huge sums were spent on lovely clothes and jewelry. Whole months were wasted in preparing everything. This was all very foolish, and Gandhi was much against it when he grew up. He could not have to think of hundreds of people suffering because on the last food at their wedding feast in India, when there were millions of poor Indians who never once in their lives got enough to satisfy their hunger. But at the time of his own marriage he was so young that he only thought how happy it was to have such a first meal with his bride.

Little Kasturba was very shy (Continued on page 107)

S.A. Native Policy Never Changes—I

THE need for a Native policy seems to all parts of South Africa was felt long before Union. Within two years of the end of the Anglo-Boer war a commission was sitting to discuss the question. Appointed by Milner, one of the slave men who, just as this commission were English-speaking and of British origin. "The Native Policy" they sketched in 1905, it, in its essential features, recognisably the same policy as the one that prevails now. The limitations to the ownership of land by the Natives; the past laws, the fate of a common non-racial franchise and the alternative of communal political representation, the design of employing the tribal chiefs for administrative control—all these subject-matters were approved at that distant date.

When Haring was in search of a Native policy 20 years later, some of his advisers must surely have known that Report of the Inter-Colonial Commission and later their main ideas from an open. Looking back, a writer in the conservative Imperial Journal, "The Strand Times," in 1932 perceived that the Report was "simply the natural product of well-to-do land and mine owners, representatives of an acquisitive society hardened by pioneering experience and eager for economic development."

This insight accounts for what is otherwise mysterious about the passing of the first Native Land Act as early as 1913. Why were such severe restrictions put at that time on the freedom of the Boers to acquire land, even by proper purchase? No convincing answer was made in Parliament. A minor reason may have been the recent legal transfer to Africans of land that they already occupied but were not allowed to own in the Transvaal until the decision by the Supreme Court in James' case in 1905. This advertisement did not increase the small amount of land in African hands but it may have led Europeans to believe that the amount was rapidly increasing.

Labour Shortage

A more substantial reason, were not doubt the serious difficulties that the mine-owners of the Rand had long faced in their unending quest for a veritable army of unskilled labour. This chronic shortage was indeed one of the factors that had inspired the relations between the Transvaal

Republic and the neighbours and led to the Boer war. The mine-owners learnt from their experience the relations between land and labour. If the Boers were free to acquire more land, they would be reluctant to leave the reserves to work for low wages in the mines, and the constant shortage of labour would get worse. It may well be remarked that, behind the screen of not acquiescence, there was pressure on the Government to close the door against

By

JULIUS LEWIN

Represented from "The Political Quarterly," London

this possibility. The first Prime Minister of the Union, Smuts, was amiable to the demands of the mine-owners. In 1923 he had said that "the world, if necessary, break up the reserves (including the Transvaal) in order to provide labour for the mines and farms."

Wherever the pressure for its passage, the Land Act was a heavy blow to the Boers, coming as it did three years after the new Constitution (which had excluded Africans from ever sitting in the Union Parliament).

Like all South African affairs, Native policy is affected by events abroad. The first world war brought public attention from 1914 until 1919 and its economic aftermath explains the next phase of Native policy. The presently unended struggle, coupled with the high cost of living and the lack of economic planning, threatened the prospects of the white working class. Moreover the effects of the Land Act were now felt in the reserves where the Native population was increasing but not the area of land available to it. The interests of the mining industry had already been further safeguarded in 1911 by the legislation dealing with the movement of Native labour. Under this law a contract for the use of Africans in skilled or semi-skilled jobs had operated, previously at the request of the white miners, whose trade union was first recognised by the mine-owners in 1915. A crisis began when the Transvaal Supreme Court held the regulation embodying the colour bar to be ultra vires. The price of gold was falling and the mine-owners were tempted to seize the opportunity provided

by the disappearance of the regulation to employ fewer white men and more black men at a lower wage and also to let the black men do semi-skilled work. It was this policy that precipitated the great disturbances which ended in civil war on the Rand in 1922.

The white miners lost the decisive battle but in the end they won the political campaign that followed. Smuts's Government fell from office in 1924 and Haring took on time in enacting the colour bar by the Act of 1926.

Little it became apparent that this struggle, and its outcome, had been the turning point in Native

policy; it remains the most significant event since Union. What was really decided by the acceptance of 1922 was that white public opinion would never tolerate the replacement of white labour by black labour at a lower wage. The crisis made a deep impact not only on the public mind but on the mine-owners. They learnt the lesson that a permanent part of the cost of mining in South Africa was the acceptance of the colour bar. Never again did they attempt to abolish, or even to lower, racial barriers on the mines. From that time the mine-owners and the white miners entered a kind of partnership based on a common attitude displaying advancement to Africans in the industry.

(To be continued)

New Bill Insult To Africans

—Wilson

THE Native Land Amendment Bill now before Parliament was aimed at destroying all social contact between Europeans and Africans and would destroy the foundations of friendship and understanding between the two races, Mr. Donald Morris, chairman of the "Whites' Circle" and a leader-member of the International Parliamentary Debating Society, said in a debate.

If the Witwatersrand Club, the debating society and the new International Club of Durban and Marburg accepted the Bill's proposals, there would have to be no all African members.

The Bill excludes Africans from attending any churches, schools, hospitals, clubs or other institutions built after January 1, 1936, without the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs Dr. H. F. Verwoerd.

The International Debating society was the only one of the four organisations where politics were discussed.

Are Insult

Mr. Lambert Wilson, proprietor of the Marburg International Club, said that his club would not apply for registration when the Bill became law as it would be an insult to the African members.

He said: "The Chief Native Commissioner has informed me that non-European members can be persecuted as accessories after the fact if on duty the provisions of the Bill."

Mr. Ian Allan, chairman of the Durban International Club, said that on matter what the future pattern of South African life was

to be, friendship and respect could never be ill placed.

The South African Institute of Racial Relations in a statement said that it considered the Native Land Amendment Bill to be the most serious threat to human racial harmony and goodwill yet made in South Africa, according to a Cape message.

"This Bill appears deliberately designed to lay the way to mutual understanding between White and Black, and it destroys these few bridges in splendour which have been constructed over the years," it said.

The Bill would make it illegal to train any new inter-racial organisations admitting Natives and would also make illegal all such organisations formed in the last 30 years.

Hospital Treatment

It would also be illegal for any Native to attend with a place—this seemed to make it illegal for a Native to be treated at a hospital or to be treated at a hospital outside a Native location without the special approval of the Minister of Native Affairs, given with the concurrence of the school local authority.

African Viewpoint

Deny Christ To Placate Verwoerd?

DR VERWOERD has announced that his plans to make new laws which are going to make it a crime for churches, clubs, schools, societies, etc., outside Africa to have an African without the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs. The intention behind this is to cut every possible link between Black and White which does not enhance apartheid's sinister ends. At the same time, in fact, it states the next few years, there will be none from the last slave that will certainly break the Homelands Party's back.

is the fundamental function of the Bill under discussion.

At the same time the threat is not cast to the Christian only. It has alarming meaning to every domestic. Whether he believes in God or not, whether he is a Christian or not the domestic regards Man as an end in himself, he believes that Man's personality is sacred and inviolable. From this have arisen conceptions of liberty which, during the course of evolution down the centuries, have taken a form which enables them all to recognize what we call the domestic tradition.

In a sense we are fortunate that it is at this stage of our history. The unmistakable totalitarian stamp the amendment would have the effect of making the real issue at stake in the fight between apartheid and its opponents clearer. The more those who believe the greater the number of people on both sides of the colour line, in this country and overseas, who will see apartheid for the evil that it has always been.

No Paale

Then, instead of punishing or dissolving allied organizations, instead of being asked by the publicity of going everything we have all built up work so much pain and had caused to the ground by the Verwoerd effect, but as deliberate and mature recognition from the fact that the act has been shown in widely seen that there are more people inside it than those who hold it.

Let us realize that the danger is nothing new or unexpected. Before or after the Homelands were based to react to the belief because they are being ruled. They can pay no fair compliance to the effectiveness of our opposition to their wickedness than come with domestic order to the one under discussion.

Our duty is the discussion is to realize that beyond the we cannot retreat Verwoerd has no right to come between us and our God; no right to have our consciences should guide us. God alone is our master and not Verwoerd.

Although for the time being it would seem as if the odds are very much against those who believe in the goodness of Man, those who believe in

building bridges of good across the gulfs of race hatred, a clearer view of the dominating situation reveals that it has a very large, bright spot—and this is that those of us, on both sides of the colour line, who are threatened together, should not run into our death trap holes and in that way surrender everything we believe to be precious. On the contrary, we, who are condemned together for endeavoring to love our neighbors, should stand together in full together, regardless of race or colour or creed. Verwoerdism will be destroyed if we do this.

Catholic Example

I have previously derided whiling disputation from the stand taken by the Roman Catholic Church and others in these dangerous times. Their

leaders have made it plain: if they will not seek Verwoerdism to maintain a spiritual needs of their followers. They have three demands only from God and not from the Department of Native Affairs. That is exactly how I feel.

Someone I feel this way it seems to me one of all things we, democrats as Christians, should, are called upon to do, is to work with earnest energy for an effective outpouring of our spiritual forces and, secondly, plan out a campaign which will bring home to every South African the real meaning of the amendment now before Parliament.

The Capetown conference of Churches convened by the Christian will, from the perspective, have, at one of its duties, the responsibility to prepare ground for the realization of opinion against the Verwoerd decree. If it does that, Christianity might be given a new, more dynamic meaning. It might save South Africa.

Viljoen Says Government Not Likely To Change Plans

THE Government intends to go ahead with plans to divorce the non-European medical school in Durban from the University of Natal—in spite of vigorous protests from the University and the medical profession.

This was confirmed by the Minister of Arts, Education and Science, Mr. J. H. Viljoen.

The "Daily News" Capetown correspondent told the Minister that there was some optimism in Durban that the Government would now decide the medical school from its university-apartheid plans.

Mr. Viljoen replied, "We, Mr. I do not think that the Government can change its attitude."

Mr. Viljoen will give a full statement of the Government's case when he introduces the University Apartheid Bill—probably in about two weeks' time. The Bill is still being drafted.

Last week he received a deputation from the Natal University headed by the principal and vice-chancellor, Dr. E. G. McIntosh. He promised the deputation he would lay their case before the Cabinet.

The deputation had urged him to withdraw the medical school from its apartheid plans, at least on the grounds that it was already a going "apart, held" concern.

They said they could not see any reason for the Government plan to divorce the school from the University of Natal and place it under the Department of Education for administration with the University of South Africa as the managing body.

The Natal Coast branch of the Medical Association has also urged the Minister that it will not be able to co-operate further in the training of the school if its control is transferred from the University to a State Department.

R. VITHAL

Secretary, Writing up Sons of Slaves, Reform School, Income Tax Reform.

Corbett St., 12 Baskerville Avenue, 24 Market Street, Car Dispenser & Market St. Information. Phone 22-1000.

By
JORDAN K. NOURANE

For what does the amendment really mean? It is an attack on one of the most precious liberties—one which is most vital to Christians—namely, the freedom to seek to be like God, the liberty to pursue the ideal of perfection.

As a Christian I believe that God created Man in His own image and that Man's highest purpose in life is to seek and endeavor to be like God. In order to do this to the best of his ability Man must be free in body, mind and soul. Where this freedom is limited, Man cannot pursue the ideal of perfection to the best of his ability. Such limitations, then, is an attempt to frustrate the divine will and as such is in conflict with the whole purpose and mission of the Christian Church. The Verwoerd amendment constitutes such an act of frustration.

Fundamental Implication

In these circumstances the duty of the Christian is quite clear—to oppose any attempt by anybody to frustrate God's will. But we must remember something else which is equally clear: To oppose apartheid, in other words to try to force it to retreat from the extreme position it has taken, is to deny every sacred principle to plain language, to do the will of God, or against the will of the apostolic church, is a crime. We must realize, therefore, that we are being placed in the situation where we must either deny Christ to placate Verwoerd or go to gaol. This

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

February 1956—1241

Kampala

THE Lubika of Uganda has drawn up a petition to the Queen which received unanimous support. Its most significant feature is that, in addition to the immediate issues of land acquisition, it raises more than the whole question of Uganda's political status and makes new demands for a timetable for self-government. The petition declared that there had been a deception from the onset of the 1946 agreement, whereby Uganda accepted British protection, on these terms: the Kabaka's deposition in 1953, land acquisition, and the armed forces. It went on to claim that the 1946 agreement was made at "a very difficult time for Uganda, and to make a new agreement was the only way to return to Kabaka." It added that, as Britain has confirmed that Uganda would have self-government, as an African State, therefore, "we have decided that representatives of the Lubika should meet the Queen's representatives in the next three to discuss and make a definite policy which will lead us to self-government in a fixed time within the Commonwealth."

Salisbury

A new industrial conditionality bill, which will allow for the first time the licensing of multi-national trade unions in Southern Rhodesia, is to be introduced into the Southern Rhodesian Parliament on April 12. It has 127 clauses, among them one which will prohibit registered trade unions and employers' organisations from employing money from any grant or money in any organisation which is prohibited to engage in political activities.

Nairobi

Dudon Kimathi was brought to Nairobi at dawn on 7th February. At his request a Roman Catholic priest spent all the previous night in his cell with him. Kimathi was not returned to death bed. However, for violent possession of a revolver, he was captured in

the Aberdare Forest in October, after troops had searched for him for two years. A party of African police now subdued him, sending him to the high after a brief skirmish.

About thirty thousand people still remain in Mau Mau detention camps in Kenya and are being released at the rate of 1,200 a month. Giving those Spura, Mr. G. M. Johnson, special commissioner of the Kenya, Embu and Mau Mau tribes (the scheduled tribes under the Mau Mau emergency law) said 40,000 have already been released. Of those only 35 have had to be re-arrested. But the police Spura show that every month 400 Kiboko are being arrested for illegally entering Mau Mau and many more for travelling outside their own areas.

London

Mr. J. D. Fyfe, Colonial Under-Secretary, stated in a Parliamentary written reply that Dr. Arifwile intended to surrender his shares in the African Continental Bank without compensation. He had also to repay to the bank the director's loan of £5,255 which were paid to him after police money had been injected into the bank, on the understanding that this was to be paid back to him which was to be met out of the bank's current savings. Further study was being given to Nigeria in the future of the bank and, in particular, the possibility of all its capital being acquired by the Eastern Regional Government. On the 4th of June last both of law and policy remain to be settled. Steps are being taken towards clearing up the relation between the Funder and the bank.

That Ghana "would become a full member of the Commonwealth did not follow automatically because the British Parliament had finally agreed to the creation of an independent State. The terms of admission to membership have never been defined, but the withdrawal of Prime Minister from office self-governing territories at Commonwealth membership—In practice the State

of recognition—has called for the assent of all existing members. No serious difficulty has arisen in the past, but when the Gold Coast's claims arose first to be discussed a conflict between South Africa and other members seemed inescapable. The danger of an attempt was, alternatively of South Africa's accession from the Commonwealth, created with the departure of Dr. Malan. Mr. Stuydam, while following an underlining line in Nationalist domestic politics, has displayed a greater flexibility in his external relations. A statement of his government last year, suggesting a possibility of diplomatic representation for

the Union in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, seemed a new and a welcome note. Now, with yesterday's announcement, this transformation of South Africa's policy appears to be complete. Mr. MacMillan made it clear that all other Commonwealth Prime Ministers had consented to Ghana's full membership. He also said that South Africa would be "fully represented by a Minister" at the independence ceremony. That, of course, does not necessarily convey that the same welcome will be extended to Stuydam and the Ciskei's Federation when they achieve self-government, but it now seems most unlikely that their entry will be opposed.

British Colour Bar Keeps Family Apart

Lusaka.

BOY meets girl. They got married. A year later they have a baby. The husband plans to bring his wife and child to his home country.

A not unusual statement, you say? Nothing to comment about? Read on. This is what our newspaper writes:

"It will soon be made clear to her (the wife) that in this country not many people will wish her a blessed married life."

"On the contrary, there will be hundreds of thousands who will desire a speedy end to the marriage."

The wife Christine was born, aged 40 from Holland. The husband? Patrick MacMillan, an African lawyer.

The country? Rhodesia, part of Central Africa in which the official government policy is "apartheid" between the races.

The newspaper? "Die Volkskrant," a Rhodesian Afrikaans publication.

Another comment on the MacMillan marriage, this time from Mr. Herman Rennie, South African born M.P. in Rhodesia:

"It is not in the public interest that Mrs. MacMillan should move to Rhodesia. We Europeans want to maintain the purity of our race."

Mrs. MacMillan was first married to a person, so her husband returned to Southern Rhodesia from Holland in 1946 that, his first legal wife. He was,

His wife's new spouse has permitted to the little Dutch village of Gouda.

They plan to make their home at St. Faith's, near Harare, the late-racial farming community with which the Mrs. Michael Scott is associated, and where, until his death last year, Trevor Pindus Union member Cedric Williams was living.

Portrait Of An Asian Library At Work

THE Delhi Public Library was established in 1931 by the Government of India, and serves as a model for public library development in India. Now the largest public library in the region, it serves over 70,000 men, women and children a month and during the past five years has lost one million eight hundred thousand books.

A report just published by Unesco gives a detailed picture of what the library is doing, what it has achieved so far and the problems it is likely to meet in the future. It also shows what the average, non-researcher is likely to do when he applies his reading. This last point was built up from answers provided to 49 questions in 1,200 interviews, from an analysis of the library's registration records and book structure.

The most work of the evolution was done by the Delhi School of Social Work, the staff of the Delhi Public Library and the author of this book, Mr. Frank W. Goodwin, Borough Librarian of Luton (U.K.) who served as a Curator consultant to Delhi from November 1952 to June 1953 and again in the fall of 1955. (REUTERS)

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

(Continued from page 100)

at first and would hardly speak to her new husband, but they soon became good friends.

Gandhi found that his bride was a little girl of very independent character who did not like to be unnecessarily ordered about. On the other hand, now that he was married, Gandhi felt himself to be very important and grown-up. He wanted to order her about all the time, even though he did it lamely. He had soon become very fond indeed of his sweet little wife, but he wanted her to ask his permission for everything. Even if she wanted to go to the temple, he expected her first to ask leave to do so. This she absolutely refused to do. In this way they would quarrel, like the two children they were. Sometimes they would not speak to each other for the whole day.

Another thing which troubled Gandhi very much was that Kasturba had not studied any-

thing. Modern Indian girls are very lucky in being able to go to school and college from the days, but when Kasturba was a child, people in India did not care to let their daughters study. They thought it unbecomingly and a waste of time. In those days girls were supposed to occupy themselves only with household tasks, cooking, embroidery and such things. Gandhi, on the other hand, had grown to be very steady. He prepared his school tasks every day with the greatest care (for he continued to go to school after his marriage. He wanted to teach Kasturba all that he knew, but the little girl was not interested. Nobody had ever taught her the value of study, and her poor little husband was himself only a child, so how could he make her understand?

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(To be continued)

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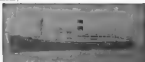
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Indian Opinion.

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અમે દેશી સેવરોની સેવરો સેકેટી, અને કાચી તેમજ વાજાની દાળ, ખાંડ, પિણ, અને વાંચી, વિવિધ રાજીયો વગેરે.

ધરતું અધિશ્ચ આપાણું અને સારી જાતનાં પાણ્ય હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બોન્બો સિમ્પલ અને કુદરતી બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

It is a happy thing that
time with the language of
reason and justice the
promptings of rage and
aversion.

—Charlotte Brooks

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi 1932-1950

In the little world of child-
ren, there is nothing so fairly
prevalent and so fairly felt as
jealousy.

—Dickens.

No. 10—Vol. LV.

Friday, 15th March, 1957

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ANGLICAN CHURCH WRITES TO STRIDDOM

JUST before his death on Thursday last week Archbishop G. H. Clayton signed the following letter to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Anglican Church:—

"Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
"We Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa are approaching you rather than the Minister of Native Affairs because we believe that the issues raised in Clause 29 (C) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill cannot be regarded merely as African affairs.

"It appears to us that as far as the Anglican Church is concerned, churches and congregations in every urban area within the Union, even those mainly attended by Europeans, will be affected by this clause.

"Further it is our belief that the clause raises the issue of religious freedom and more particularly that of freedom of worship, and we want to submit that this is a wider issue than African affairs only.

Three Points

"We desire to state that we regard the above-mentioned clause as an infringement of religious freedom in that it makes conditional on the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

1. The continuance in existence of any church or parish constituted after January 1, 1933, in an urban area except in a location

which does not exclude native Africans from public worship.

2. The holding of any service in any church in an urban area except in a location to which a native African would be admitted if he presented himself.

3. The attendance of any native African at any synod or church assembly held in an urban area outside a location.

"Instructions"

"The Church cannot recognise the right of an official of the settler Government to determine whether or when a member of the Church of any race (who is not serving a sentence which restricts his freedom of movement) shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship, or to give instructions to the minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation.

"Further, the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa provides for the synodical government of the Church.

In such synods, Bishops, priests and laymen are represented without distinction of race or colour. Clause 29 (C) makes the

holding of such synods dependent on the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs.

"We recognise the gravity of disobedience to the law of the land. We believe that obedience to secular authority, even in matters about which we differ in opinion, is a command laid on us by God. But we are commanded to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.

"There are therefore some matters which are God's and

not Caesar's and we believe that the matters dealt with in Clause 29 (C) are among them.

"It is because we believe this that we feel bound to state that if the Bill were to become law in its present form, we should ourselves be unable to obey it or to exhort our clergy and people to do so.

"We therefore appeal to you Sir not to put us in a position in which we have to choose between obeying our conscience and obeying the law of the land."

Great Churchman Scorned Apartheid Even In Death

THE Archbishop of Cape Town who died last week gave to his chaplain (the Rev. R. W. F. Cowley) instructions about what he wished done about his funeral if he should die suddenly without being able to express those wishes beforehand.

These instructions were typical of his character, and of what he had fought for.

He said: "I desire and express my strong wish that after my decease no memorial be erected to me, and no appeal be made for money for any such memorial, either in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, or anywhere else.

"As to my funeral, I desire that no hymn be sung at it which is suitable for Sinner's days, but that the note of the service should be one of penitence.

"I should prefer to be cremated, and that my ashes should be interred somewhere where there is no colour bar, not in a cemetery reserved for Europeans."—*Times*.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 15TH MARCH, 1957

Schoeman Must Go!

THE decision taken by the African communities in the boycott areas of the Rand creates a complicated situation which even those with the slightest knowledge of South African affairs feared would be the ultimate outcome of the Minister of Labour's provocative attitude to the boycotters.

The matter is no longer one which affects the boycotters, the bus company and Johannesburg only. Ministerial maladroitness in handling the whole situation has given us a local, economic dispute the proportions of a national race political crisis. If the Africans of the Rand decide to stay in their homes and starve rather than walk the country's economic life will be thrown into such chaos as nobody can at this stage imagine.

Africans Determined

This is not alarmist talk. The Africans are determined this time. The Government has used all sorts of pressures to break the boycott. That the Africans remain solid in their determination is not due to any weakening of effort on the part of the Government, it is due strictly to the fact that the Africans have reached the point where they have been goaded into saying: 'Thus far and no further!' to race oppression.

Because what will happen if the African communities do not go to work affects everybody it is necessary that at this point we should gather the threads of the whole crisis, if to see whether or not a way out might not be found.

Trouble started when the bus company at Alexandra Township raised the fares by a penny. The Africans argued that this constituted an economic burden which they could not bear in view of their low wages. When the bus company refused to see reason, the Africans decided to launch a boycott of its buses.

Fear

Since the same company had some of its buses on some other routes, what was happening at Alexandra concerned the Africans elsewhere that the race would be coming to them as well. To defend themselves in advance they decided to boycott their buses.

This drew from the Minister of Transport very violent reactions. He denounced the boycott as a political, anti-White move and held out the African National Congress as the prime engineer of the boycotts. As every informed person knows, this was sheer nonsense. The boycotts were initially a spontaneous movement. As if to bring in the ANC was

not enough fully, the Minister made irresponsible threats, talked of breaking the boycott and urged the bus owners to stand firm while he made frantic efforts to create a White anti-African front to oppose the boycott.

These tactics had the effect of making the Africans of the Union realise that the African community as a whole was being attacked by the government. They were convinced that the Minister's attitude would be a green light to all bus owners to push up their fares. The sympathetic boycotts were launched as a warning that the African community would stand no nonsense from the bus owners, Schoeman or no Schoeman.

£25,000 Offer

It was at this stage that the Mayor of Johannesburg came out with a plea for the discontinuance of the boycott and the promise of a wage decontamination for all unskilled labour. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce offered £25,000 to meet the penny rise during negotiations for a determination. The nature of the offer indicated that respectable White opinion had been impressed by the need to abandon the Schoeman line and take up a more realistic attitude. But the actual mechanics of the offer were such as to make it wholly unacceptable to the Africans. It involved queuing in the morning to catch the buses and queuing in the evenings to get the penny refund. Secondly, there was no valid guarantee that when the £25,000 had been used up the bus company would not force up the fare, after the people had grown used to the penny rise. Neither Mr Goodman, the Mayor, nor the Chamber of Commerce were in the position to ally African loans in this regard.

On the contrary, sections of the White Press started slandering boycott leaders, accusing them of onerous which were not really made. The Press launched a campaign to discourage the White motor car owners who helped the boycotters along. To give added meaning to this folly the Minister of Transport amended the law and drove the buses off the road and saw to it that any other operator would not be allowed to run on the route at a rate acceptable to the Africans; that is, charging a fare within the means of the Africans.

Every Door Barred

With every door to a reasonable solution barred angrily and irresponsibly by the Minister of Transport, the Africans had no alternative but to warn that they could no longer continue to walk on foot while no genuine effort was made to see the justice of their case. As a result they decided to sit down in their homes and not go to work. That is the mess into which Schoeman's blundering has led the country. And, if it is not corrected, nobody can know what it will lead South Africa to.

In the meantime nobody can sit down and do nothing. The government created a situation which is now poisonous to control. Let the Nationalists froth at the mouth, making all sorts of threats; the plain-

such is that in spite of whatever they have done to break the boycott they were failed abjectly. By every indication, the boycott will continue as long as the Africans think there is no hope of redress from the side of the rulers.

What can be done in these circumstances? Firstly, we should like to warn the people of this country for particular and the free world in general that the African National Congress is being used largely as a surrogate here for purposes of covering up the Ministers of Transport's demonstrable blindness. It was the Minister who brought the ANC into the bus dispute. And throughout the crisis the leaders of this movement have made it plain that they want a peaceful solution. It is not the ANC which has barred the doors to further negotiations; it is the Minister, by his attitude. If he wants to meet them or the boycott leaders we are certain they would do anything in their power to meet him.

Test Assertion

Let industry and Commerce test this assertion. Let them call the leaders of the boycott or the leaders of the ANC. Let them meet them with constructive suggestions and be willing to listen to the Africans' case. The day they do that the boycott will stop.

There is, unfortunately, no hope that reason will ever enter the situation created by the penny rise in bus fares when Schreiner remains Minister of Transport. His promise is that they will not inspire that degree of confidence which should make careful agreement between the Africans and the other interested parties. If the Prime Minister seriously wants to finish the boycott crisis and has no intention of using it for political purposes, Schreiner must go!

Bus Bill Designed To Break ANC

"If the Africans want to walk, they can walk," said the Minister of Transport, Mr. E. J. Schreiner, in the Assembly last week, replying to the second-reading debate on the Motor Carrier Transport Amendment Bill.

A United Party amendment that the Bill be read "this day six months" was rejected by 40 votes to 35 and the Bill was read a second time.

Mr. Schreiner said that if there was any particular reason for the Bill, it was that it gave the Minister power to prevent the National Transport Commission from giving a licence to any other company to operate on the Rand routes from which the buses of the Public Utility Transport Corporation had been withdrawn.

The answer was very simple. In the first instance, they would not allow any Indian company to start a service and to give a victory to the African National Congress.

"If the Africans want to walk, they can walk. But a good effect of this Bill will have is already apparent in the Western Native Townships—the Africans will reject their African National Congress leaders; they will be brought into everyday life and more the Africans will say that they have been grievously misled."

"On the contrary, the bus thing that has happened is that their leaders are rejected and the

A.N.C. is broken. I think it will happen."

If the Africans wanted to see the buses, they would have to bus them on the basis of the cancelled fares. The Prime Minister had been withdrawn and if the Minister did not hurry up, these buses would be disposed of next week and the workers put off.

The boycott would have ended long ago if the Opposition, by their silence, had not created the impression that they supported it and if the English newspapers had not actively supported it.

If difficulties arose on the Rand and if there were any disturbances as a result, he would place the responsibility squarely in the first place on the English newspapers and in the second place on the Opposition.

During the debate, Mr. T. O. Williams (D.F., Durban Abroad), said that if there were no economic provisions, there would be no politics in the bus boycott. In his view the Government had acted too hastily and in no unexpected a fashion.

If there was any legacy here the economic face of the situation, it would be possible to establish

where economic wind ended and political speculation began.

Mr. F. W. de Pinedo (Nat., Braganza) said that the mass had not who started the Police boycott

had led a purely political boycott in Braganza two years ago and compelled the Town Council there to replace White buses with Africans—Saps

Editorial Comment . . .

Industries Changing To Black Labour

WHILE the Government wields the broom of Apartheid, the tide of immigration sweeps in. In this respect few documents have been more revealing than the Report of the Department of Labour for 1954. The report shows that while the Government's long-vaunted industrial expansion has been impossible to meet all the demands for European labour. A consequence is a rise in the proportion of non-European labour employed in manufacturing industries. Some industries which started off as a white trade are slowly changing colour, not because of dissatisfaction with the performance of white workers but because sufficient white labour is not available to meet the growing demand. A further consequence of the steady availability of employment was that workers become more "docile" in respect of employment. This

led to less competition for white employers for white labour, with the result that remuneration for some workers became out of proportion with the work done.

Few public minds have as readily known political shades as high as the road towards industrial colour. There is, in which white and black are so mutually bound up. While the Government finds "apartheid" a word of magical efficacy, the facts of the day-to-day situation confound their character. It is necessary also that the departmental report we have referred to also declares that assimilation, where applied in the Union, has had no adverse effect on the workers, in accordance with the call for labour will continue much as it is now. "The South African Outlook."

India Sends Congratulations To Ghana

INDIA'S President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a message of greetings to the Government of Ghana said: "On the occasion of the independence of Ghana, the Government and people of India join me in extending heartfelt congratulations and good wishes for your Excellency's personal happiness and for the prosperity and welfare of the people of Ghana."

"We are confident that the bonds of friendship already existing between India and Ghana will be further strengthened in the coming years and that Ghana will be able to contribute appreciably towards the promotion of world peace."

Prime Minister Nehru's Message

Prime Minister Nehru in a message to the African Students Association meeting in Delhi to celebrate the Ghana Independence Day said: "The attainment of independence by the Gold Coast is an event of great importance and significance, not

only for Africa but for Asia also and is most attractive for the world."

"Out of the deep travail of the people of Africa, the independent State of Ghana has been born as a symbol and witness of the great longing for freedom which is pulsating through Africa. We welcome this State and wish it all success."

S.A. President Welcomes Ghana Cooperation

The South African High Commissioner in Johannesburg, Dr. A. J. van der Merwe, said that he is a great admirer of the new State of Ghana and that he is a great admirer of the new State of Ghana and that he is a great admirer of the new State of Ghana.

"It is our desire that the new State of Ghana will enjoy a future of peace and progress," he said.

"We believe, as you do, that Africa has a great destiny. But this destiny can only be achieved on the basis of mutual confidence and friendly co-operation between the peoples of Africa themselves."

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER II

Boyhood

As this was so, Gandhi became a model rebel. He had a high sense of duty and he tried in every way to obey his parents and teachers and make them satisfied with him. He never had a single bad criticism at school. Though he was not a very clever child, he could not be hard that he even was two small schoolboys.

He was very sensitive and could not bear to be scolded. Once a teacher beat him for something he had done. Gandhi cried bitterly. His feelings were terrible. This sensitive boy made him feel pity for the sufferings of others. In particular he could not bear to see the poor treatment of the poor so-called "Untouchables." They also, like everyone else, were the children of the Creator who made all things. This thought went into his mind, but grew with his growth. When he was a man he never ceased fighting for the rights of these poor, unfortunate people. He even risked his life for them. He was the man, instead of being the ugly word "Untouchable," first called them by the lovely name of Harijans, or the Children of God. But I am going on too fast and telling you about things done by that green-eyed man, instead of remembering with the story of Gandhi: the school-boy, as he was then.

As you will know, many people in India are still very wrong in their ideas about the poor "Untouchables," and in the days of Gandhi's childhood there were a hundred times worse. Even his sweet mother, gentle and kind though she was, believed firmly in the old idea that merely to touch an "Untouchable" meant pollution. She therefore always insisted that her little son must take a bath of purification whenever he happened to touch the sweeper boy who came to the house. On these occasions Gandhi would jump with merriment, as if to say: "It is really not necessary. Mother dear," and away he would run. In his heart, nevertheless, he felt that his good mother would be right with him, if only he could find the right words to explain to her that the "Untouchables" were as much his brothers as his play-friends at school.

At the High School Gandhi began to take more interest in his country. He felt very keen to think that the British ruled India and kept Indians in an inferior position. He often wondered why it was that hundreds of millions of Indians allowed themselves to be ruled by a few British (for, as you all know, compared to India, Britain is a tiny country). He did not realize that it was because Indians were actually divided into different castes and communities, each thinking only of his own interests, with little or no idea of a common India or a common aim. One day a school friend told him that the British were able to rule India easily

because apart on the river bank, and there, for the first time, Gandhi saw men, which had been brought by his friend. It was just a few very rough and badly prepared, and poor Gandhi did not like it at all, but he ate it heartily. The thing which upset him most was the thought that the meat had come from a poor free man which had had to die in order to provide him with this meat. He could not get proper sleep at that night. He was tormented by a horrible nightmare in which a few great dogs on bleeding islands were eating.

After a while he came to understand that it was wrong to divide his parents in anything, however good his motives might be. So he determined to give up the idea of becoming a regular meat eater and think of some better way of getting strong in order to defeat the British.

Karnataka, who had a wise little head in spite of not having studied at all, had already understood that the bold, man-eating boy who said he could push up his brother, was not a terrible companion for his young brother. She began to warn Gandhi against him. Very soon Gandhi saw how wrong his little wife was, for his friend began trying to lead him into all sorts of mischief and wickedness.

There another boy began teasing Gandhi in similar. This boy was a relative of the family. The two would pick up cigarette stumps dropped by grown-ups and puff away in secret, feeling wonderfully smart and clever. Unfortunately, not being strong generally made a mistake. They were not used to anything very strong and wanted to buy whole cigarettes. They ran away, and they had no money. So they began to steal paper notes now and then from the poor servant's pocket.

Shortly after this, Gandhi's elder brother got into debt and didn't know what to do about it. He felt that he must pay the debt—but where to get the money? At last he thought of a large of gold which he always wore on his arm. "Why not sell a bit out of that and still let me see what notes," Gandhi, who was in the worst, helped his brother to slip out the bit of gold, and the debt was paid. As soon as it was done, however, Gandhi's heart almost broke with emotion. He felt sure that what he had done was wrong,

and he made up his mind to own his bit to his father.

He felt terribly afraid, but he wanted to get the weight off his conscience. So he wrote what he had to say on a sheet of paper. He told everything and ended by promising never to steal again and asking for forgiveness. There he headed the paper in his father's name and at that time very rich in his.

Though generally a quick-tempered man, the father was so touched by his son's brave confession that he cried. The boy cried too. He felt that his blind father's tears had washed off his wrong-doing away.

After this Gandhi determined to give up smoking too. He started to burn the most precious from his great parents. Soon he came to think smoking a very bad thing. He understood that it was bad for his health and altogether a very foolish practice. When he grew up he did all he could to persuade people to give up smoking.

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(To be continued)

McCord Seeks Financial Assistance

YORK McCord Zola Hospital in Durham needs financial aid, and unless it gets it there is every likelihood that the hospital will have to close doors.

This is what the Administration-Executive was told recently when a delegation met the committee and asked for financial assistance.

The delegation was led by the Medical Superintendent of the hospital, Dr. Alex. H. Taylor, and made three requests.

Accumulated deficits since 1949 had amounted to £11,000 and the delegation asked the Province to pay this. An annual grant for £20,000, representing an increase of £5,000 on the present grant, was sought.

The third request was that the Province pay £3,378, based on a £ for £ basis, for accumulated capital expenditures incurred on new X-ray equipment and other undertakings.

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S.A. Native Policy Never Changes—II

THE process of partnership that established in the twenty's biggest industry was followed, in one way or another, in the secondary industries that began in the thirties. From steel to the electrical industry, and on still growing. Industrial relations were fairly shaped by the Act of 1924, which remained unchanged until it was amended to the detriment of white trade union in 1926. The vital factor of this legislation was the exclusion of Africans from trade unions. Another Act of 1933 attempted to provide adequate machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes involving Africans. But what began the status of Africans in industry last was not only their loss but the inherent weakness of the Government and the industrial class of labourers, a weakness aggravated by the post-war and the last governing urban class.

The expansion of the Union's economy between the two worlds was due from the countryside and from the urban two sections of men at work and at wages. The great bulk of the Africans remained for more than 20 years before its path was paved and the white population established in the proportion of fully about half a million, or one-third of the total in the country. The parallel track of the African began after (I say during) the last world war and continued to this day, or 1937, of unswerving increasing harsh laws designed to run the race. Had the current date to 1936 been taken, the figures would possibly have shown that well over one-third of the Africans are now resident in urban and peri-urban areas.

Europeans, including the Afrikaners, have accepted the as obvious facts of urbanisation as it affects themselves, but, pre-occupied about African policy, enough much after blind prejudice, have prevented them from accepting the same facts as it affects Africans. It is this failure that has led behind all the subsequent legislation passed since the Union Government introduced the Bantu Act in 1923. Few things are more astonishing than the persistence, through 33 years, of the same rigid framework to "control the influx" of Africans, a migration controlled in fact by the economic pressure on the reserves much more than by the amount and social requirements of the reserves. The increase of the farms will surely command on the total reduction of urban population to percentages that indicate the

even political practices have not proved stronger than the economic forces responsible for industrialisation and in equal, urbanisation.

Fixed Ideas

The Afrikaners will not have to look far to confirm the theory that ideas can govern men. During the nineteenth century, if not before, ideas about Africans became fixed to such a degree that such facts to the contrary could not shake them. One of these stereotypes, more was the action than, in times of social change, it was possible to escape the unchanging situation of official ideologues in an efficient class in Native administration.

By

JULIUS LEWIN

Reprinted from "The Political Quarterly," London

The British had developed first the practice and the theory of the term of "indirect rule" in India, in West Africa, and last in all their African dependencies. By 1927 when the authorities of local and imperial government accepted Murray's statement, it had grown to be an orthodox and unchallenged feature of British colonial policy. The Native Affairs Department in Pretoria had for a half a century been saying with the idea of giving the Chiefs complete recognition and of allowing traditional laws. Native law and custom to play a bigger part in the administration of lands. The acceptance of this idea by parliament was recorded only by the ratification that the Chief had in earlier governments been the actual leaders of the resistance to conquest and where necessary. It was this idea that recently inspired the important Native Administration Act of 1927, a landmark for that government that anticipated the Bantu Administration Act of 1931. (Incidentally, what we see in South Africa seemed to indicate was that by 1930 British colonial policy had begun seriously to modify itself. This, comprising an obvious shortcomings when faced with the challenge of the economic pressure.)

Bantu Culture

There are successive factors that explain why the Union made the mistake after 1923, to a great extent, unswerving in urban theory. To the mind of Europeans, nothing marks the

basis on a different race with a different culture so clearly as the survival of Native customs that have no place in western culture. Indeed, to stamp the primitive culture as "African" is itself a cultural racist country. For generations it has been fixedly looked down on as inferior and anarchy different, to the point that French culture is different from English. Why are Europeans determined to preserve Bantu culture, even against the weight of the most intense of the Bantu themselves? The real reason is that Bantu culture marks all Africans as a people apart, useful to explain the weakness and values of the chiefly "civilised" and wholly superior Europeans. It follows that the standards and means by which white men shape their relations with other white men need not be applied to black people. In plain words, in order to explain African life, it is necessary to despise the process by professing to have a deep respect for their primitive culture. By this means Europeans hide even from themselves the consequences of degrading Africans of their lands and laying them to work for lower wages in completely illegitimate to white people. Indeed all the spiritual means chosen by Europeans for "the soul of the Bantu" under the protection of tribal institutions and Murray continue for the white man's own desire to consolidate the common conviction that he has imposed on the Bantu.

Land, labour, and the theory of tribal institutions—in the interplay of these three factors that explain, more than anything else, the evolution of African policy since the close of the South African war. The three elements and the factors have long shared a permanent and constant in all big empires, the chronic need, somewhere or other, to find enough labourers as a wage low enough to enable their mines and farms to show a substantial profit. It was this need for labour that also explained the first appearance of part laws a century before Union. It was this need that explained the steady maintenance of the part laws as rules of the game in which farms and mines were competed for the available supply of labour.

Once this fundamental fact is grasped, the movements of the status laws since Union take on a systematic appearance. When the annual rainfall falls, the

status continues essentially unchanged. The more that Native policy seems to change, the more it has remained the same. Fifty years ago men were solemnly discovering "the Native problem"; they are still debating it today with the aid of a richer variety of methods, surely that yet fail to shake the grip economic a share behind all the political verbiage.

However, this does not mean that nothing in the Union has changed in the field of race relations during the last fifty years. Significant changes have indeed come, but not in Native policy as it is the white man's outlook on it. What has changed is the black man and his attitude to white men. When the British returned in 1903, to limit the franchise to the "European" (a British colony) to white men, as black men's votes was used in protest. By 1909, however, the colour bar in the Union's constitution did not pass without protest from African leaders who stressed that one day their own might sit in Parliament. The African National Congress was formed in 1912, and in the following year the few *Coloured* men presented it with a second, more progressive, as which to grow. The Congress movement began as a law school; but its growth was rapidly quickened by the new strain of opinion in race relations produced by the second world war. By 1946 the liberal colonies minister, Joe Hume, was surprised by the demand put forward by African leaders for the repeal of all laws excluding racial discrimination. By 1951 hundreds of thousands of Africans had taken from their Indian fellow-countrymen and political allies the force of passive resistance. By 1956 no African appearing in leadership would dare to accept a programme for his people based on anything less than absolute equality. Just this was an African organisation announced a protest when the Minister of Native Affairs recently threatened to end the magistrates and leaders of communal representation of Africans in the Union Parliament. Far by this time the white man's unchanging ideas about his policy were no longer of close concern to those who embodied the policy. Africans were thinking about their own destiny in very different terms, confident that they would one day march by a different route towards a better goal.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones ?

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

February 25th—March 2nd

Queque S.R.

THE Southern Rhodesia Congress of the Dominion (Opposition) Party has decided that Africans in the Territory should receive much less advanced and much more technical education. The resolution before the congress was that the £2,000,000 that the Government intended to spend on African education in the next 5 years was excessive. This resolution was withdrawn after a member of Parliament had said that it might even be too little—but only if the money was spent on technical and not academic education. Speeches referred to "very rare" being spent on African education. It was suggested that since Africans wages had increased considerably in the last 5 years Africans should now pay for their children's education themselves. Other speakers said that although they favoured more technical education for Africans they did not want to see African-supplied European Africans. The Party's attitude is to consider a native policy for Southern Rhodesia, a feature of which is the establishment of "model colonies" for Africans who do not wish to become part of the regular labour force in the towns or on European farms. These work colonies would work on projects in African areas, selected for African development. The congress also rejected a resolution calling for a military form of Government instead of the present Federal one in Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

London

The British Government has declined to finance the development of African coal for import into this country. This decision was given in the House of Commons by the Paymaster-General. He stated that the shipping and transport costs of these coals were such that the Government would not feel justified in offering to finance their development for import into this country. "The field is, of course, open to private enterprise," Mr. Wooding added. A member of an inter-departmental committee report

was circulated later, and gave the reasons for the Government's decision: "In view of transport costs and differences in quality, it does not appear likely that these African coals would be competitive here with American coal. Still less does there appear any prospect of African coal being bought here at a price comparable with that at which our own coal can be produced."

The Colonial Office recently celebrated that agreement has been reached with all the Nigerian Governments that the conference on the Nigerian constitution should be open at Leicester House, London, on May 25.

Salisbury

The students at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland number 24—45 men and 20 women—including 7 African men, one African woman, and one Indian woman. There are three bursars at the university—one for European men, one for European women, and one for African men. The African women will sit at first here in the house of a member of the university staff and the Indian woman will live off the Campus in Salisbury. The number of students registering is considerably greater than had been expected and it is estimated that next year the college will take in 120 students in its third year.

New York

The U.N. General Assembly has adopted a resolution recommending that Britain, France and Belgium set dates for the achievement of self-government or independence of their territories under their administration. The vote was 49 to 24 with 17 abstentions. The opposition of the Western Powers recorded in killing was claims which would have declared as the United Nations' resolution that "most front territories are fully capable of achieving self-government or independence in the near future." The Assembly also adopted a resolution recommending that Britain consider making a statement on the

policy it proposes to follow in Tanganyika and specifically state that it will guide the territory towards self-determination or independence as a democratic state in which all inhabitants have equal rights. The first resolution recommends that steps be taken to ensure early self-government or independence for the British territories of Tanganyika and the Cameroons. It then "invites" the administering authorities to set dates for self-government for all their territories. The Assembly also adopted a resolution requesting Mr. Hammarskjöld to "explore ways and means for a satisfactory solution of the question of South-West Africa" in accordance with the Charter and report at "his earliest opportunity." It also requested the committee on South West Africa to study what legal steps were open to the U.N. to ensure that the Union of South Africa fulfilled its obligation under the mandate.

Paris

A decree by "Journel Officiel" from Dakar Institute of Higher Studies into a fully-fledged university with the same rights as the universities of Metropolitan France. The Institute, created in 1950, already organizes studies for the first three years of medicine and law and gives first year instruction for some other faculties. Dakar University is the first to be created in French Overseas Territories though Algiers (which is part of Metropolitan France) has had one for many years.

Accra

Dr. Jagan, former Prime Minister of British Guiana, who has arrived here to attend the Ghana independence celebration, said at the airport: "Now that restrictions on my movements have been removed I shall return into full political activity when I go back home." He praised Dr. Nkrumah for his statesmanship, remarking: "His background is similar to mine."

Rand Boycott: Latest

THE Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce said that its proposed plan to subsidise Rand taxpayers to the extent of £50,000 within the next three months had been withdrawn, and "until any responsible approach is made by the boycott leaders to the Chamber of Commerce, unconditionally accepting the proposed plan, the Chamber's scheme will not be entertained."

The Chamber's public relations officer, Mr. R. Wilson, added that the Chamber knew nothing about a reported new plan to subsidise the boycott income by subsidising African transport to certain areas through a £50,000 fund, to which the Chamber would contribute half.

(A Johannesburg evening newspaper reported that another move had been initiated "to end the bus boycott." This plan, it was stated, involved a coupon system whereby Africans would be able to buy bus tickets for 4d.

It said the scheme had been initiated by a group of City Councilors, and provided for the Council to augment the special fund of £50,000 made available by the Chamber of Commerce with an equal amount. Bus tickets would be sold at 6d. and would at 4d.

The newspaper added that, although the Chamber's offer had been withdrawn, it understood that it would be revived under the new scheme.

The Chamber's original scheme provided for the boycott return to pay the increased 3d. bus fare. They would then receive a 1d. refund on each ticket from a special £50,000 fund. The scheme was rejected at meetings in the Rand newspaper on Friday night and withdrawn by the Chamber on Saturday.

£50,000 Plan

Referring to the reported new £50,000 plan, Mr. Wilson said: "The Chamber of Commerce knows of no such proposed scheme. On Saturday the original scheme proposed by the Chamber was withdrawn by the President and the original scheme, in view of the fact that the buses have been taken off the road, lies away."

"Until any responsible approach is made by the boycott leaders to the Chamber of Commerce, unconditionally accepting the original plan, the Chamber's scheme will not be entertained."—Saps.

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Chandrasekhar	5	2	0 0
Krishna Prasad	5	2	1 0
Shankar Prasad	5	2	1 0
Jagdish	5	2	1 0
Lat. Pari	5	2	1 0
Kishore K. K. K.	4	1	4 0
Milap	4	1	13 0
Mohini	5	2	1 0
Mohini Kishore	4	1	0 0
Naghi	4	1	0 0
Naghi 425	5	2	1 0
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Nkrumah Outlines Foreign Policy

THE Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah announced in a historic speech to the Legislative Assembly in Accra on Tuesday that the new State, like India, will not align itself with any group of powers.

Dr. Nkrumah said "As Ghana achieves independence it observes a world torn and divided in its political relationship. The Government of Ghana, therefore, feels at this stage the country should not be aligned with any group of powers or political blocs."

He added, "The Government of Ghana does not intend to follow a socialist policy in its foreign relations, but it does intend to promote its independence in so far as it seems best at any particular time."

Three Tastes

Dr. Nkrumah said, Ghana's foreign policy would be based on three words—dignity, peace and friendship.

"The Government hopes Ghana may become a member of the U.N. as soon as possible and looks forward to maintaining friendly relations with members of the Commonwealth and all freedom-loving nations."

Referring to the Commonwealth Dr. Nkrumah said "It is important to realize that we are not one of our own kind."

"The foreign policy of Ghana will not, therefore, be directed

by a need for us having to seek assistance from other countries."

"We do not seek continuance of any such aid on the basis of a gift from richer members of the Commonwealth. But we do believe that, under certain circumstances, development expenditure in Ghana by Commonwealth countries might be undertaken on the basis of equality and mutual benefit."

Spurious Axioms

Dr. Nkrumah said one of the spurious axioms of colonialism was that there was carried out the policy of the colonial power, however well-intentioned, almost always unconsciously sought a solution to the problems of the colonial territory in terms of a solution applicable to the so-called mother country.

"In our view we must seek an African solution to problems Africa. This does not, of course, mean we reject western influence as such, but that we think all western techniques and methods are not applicable in Africa. It does however mean that in Ghana we must look at every problem from an African standpoint."

In their message the Congress said: "In true Christian traditions, the late Archbishop unflinchingly championed the cause of justice and democracy in our multi-racial society at a time when this was most essential. His contribution in the field of race relations and his outspokenness against apartheid will forever be cherished by us and by millions of the underprivileged peoples of the Union. Dr. Ceylan's death has resulted in a serious loss to South Africa and her people."

SAIC Condemns New Verwoerd Bill

THE South African Indian Congress has strongly condemned the Native Laws Amendment Bill now before Parliament, as a measure which would drive deep trenches into civil and religious liberties in the Union, further increases the arbitrary power of Dr. Verwoerd and entrenches apartheid more deeply in the lives of the South African people.

The statement adds: "This Bill's chief purpose would appear to be the ending of voluntary contacts between the African people and the rest of the Union's multi-racial population. If the Bill becomes law then under almost any it will be unlawful for anyone to come into contact with an African unless permission is first obtained from the Minister of Native Affairs."

"This new restriction on the right of free association and assembly is a direct attack on civil and religious liberties. The SAIC calls upon those who cherish these basic liberties to come together in a mighty opposition. It is important for the religious leaders in the

Union to realize that the Bill is bad not only in relation to their own activities but also in relation to all forms of contact the Bill seeks to prohibit."

"Already the Nationalists have given Dr. Verwoerd great arbitrary powers and there must be strenuous opposition to the Bill as a whole and to give wide powers to Dr. Verwoerd in relation to the African people and to seek to entrench apartheid even deeper into the lives of the South African people."

"There is an urgent need for all right thinking people of South Africa to come together in opposition to this vicious measure."

Non-Europeans Mourn Archbishop's Death

SOUTH AFRICANS of all races received the news of the death of the Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. Geoffrey Ceylan, with a sense of shock, for he was greatly admired by all his colleagues and stood up for all forms of justice in the country.

On Friday morning when the news reached Johannesburg, among the City's thousands of mourners were the 735 transient suspects. At the Drill Hall there was a feeling of personal loss for the leaders facing the transient charge had come to have and respect Dr. Ceylan not only as the Patron of the Transient Trial Defence Fund, but also as a champion of freedom and liberty.

Typical of the attitude of the late Archbishop was his wish that his ashes "should be scattered somewhere where there is no colour bar—and in a country persecuted for Europeanism."

Messages of sympathy were conveyed to the Bishop of Johannesburg by 735 transient sus-

picious and by Dr. G. M. Huchler, Chief A. J. Lubell, Messrs R. September, F. Reynolds and L. Levy on behalf of the S.A.I.C., S.A.C.C., S.A.C.F.O., S.A.C.O.B. and S.A.C.T.V. respectively.

The Transient Suspects

In their message, the transient suspects said that Dr. Ceylan had been the patron of the people of South Africa and added that in their critical times the country could ill afford the loss of man of such idealism and vision. "As persons involved in this historic 'transient' inquiry we will be forever indebted to him for his leadership in sponsoring the Defence Fund launched in order to ensure a fair trial for us all."

Strengthen Afro-Asian Solidarity

—BANDUNG PREMIER

THE Prime Ministers of China and Ceylan, Mr. Chou En-Lai and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, stated in a joint statement in Colombo, that they reaffirmed their adherence to the principles accepted by the Afro-Asian nations that met in conference at Bandung in 1955, and which were an extension of the five principles of international co-existence and co-operation, popularly known as Panch Sheil.

They declared that it was necessary to strengthen the solidarity of the Afro-Asian nations to oppose in that even, the aggression and the expansion of the imperialist and colonial forces, that were still trying desperately to thwart the freedom and progress which the peoples of the world were striving to achieve in keeping with the spirit of the new age.

Referring to the national movements in Africa and Asia, in his speech during Ceylan's Independence Day Celebrations, Mr. Chou En-Lai said: "In less than twelve years since the conclusion of the Second World War, many countries in the Asian continent of Asia and Africa which were reduced to colonies or dependent countries, have regained their independence one after another and many old nations are re-emerging one after another."

From the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean, through the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, up to the other side of the Atlantic, a mighty tide of national independence movement is surging. Under the impact of this tide, the framework of colonial rule is crumbling. Nothing can stand the whole overwhelming and strongest Asia and Africa."

"I Loathe And Detest Apartheid..."

—NKURUMAH

DR. NKURUMAH, Prime Minister of Ghana, stood up and stamped the table as he denounced conference when questions about the position of Africans in South Africa were asked. "I loathe and detest apartheid," he said. "It does not conform with Christianity. If I had my way I would march it."

Then he added quietly, "Let you cannot interfere in the internal affairs of another nation. It would be wrong to be strong enough to exert an influence that is another matter."

Dr. Nkrumah told the conference that official representation between South Africa and the new members of the Commonwealth was being discussed, and did he think it would be difficult to establish this.

Ties between the two countries were growing rapidly, he pointed out, and other things might develop from this.

Talks were going on for a conference of all independent nations in Africa, including Egypt to discuss African problems.

It might be possible to invite South Africa. An African stood about Africa national movements in Uganda, Kenya and the Central African Federation.

Dr. Nkrumah is quoted by the "Daily Mail's" Ghana correspondent as saying that it might not be possible to invite their representatives to the conference. Ghana would try to keep them informed by expanding information services.

They would do the same service by their example in the management of their own affairs.

An Internationalist

On being that Ghana might campaign against Whiteness, Dr. Nkrumah answered, "We fight not against any race or colour, but against prejudice that is wrong. I am an internationalist. Let us ask other nations to remember that we are trying to do in 10 years what other nations have taken 100 years to do."

"I welcome criticism so long as it is constructive."

Earlier, Dr. Nkrumah made this declaration: "So long as I am Prime Minister, Ghana will not have the British Commonwealth."

The stories of Ghana becoming a republic was not in the mind either.

"Different Matter"

He added, however: "But if this were to be demanded by the people that would be different."

Dr. Nkrumah several times emphasized his wish to maintain cordial relations with Britain. He also spoke of the vital need for British officials to help to Ghana's "great experiment."

It would be some years, he thought, before Ghana could have an African Government-General.

The present Governor-General Sir Charles Arden-Claydon, is retiring soon.

Michael Scott At Ghana's Birth

THE Rev. Michael Scott told the following to a special representative of the "Witness":

"The emergence of Ghana as an independent African State is already having many important repercussions in Africa and among coloured peoples generally. It is likely to have far-reaching effects on French Colonial policy, which has always been directed hitherto towards the integration of her African territories into the French Union.

"This policy is being increasingly repudiated by Africa. The demand for self-government independently of the French Protectorate has been given impetus first by events in North Africa and now by the creation of Ghana.

African Vitality

"The colonies themselves, especially as they have been so demonstrated of African vitality and good temper, are less important than the great outstanding fact that Africans have shown their ability to pursue their legitimate ambitions by peaceful and constitutional means as open to them.

"While everyone studies that

Non-European Team Represents South Africa Overseas

THE South African Table Tennis Association has taken the initiative in sending a team to Stockholm to participate in the world table tennis tournament. This is the first time that a non-European representative team has been sent out of the country to take part in an international competitive sport.

The team consisting of four Indians and one Coloured from the Cape left by air last week under the manager, Mr. C. H. Bant, who is the president of the association. They meet a powerful Japanese side, and results will be awaited with eagerness.

Although this team is its initial venture may not overcome the opposition, it is nevertheless, a big stride forward in the progress of sport. The participating organization is affiliated to the International Association and has no open competition, whereas the all-White organization in South Africa is open to Europeans only.

A Painter

In an editorial comment the "Rand Magazine" writes:

"The fact that South Africa is represented at the world table tennis championships in Stockholm by a non-White team has not caused much comment—presumably because table-tennis is not a popular national sport. Nevertheless it is revolutionary for South Africa to be represented in this way—and in the eyes of the world it is 'South

Africa has put its name itself to Africa and to the world, its history up with this week's great climax has underlined the better argument of Apartheid that a people must go through hundreds of years of isolation to a 'superior race' and undergo all the humiliations and humiliations of legal inferiority in every department of life before it can govern itself."



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ભરી મોઢી પણ આંધળાં ભરી તરોડી
દેતો. 'મારા કુળ મારી કેટલું કરી
રહી છે મેં?' એ સમજાવેલો.

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નેઇથે છે

હાડકાં

તમામાં કોઇના કે કાઇનાં
પહેલેમાં કંઈક મારી
અમે ટનના
પા. ઉ આવીયું

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા વીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો ડિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઝન બોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણીની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

મીઠાઈ અને લોહંગની સગવડ

હવેથી મીઠાઈને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવીશે. વિવિધશિષ્ટ અને શાકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તો માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. સ્ત્રીઓમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક હાથે જુદીજુદા રાખવામાં આવશે. જે દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળીઓ માટે કટકોને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે ફેરી સેવરની સોપરી મેકેલી, અને હવે તેમજ વાજાની ડાળ, ખરેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચારોલી, મિંગેરે સર્વીસ કરીએ.

વરતું આથિલું અથાણું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગોર્ડેશી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાર્થસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Hoshil Gandhi—(1948-1956)

Not all the armies of all
the empires of earth can crush
the spirit of one free man.
And that one man will prevail.
—Terence McNamara.

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Friday, 22nd March, 1957

CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING REPORTS.
Price: SIX PENCE

VERWOERD REPLIES TO BISHOPS

THE Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) were "advised to desist from further participation in this most unnecessary agitation" against the Native Laws Amendment Bill by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd.

This advice was contained in a letter from the private secretary of Dr. Verwoerd to the Right Rev. A. H. Cullen, Bishop of Grahamstown and acting Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa. It was in reply to a

letter from the Most Rev. Geoffrey Clayton, late Archbishop of Cape Town, to the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom.

In his letter, written a few hours before his death Dr. Clayton had protested on behalf of the Bishops of the Church of the Province against the provision of the Native Laws Amendment Bill under which mixed worship could be banned.

The reply was signed by Dr. Verwoerd's private secretary, Mr. J. F. Bernard, and addressed to the domestic chaplain of the late Archbishop. A footnote stated that a copy would be handed to the Press immediately, as was apparently done by the domestic chaplain in the case of the letter to the Prime Minister.

The reply said "On behalf of the Honourable the Minister of Native Affairs. I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 7, 1957 with enclosure, addressed to the Honourable the Prime Minister, who has passed it on to the Minister of Native Affairs for his attention.

"I have been instructed to request you to inform the Right Rev. A. H. Cullen that the Minister of

Native Affairs regrets that the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa saw fit to initiate and subscribe to a campaign

in the Press, and even to threaten disobedience to the law of the land, without either awaiting the second (Continued on page 123) "

WHITE SUPREMACY NOT CHRISTIAN

TO try to maintain what some people called the White man's superiority in Africa was not only wrong but an action against the mind of Christ, said the Archbishop of Central Africa, the Most Rev. Edward Paget, preaching at St. John's Church, Clifton, in Bristol.

Much of the consciousness and tension in the world today were caused by nations and races holding on too long to their rule, control and domination over other people.

Nations which had come under the influence and guidance of Western civilization "grew restless and fractious under a yoke which no longer fits them, and so amount of humoring is going to make the wretched yoke fit," he said.

"It is just as wrong for Africans to demand that Africa should be only for Africans as it is for Europeans to demand that they should rule and dominate.

"We are building up a great multi-racial community there in Central Africa for, we believe, the welfare, happiness and peace of all."

There had been a steady

movement forward for years, said Dr. Paget, adding: "We are pledged in Central Africa, thank God, to a real living partnership of people working together for the good of the community. The Church has to see that pledge is kept."—Sapa Reuter.

LOUW SAYS ANC IS SUBVERSIVE

THE Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, replied, "Certainly not," when he was asked in the Assembly by Mr. Lee-Warden (Native Rep.) whether the African National Congress had been given the opportunity to express its viewpoint in the State Information Office publication "Digest of South African Affairs."

Mr. Louw said his attention had been drawn to an announcement in the publication that it was the policy to quote freely the viewpoints of different groups, whether favourable to the Government or not.

Mr. Louw said that it was not the policy to give subversive organisations the opportunity to make propaganda.

LIBERALS WANT NEW VERWOERD DRAFT

THE Liberal Party has sent a telegram to the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, reading:

"Consider you should publish amended clause to Native Laws Amendment Bill at earliest opportunity to enable opponents of the Bill to formulate their objections.

"The Liberal Party views with disquiet the fact that the Bill has been moved to the bottom of the Order Paper and expresses the hope that the Bill will not be steam-rollered through Parliament at the end of the session without proper examination.

"The Liberal Party proposes to continue with its preparation for opposition of the Bill until such time as the amendments suggested by Dr. Verwoerd have been made public."

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 22ND MARCH, 1957

Christian Leaders Must Not Betray Africans

IF some people were still in doubt about the Police State intentions of the Nationalists, the Native Laws Amendment Bill makes it crystal clear that that this country is now a Police State.

A country is a Police State when the ruling party dictates where the private citizen should live and how to whom he should befriend or associate with; when the individual can no longer order his personal life in accordance with his own judgment as a rational and responsible citizen; when conformity to the will of the ruler becomes the highest virtue.

We fear, this is the pass to which South Africa has come.

Quite a variety of reasons are given to account for the turn events are now taking. It has been said that the extremists in the Nationalist Party have taken control and that in the absence of effective opposition on the White side, they feel now is the time to settle all the old scores they have passionately yearned to settle, down through the years. If this interpretation is correct, the Prime Minister would appear to have been reduced to the position of a mere puppet and the Cabinet a mere rubber stamp.

Other people think that the Prime Minister is himself an extremist and that he is as much to blame for what is happening as any other Nationalist. The fact that he has given so much free reign to Minister Verwoerd, who is thoroughly messing up the country, is no sign of weakness but an indication of the Prime Minister's enthusiastic support for Verwoerdian irresponsibility.

A third group suggests that the wreckless regard for human values shown by the Government in some of its legislation at present before Parliament, and in particular the Native Laws Amendment Bill, is the reaction of a frightened political party at last awakened to the naked fact that the Africans has reached the point where he can bring apartheid crashing to the ground now.

The truth, in our opinion, would seem to lie in the fact that all the factors enumerated above have had bearing of some sort or the other on Nationalist thinking, forcing the Nationalists to make a bolder bid to reach their real and inevitable goal sooner than they had planned. And that goal always was; control and will always be, the Police State.

In these circumstances democrats of all colours are called upon to reassess the whole situation in more

realistic light. Apartheid is certainly at the zenith of its glory and power. But the moment of its greatest strength is also the hour of its most fatal weakness. At the height of its power, apartheid has discovered that there is in South Africa a force more powerful than Afrikaner Nationalism. And that power is the united will not only of the oppressed African millions, but also of all democrats, regardless of race or colour or station in life. It is this force which made it impossible for Minister Scheemans to break the boycott, the force which so vexes of Nationalist irresponsibility can destroy or weaken, it is this force which is in the ascendancy now, over apartheid; it is this very force which has sealed the fate of the Nationalist Party and the wicked doctrine it stands for.

The African leaders of Christian thought had this force very much in their minds last year when they met at Bloemfontein and decided to lead the country away from authoritarianism, to the path of co-operation and interdependence. They asked for a broad, united front of all anti-apartheid forces. Among other things the Native Laws Amendment Bill is designed to crush all efforts to bring this anti-apartheid front into being.

With the ablest leaders of the African people awaiting trial in Johannesburg, it becomes clear that the least asked for event came true being in the form the Bloemfontein assembly had in mind. But as apartheid must be opposed now, effectively, it should be clear that to wait for Mr. Mahabane to take the initiative in preparing ground for the desired front is to waste valuable time. By himself and with his organisation, he clearly is not in the position to do much. He himself possibly relied on help from some of the acknowledged leaders of the Afrikaner now awaiting trial. In the absence of this help, it would not be reasonable to expect him to do more than he can.

Responsibility for the defence of the moral values assailed by the Nationalists shifts naturally to other shoulders—to all the leaders of Christian thought. This is particularly the case against the background of the Native Laws Amendment Bill, whether or not the anti-Church clause is deleted or amended in the end. The leaders of Christian thought will have betrayed human values and their own White followers in particular if they swallow the Verwoerd bait of not defying the proposed law against the Churches. Not only that. To retreat because of the promises of a Minister who changes his mind at any time, with a shocking disregard for the consequences of his actions, would merely delay the evil day when the Church would be attacked when it was left alone, deserted by the Africans whom it would have betrayed.

For good or for evil, then, the Christian leaders dare not weaken in this, the moment of their greatest trial. Their clear duty is to carry on from where the Bloemfontein conference stopped. The front is their duty to create must not be a movement of political protest; it must be a movement of moral protest. They must ask all decent men and women of all colours and all shades of political persuasion to stand together in the defence of human values against an

ideology which debases the most sacred thing on earth—the personality of Man.

In the present set-up political opposition alone is not enough to smother apartheid in place. Apartheid is a philosophy of persecution; it attacks the being of Man. And this is precisely its most vulnerable point. It is a point at which only moral pressures can be most effective and can produce the best results.

We should like to appeal to leaders of thought in all sections of the nation to reconsider strategy in the light of the Native Laws Amendment Bill and give earnest thought to the need to create a front of moral protest.

Deportation Case

American Woman Claims Mail Has Been Tampered With

MRS MARY LOUISE HOOPER, the American woman, who is contending by legal action a deportation order against her by the Secretary of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dewey, said that a letter from her associate adviser in New York has been opened. She said where letters showed signs of having been opened and re-sealed.

She said at her home in Belmont Drive, Coville 108, that she is not a Quaker or a millennialist, as has been stated in Press reports.

Mrs. Hooper, a slender middle-aged woman with a pleasantly informed manner, said: "I received a letter from my financial adviser, which was returned with tape. I

Africa, which she joined a month or two ago. She has helped non-Europeans in South Africa in various educational and welfare.

One of the reasons why she applied to become a permanent resident in the Union was that she feared on a previous visit that the embassy from which she suffered in the United States did not trouble her in South Africa.

Mrs. Hooper said she was detained at the Post at Johannesburg for five days with a "search of household articles."

Mrs. Hooper said: "My future plans are to fight to stay here. I am not going to go without using every legal action I possibly can. Beyond that, I have no plans at present."

N.I.C. Protest

The following telegram of protest has been sent to the Minister of Interior:

"Congress protest against recent Mrs. Mary Louise Hooper who is to be deported under order by your order, Mrs. Hooper during short period in this country proved person highest human qualities of friendship for all South Africans and opposition to apartheid ideology. View not in politically inspired plot of discrimination and we call upon you to cancel deportation order."

If Not Apartheid, Then Mix

By R. C. LANGDON-DAVIES, G.B., In "Contact"

If Apartheid is wrong religiously, unchristian, socially and bound to fail sooner or later economically, as most liberal-minded people agree, then the only thing to do is to mix at once, mix in church, mix socially, and mix on equal terms in business. If it's intermarriage you are afraid of, you are suffering by a marked degree from the sin of pride, the sin of all sin, that you are sitting on the assumption that the best non-Europeans are all passing to marry you, and this is by no means the case. There is a world of difference between a heaven between some husband better and a black girl round the corner, and intermarriage between a European and an approximately equal-minded non-European. Actually it is the former that takes place most often these days and we foster ourselves if we think that every non-European got a bound to fall in love with us, even if this is an "ugly-cultured" as we are, that if the latter should happen occasionally, what's wrong with it anyway? How much better than the husband-fallen African corner!

What you cannot do is sit on the fence. So get to work and mix. Don't be put off by people

saying it will all be "self-annihilation." Perhaps it will, a bit, a little. Perhaps through that stage. And let not only Europeans from the Parktown and give mixed tea-parties for Europeans and non-Europeans. Let non-Europeans give tea-parties to mixed gatherings, in Dubs. Many of them could well afford to do it, and what's to prevent anybody spending a couple of hours on a Sunday afternoon over a cup of tea in Dubs? It's rather a waste of time at this stage to discuss politics. Let there be song, and dance, "harum," and music.

There is a positive duty on all Church people to do this, more so than for others. But let us begin now, amongst all sections of the population, who are capable of sharing common delights and pleasures.

You do not overcome evil by inaction. You overcome it by good, by acting in this case with the natural and right desire to share together in social and cultural delights. Not even to the Devil Hell could common participation in tea and drink, a Black perfume, a Schubert song, or Kikuyu, be construed as high treason. And this could take place, here and now. So let's go to it.

Congress Party's Lead Increases

Bombay.

THE Congress Party so far has taken 213 of the 283 seats in the Lower House, and 1,503 out of 2,447 in the State Assemblies.

—Sage-Router

Inspected, taking of his bed into the house in this fashion, and he said he had not.

"I have found that my mail is very, definitely being stopped somewhere. I am not receiving anything; I just say it is very odd. I have had a letter from a friend in California, who said she had written to me at least five times since last December. This was the last one I received from her."

Social Work

She has done a good deal of social service work in the United States and belongs to the Institute of Race Relations in South

Verwoerd Replies To Bishops

(Continued from front page)

reading of the Bill to determine the scope and extent of the clear concord or firm ending on a spirit of Christian goodwill the opportunity for clarification, and if necessary, amendment of the Bill.

"Once after the Minister stated to public that the attacks in the Press by some churches were based on wrong deductions and misunderstanding and that this would be removed during the progress of the Bill in Parliament, they withdrew."

Appeal To Reason

"The letter from the Archbishop is first, plus followed after this appeal to reason."

"Merely interwoven at its stage, i.e., after the sustained propaganda in the Press and in order to further support it, as requested by the Church Council, can no longer serve any good purpose, such as preventing the disclosure of the prior of what is there under."

"The Bishops of the Council of the Province of South Africa are, however, divided to date from further participation in this most unnecessary agitation and to await the full exposition during the second revised debate of what was always intended and how the Court is to be redrafted as (almost) all possibility of explaining or misunderstanding."—Sage.

Apartheid In Nursing Profession

THE Government proposes a Bill to introduce apartheid into the nursing profession this session. Evidence on the subject given before a parliamentary Select Committee has been published. Dr. Emsley, speaking as Dr. Verwoerd's mouthpiece, wanted South Africa to be a "pure" nation, a training which "would be for the greater good." Segregated wages and a separate non-white nursing organisation.

That non-white "racial" body, the F.A.N., advanced separate registration of white and black nurses, different uniforms and insignia, and it has sponsored the African Nurses League as a premier group within the S.A. Nursing Association. It concentrated on the things it is ready to do: "standing together against an opponent" and "in co-ordinating work with the African At 70 per cent. of practicing nurses in the Union are African apart from the actual majority of the additional body of less than 30 per cent. to act as the spear-head of the Border-land in the nursing profession."

However, we are shocked to learn that nursing apartheid is a particularly African proposal. In most universities, primary and legislative advances are English-speaking women whom I shall shortly quote. It is fortunate we should still see so few non-English when opponents are also English speaking.

No Colour Bar

The 1944 Nursing Act created a Nursing Council, to which all members of the profession could be elected, and a Nursing Association to which all qualified nurses must belong. According to Mrs. Seale, Treasurer-director of Nursing Services, one who would be admitted on an equal basis because "that one has too few to constitute a 'group' and a large scale training of all nurses was not feasible." If we had known that this would be a personal policy, I for one would certainly not have agreed to the 1944 Act. We would have sought it in the last ditch. It was largely in the imagination of Mrs. Seale that Dr. Strick, the then Minister of Health, in 1946 drafted parliamentary regulations to step on what would be the Nursing Council and the Board of the Nursing Association.

One may well ask why? Facts and figures are vitally unobtainable except in the credibly coloured form published by the Nursing Council. It says that in 1954 there were 2,100 non-white nurses out of a total of 13,300; it will not publish comparative

figures of past and future by race groups in the future and that "one single register does not suit the needs of the race." But a member of the Nursing Council, Mrs. van Rensburg, told the Select Committee that "in 1953, 27 per cent. of the European and 31 per cent. of the non-European ex-

By MEDICUS

ercises were registered" (i.e. previously failed), that "for the last 3 years" European percentage passed had been 72 per cent., whereas non-European began with 52 per cent. In 1942, 68 to 46 per cent. in 1945 and to 57.5 per cent. in 1953.

Effect Separation

In order to meet that "intention" Mrs. van Rensburg rejected powers to "effect separation in all aspects of the nursing service, no differentiation in the training between the different races, keep separate registers, no differentiation in respect of the working according to existing norms, in other words for white and for black nurses, with regard to both race and duties." Mrs. van Rensburg, Mrs. van Schalkwyk, Mrs. C. A. Nardock (all of the Nursing Council) all recommended "a basic and general syllabus which will be of help to the non-European as such" (rejection of South Africanism). Some think "backlash on life" was different, their training must be different "if in the end we want them to have the same sense of responsibility." But "not you mean them differently you mean register them differently," which precludes their carrying the same responsibilities and that learning (in the only practicable way) "a sense of responsibility."

Taxes appear possibly to be some ground for the contention that on average it may take an African nurse longer to qualify than a European. This is not (as the F.A.N. said) due to "consciousness of tradition, culture and character which determines the European nurse's superior status." It is not primarily to suppress apprenticeship in general

education (even approved by the State Council) and facilities for nursing training. He van Rensburg, Miss Nardock and Mrs. Seale all regard any point training as wrong and "just a trap to" wherever they can; the training will for non-white nurses in their universities and less experienced than for white; there are no facilities in the Union to study with white nurses, mental or orthopaedic nursing, theatre techniques or mathematics ("we allow non-European to practice midwifery while the hospital grounds provided they do it in the same way as it is taught and in their homes"). Mrs. van Rensburg. The training of dentists to non-whites was particularly delayed.

There were considerations of the non-white nurse's "own good" were not the only personal factors behind the move of nursing apartheid slowly emerged from other parts of the evidence. Mrs. Seale said that one of her greater difficulties in recruiting white nurses was the fear that they might at some time come under the "original in my time" of a non-white nurse or doctor. "It is not for me to decide in legislation. I have to be practical."

Averse

Mrs. M. G. Boschardt, Chairman of the Nursing Association, and Miss Nardock were very averse to allowing non-white nurses to have a separate organisation, as suggested by Dr. Emsley. "We want the non-European to have the problems of the European nurse, who will advise and help them on the right road. We have to create control over the non-European, to keep them in order and, by doing so, allow them to develop." Therefore they wanted to keep the non-white nurses in subordinate "groups" within the Association, "integrated" on the Board by non-white members (not of 14) and able to submit proposals only if approved by the white branches. Mrs. Boschardt and Miss Nardock agreed with the Treasurer-director's arguments that a separate body might develop "in a non-white trade union" and become "political" or "uncontrolled." It would have the additional disadvantage of disempowering the Association from its international activities, though whether the proposal hardly disguised either her personal difficulty in very detailed

Similar Dichotomy

A similar dichotomy of purpose was very obvious in Mrs. Seale's lengthy evidence. After a long discussion on "my idea of nursing" which envisaged

every nurse having "a deep understanding of the psychological, sociological, physical and mental factors in illness"—a very worthy and seldom perfectly attained ideal—the described "the non-white nurse as a good technician at the most, unable to discharge, either through weakness or in the care of the sick person, those functions of a nurse, viz. the psychological and sociological care of a patient" (except, of course, "in her own people"). We have, therefore, to choose between "a professional service to the people of South Africa as just a technical service on the lowest possible level as it exists today in all countries where nursing services are run by non-whites."

One might have supposed from this that the popular virtues of all white nurses over all non-white nurses would attract any question of comparison for their services. Not a bit of it. Mrs. Seale hardly paused to draw breath before expounding the necessity of a colour bar, not merely to prevent non-whites showing superiority goes but also to prevent "completely free competition which could wreck the nursing services." Mrs. Seale described with horror "If only I could for half an hour after I retired on the 11th" how she had three times non-white staff nurses in which white nurses were also worked. "It was during a time of great shortage and they did it to keep the non-European white apart." Is there any other way to keep the white nurses in the white? And then she warned that the private employment of non-European nurses "must be stopped" or else there "more technical" will not work and that the white nurses must private duty nursing altogether!

Swamping

Finally, it was interesting to find Mrs. Seale and Dr. Thos. Wadman, M.P.C. in the last danger of "swamping" is an "integrated" service. The Hospital Boards of such unlighted places as Welkom, Klerksburg, Kragburg, Klerksburg (see Group Areas Act) had embarked on a correspondence about swamping, ensuring references together, attending meetings and social functions together and the "subsidizing of all irregularities such as, inter alia, smoking." So the Treasurer-director Committee endorsed the traditional South African way of life, viz. that the European nurse held her own separately. But the importance of a legislative nursing officer had and a law on the private

(Continued on page 129)

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER III

Choosing A Career

WHEN Gandhi was about fifteen his blind father died. This was a great grief to the sensitive boy, for he loved his father dearly. Shortly after this a baby was born to Kasturba, but the poor little thing only lived a few days. This made Gandhi still more unhappy.

The death of the head of the household made the question of Gandhi's career very important. The family yearned for, although the father had been a Deras. He had been a man of very simple tastes who was fond of doing good to others and earned money for money. His elder son was now to take his place in ruling the family's affairs. The younger son, it was decided, must take up some profession that would bring in good earnings.

So when Gandhi had reached, as an old friend of the family suggested that the boy should go to England to study law. That he would be sure to earn well and perhaps become a Deras as his father had been.

This idea pleased Gandhi very much. He wanted to start for England at once, but he said

that he preferred the idea of studying medicine rather than law, if no one had any objection. Wanting to be doctor had been one of his earliest wishes, and it never left him all his life. During his father's illness he had been a faithful nurse to him, and he always loved caring for sick people. Later on I shall tell you of some of the wonderful things he did for the sick when he grew up.

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Cornes

His family did not like the idea of his becoming a doctor. They, too, in those days, orthodox Hindus were entirely against the idea of travelling across the sea to other countries. They thought it was a great sin. So even the idea of studying law seemed likely to cause no working.

Gandhi did not let the matter drop so easily, however, and at last he overcame the objections of almost everyone. This was his mother. She was afraid that he might not have a good life if he went so far from his side. She thought he might grow careless in religious matters, and get used to drink when... He promised her that he would be very careful and not do anything to displease her while he was away. So at last she gave her consent.

There were of course many things to arrange before so long a journey could be made, and some time was passed before he sailed for England. He was now a young lad of seventeen.

Kasturba was also anxious and she had a new baby to take the place of the one who had died. The young husband must have been very sorry to leave them both, although he was so excited at the thought of foreign travel.

The older brother had bought him a good suit of European clothing, of the people might say stars at him when he got to England. Gandhi found these new clothes very strange and uncomfortable, and he did not like the style at all. As he was now a strict vegetarian again, and did not know what sort of food he might be given on board the ship, he took a large stock of sweets and dried fruits with him. It was

GANDHI'S FATHER



The Late Mr. Karamchand Gandhi

a good thing that he did so, as we shall see.

As soon as he set foot in the dining room of the ship he noticed that all the passengers and waiters and fairs in the European style. This made him feel very shy, as up till that time he had only eaten in the Indian way, using his fingers. As he feared it would be impossible for him to manage knives and forks without accident, he decided not to go into the dining room at all. Instead, he passed his meal-time in his

cabin, eating his dried fruits and sweets.

His thoughtful older brother had put him in the care of an Indian gentleman who was going to England on the same boat. This gentleman did his best to make Gandhi's life with the other passengers, telling him that it would be a good way both to practise English and to get over shyness.

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(To be continued)

THREE GREAT MEN

419 My partner is a clergyman, as a traveller and a writer, I have tried to convert the laughter that there men have revealed to me," Dr. Homer Jack told a "Press News" meeting in London recently.

The three were Marx, Gandhi, Nehru, and Einstein. "There are I believe will be remembered after many days but have forgotten."

Dr. Jack was in London for 45 hours on route to Ghana for the independence celebrations.

"I once mentioned this problem a hydrogen war," Dr. Jack mentioned. "I am not sure. I tend to be 'personally optimistic' as Albert Schweitzer often says, but I never to me that, using the language of these three, might, as well as the teachers of the status of affairs, of all religions of all times, perhaps mankind can avoid this catastrophe, which we in America are failing just as deeply and busily to you in the United States."

White Christians Annoyed: Africans Sit On White Benches

AT the annual meeting of the African Students Association a member strongly attacked church services for Africans in a White South African residential area.

There was a proposal by a member that a note of protest be sent to the minister concerned, telling him "that such a thing could not be allowed to continue in White South."

A member said: "The African delegates in doctrine on front of this English church."

"There is a continuous note. Since after the Africans have left, the Europeans arrive and, I presume sit on the same benches and drink from the same Communion cups."

"The Minister will be in line with the Africans."

Mr. A. J. Joubert, a magistrate, said that the discrimination was moving in very dangerous ground.

"We must not interfere with other people's beliefs, and I must sound a note of warning," he said.

A member said that under the old legislation, church services for Africans could be held in garages provided there was no objection from neighbouring residents.

The meeting decided to make "a friendly but serious" request to the Village Management Board to attend to the matter.

Editorial Comment

THE road that was planned over six decades ago in South Africa by Gandhi's laws for first order from in India and again in Ghana. Now, we are sure, it will bring freedom to all African peoples under colonial subjugation.

—Times Of India."

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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New-Born Ghana Faces The Future

On the very first day of Ghana's independence there was a state reception and ball at the new State House in Accra. During the very last dance, Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, her daughter Lady Glenconner, dressed with Prince Minister Kwame Nkrumah, dressed in his green and gold house lags. This symbolised more than anything else the birth of a new order in West Africa.

One American Negro who-pledged that to see the Duchess and the Prince Minister together on the dance floor was worth the 15,000 mile round-trip journey. It was worth, as a symbol, the 115 years to the day of the struggle of the people of the Gold Coast for independence.

There are many signs, both dramatic and unobtrusive, of the birth here of this new nation. The new red, gold, and green flag (with a black African leader for hope) flies where the Union Jack will never fly again. Whom in the streets dance the unobtrusive "high life," often wearing dress made from material worn long after the departure of Nkrumah. Cards about "Freedom, freedom" and "don't show 'em" wherever Nkrumah comes into town.

National Assembly

The opening of the first national assembly was a reform affair, with the Duchess of Kent and the new Governor-General participating. The parliamentary system seems fairly established, although its members look like ancient Roman Senators in their horse-drawn chairs.

One of the duties of the old Legislative Assembly in colonial works had to do with the intended State Clerk, almost opposite Parliament.

There has never admitted African as members as in general. After great promises, the club reluctantly tried to lift the colour bar several weeks ago.

Four hours before independence, some 150 prisoners from all over the world, including West Africa, had supper and a bedtime in this story. African representatives previously insisted that it was the first time that Africans had ever entered this last stronghold of racism, in other than a deplorable capacity.

Now that Ghana is free, its government will have much to do and the whole world will be watching. First it must face economic problems. Even Ghana does not have the lowest standard of living in Africa, and actually higher than Nigeria

or India. It is unbelievably low: 850 pounds per head per year. Unfortunately Ghana has a one crop economy—cocoa. The price of cocoa is declining. It is difficult to diversify agriculture quickly and industry are a few. Hydro-electric power is plentiful if the Volta River can be dammed.

By
Dr. HOMER JACK

On this capital is needed, but at what price? Nkrumah in his recent autobiography calls for a socialist system, saying that "capitalism is too compromised for a newly independent nation." However, a socialist society cannot attract very much neo-governmental capital from abroad.

During the independence celebrations, Nkrumah testified in several speeches that "foreign investment will be encouraged." Even if capital is available, there is a real problem of low productivity. Nkrumah himself warned his people on the first day of independence that idleness, neglect, confusion and corruption are "no good."

Central Government

The new Ghana also faces the problem of partitionism. In addition to the people living along the coast, there are the Ashanti people (who produce much of the agricultural wealth) and the poorer people in the Northern Territories. Also there is the rebellious British Togoland region, to the West awarded to the Gold Coast recently by the United Nations and formerly German territory between World War I.

The Central Government has consolidated its authority over these groups, some apart from recurring problems with the various chiefs. The present opposition in Parliament is composed of the Ashanti group. They may not be a threat to Nkrumah's Convention People's Party now, but they might be in the future. Nkrumah agreed to a last minute compromise with northern governors to the new constitution and this prevented any unnecessary incident during independence week.

However, the opposition was given apparently only a minor if moment part in the total week's celebrations and much more must be done to create unity in the country.

Now that Ghana is free, defence and foreign policy become a function of the Prime Minister or his minister. At least for the time being he announced that he will assume both portfolios.

There is a struggle for the position of deputy to the Prime Minister. Two candidates appear to be his two closest associates, K. Agyei-Adjei, Minister of Finance, and Kofi Bontia, Minister of Trade and Labour. One may become Deputy Minister and the other Foreign Minister. Foreign policy will not wait, however, the outcome of this decision.

Already Ghana has been admitted as the eighty-first member of the United Nations, and in several times Ghana will first establish diplomatic relations with the Commonwealth, the United States, France, India and Liberia.

In a Press conference Nkrumah was especially conciliatory toward the Union of South Africa. Although he said that "I had my way to smooth asphered," he indicated that Ghana would establish a High Commissioner's Office in Pretoria.

In an important foreign policy statement, Nkrumah on the eve of independence stated that his country "does not intend to follow a neutralist policy in its foreign relations, but it does intend to preserve its independence to act as it sees fit at any particular time." This states that Ghana will probably be more pro-English and pro-American than the African members of the Commonwealth, but more non-aligned than the United Kingdom.

U.S.-Russian Interest

Already Russia and the United States are courting Ghana. America was the premier courted with the presence of Vice-President Nixon in Ghana for five days and the presentation of several gifts including a new volume national library. The Russians sent to Ghana only an unknown Minister of State Farns and the renowned Russian scientist and member our list has not materialized.

The leaders of Ghana want to fulfill their promise of a decade to help the post-independence movement. Yet even power comes responsibility, and Nkrumah indicated that the first step will be a conference of the independent countries of Africa.

Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Ghana, with possibly the Union of South Africa also invited.

They would discuss common problems and try to develop an African approach. The many nationalist movements existing within the European colonies of Africa (from Algeria to South Africa) would not be invited to this conference, but their leaders would no doubt attend as unofficial observers if they could leave their institutions.

Regional federation in Africa, or even West Africa, has many obstacles in a period of growing nationalism. For example, at Accra some displaced the absence of the top nationalist leaders from neighbouring Nigeria.

Pan-Africanism can, however, at least mean the encouragement of independence and surely the birth of Ghana will carry the greatest proof for Nigeria, Uganda and Algeria.

What is the best conclusion from a week in Ghana? Michael Scott talking to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said this: "It is quite clear that Ghana is not a socialist or extreme. This is not an exhibit of black nationalism, but of democracy and co-operation on a multi-racial basis."

Roman Catholics Will Not Give Way

THE Roman Catholic Church would remain open to all races, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Owen McCann, said at the annual meeting of the Kappa Society at St. Michael's Parish Hall, Rondebosch.

About 100 students and university lecturers attended the meeting and also the annual academic (university) mass, which was celebrated by the Archbishop.

Archbishop McCann said the Bill before Parliament which would give the Minister of Native Affairs control of the admission of all races to churches was an attack on the church. But the church would not give way before this attack.

"The church will remain open to all races," he said. "We cannot admit that we must have the permission of the State to carry on our work as a church."

London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

★ ★ ★

URGENT action to meet the political and economic problems of Africa was called for recently by Dr. Edward Papp, the Archbishop of Central Africa, who visited at the end of last year. Papp, in his address to the African Union, said that to try to maintain what some people called the white man's empire in Africa was not only wrong, but an action against the mind of Christ. "Much of the violence and tension in the world today is caused surely by nations and races holding on too long to their domination over other peoples," he said. Nations which had come under influence of Western civilisation grew restless and hostile under a yoke which no longer fitted them. These people needed partnership, not patronage. "It is just as wrong for Africans to demand that Africa should be only for Africans, as it is for Europeans to demand that they should rule and dominate," he added. "We are building up a great multi-racial community in Central Africa too, we believe, the welfare, peace and happiness of all."

The "Manchester Guardian" in an editorial writes —

In Accra one speech after another begins. It is a time for rejecting like a wedding day or coming-of-age. At such times there is a sober and serious note under the gaiety. The Prime Minister's thoughtful speech will outline the parade and dancing. An adult faces a fuller and less, but also a more difficult, complex and responsible life. To some of age is a part of difference, but also a challenge. Dr. Nkrumah and his senior colleagues know this, if the cheering crowds do not. They have shouldered the burden and left its weight on them as always the imperial power which could be heard so if things went backward or were bifurcated if things went wrong. Now Dr. Nkrumah can say, as President Truman liked to do, "The buck stops here." It has been a brief though valuable apprenticeship. Ghana has prospered into a decade experience which used to enjoy a generation or more. In other respects, the pattern of her evolution has not been so very different from that of other self-governing members of the

Commonwealth, from Canada to Ceylon. But it has been swifter and more dynamic. Kwame Nkrumah is not the first Commonwealth Prime Minister to have gone to prison for his political activities. Mr. Nehru and Mr. de Valera were encouraging precedents. But he was certainly the first to step directly from a prison cell to the seat of authority.....

Ghana holds in Africa today a moral initiative which would

be justified by the breakdown of democratic government at home. (The principle of academic freedom has a similar importance for a country aspiring to serve as a centre of learning for a continent.) Dr. Nkrumah also threw out an interesting economic idea, that to encourage dollar-earning exports (such as cocoa) the Commonwealth at large might issue its members against a heavy fall in the price of exports. There are no precedents here, and a scheme would not be easy to work out. Would it apply, say, to Malaya rubber? But it is worth thinking over... To future generations the story of Ghana in this decade must read like a fairy-tale.

Nehru's Letter To Prime Minister Of Ghana

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU sent a personal letter to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, regretting his absence from the independence celebrations at Accra.

Mr. Nehru said: "It is a matter of deep regret to me that I have been unable to participate personally in the independence celebration of Ghana. I have long wished to go there to meet you and if I may say so to make more intimate acquaintance with your people."

Mr. Nehru added: "The coming of independence would have been a particularly appropriate occasion for me to come, so that I could join the rejoicing on this historic occasion. Un-

happily our general elections are taking place exactly at this time and it has become impossible for me or for any of my minister colleagues to leave India."

"We are continuously touring about all over this great country separately."

"I need not tell you how happy we all are at this coming of independence to Ghana. I consider this an occasion of great significance not only to the people of Ghana but also to the whole of Africa."

Five-Year Grace For Non-White Students

THOUGH provision is made in the University Apartheid Bill for non-European students to be housed from studying at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, non-European students at present enrolled at these institutions will be allowed to finish their studies, and for at least the next five years others will be permitted to enroll.

Those who have not completed the course will be allowed to continue to graduation even after the proposed non-European university colleges have been established.

The bill also makes provision for the Government to take

over control of the Fort Hare University College from Rhodes University, and the non-European Medical School at Durban, from the University of Natal.

Fort Hare will be taken over by the Native Affairs Department, and the non-European Medical School will be controlled by the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

The examining bodies for both, and eventually for all the non-European university colleges in, to be the University of South Africa.

All the new colleges for Africans will fall under the control

of the Native Affairs Department, and those for other non-European, under the Department of Education, Arts and Science.

Death Of Mr. B. G. Kher

MR. B. G. KHER, first Chief Minister of Bombay, and a former Indian High Commissioner in Britain, died of a heart attack in a Poona hospital on the morning of March 8. He was 63.

Mr. Kher had been convalescing in the assisted home since February 28, following a severe attack of asthma. He had, however, recovered from it and attended to his routine work in the morning. Suddenly, at 3.35 a.m., he experienced trouble in breathing and expired within a few minutes before any medical aid could be given.

At the time of his death, Mr. Kher was interested in the work of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, of which he took over active control as Chairman of the Trust only last year, immediately after he had submitted the report of the Language Commission, of which he was also Chairman.

Fellowship Of Reconciliation

A meeting of the F.O.R. will be held on Thursday, March 28th at 7.45 p.m. at the International Club, when the Rev. Marshall is expected to be in Durban.

The Rev. Rahn will speak on "The Faithful Witness of Pauline."

Members are asked to make a special effort to attend in view of recent developments.

Apartheid In Nursing Profession

(Continued from page 124)

employment of non-white nurses by whites is one of the most explicit admissions you made that "the European can hold his own" only by erecting artificial barriers to keep the inferior non-white out. Inevitably this will reinforce the belief, among non-white nurses as among other non-whites, that their struggle can only be rendered more non-white when a measure of political power. Who, then, is "outcasting" politics into the nursing profession?

Anthropologist Writes Of
"Last-ditch" Struggle

A PARTITION in its various forms is the main theme of "The Last Ditch," a book by Maureen Patterson. "A last-ditch policy" she writes.

Ms. Patterson is an Englishwoman who specialized in social anthropology and spent most of the period 1948-55 in South Africa.

She is also the author of "Colour and Culture in South Africa."

She now writes: "To their bitter dismay South African whites do not believe that apartheid will succeed. Rather than adapt or compromise they are prepared however, to go down before the Black border in glorious combat—the last lonely champions of White Christian civilization."

Ms. Patterson contends that if the bulk of the Afrikaner nation persists in their "uncompromising and uncompromising White nationalism" they will be inevitably overwhelmed by Black nationalism.

Their downfall would be accompanied by so much violence and hatred that a White skin would become unacceptable anywhere in Southern and East Africa.

"The national-minded Afrikaner," she continues, "has no future in the world of today. His uncompromising values and attitudes are too distant in conflict with those of the outside world and with the conditions of survival."

"A future might perhaps be predicted for him in the event of a world war and devastation leading to the suspension of isolated tribal life far from the main centres of white civilization."

"For national-minded Afrikaners the next years represent the last ditch—a hole into the new century world where no man nor nation can be an island, or a tribe away from it into a barren and deadly wilderness."

The author forecasts that the Union will continue to develop on its customary lines of economic integration and racial integration reinforced with increased police control. This however could not continue indefinitely without provoking a series of non-white explosions.

Appeal For Blind

The Royal Indian Blind Society has launched its annual fund drive, which will continue for the whole of March. "Please give generously to bring a little bit of light into the dark lives of our blind" is the call which the community is asked to answer. Donations should be sent to the Royal Indian Blind Society, P.O. Box 3338, Durban.

Goodwill Visit To India

According to reports published in Asian newspapers, Prime Minister Nehru of India is to pay a goodwill visit to Ghana in the newly independent African State will establish a High Commission in New Delhi.

Ghana—51st UN Member

Membership in the United Nations was asked to 61 when the U.N. General Assembly unanimously admitted Ghana, the new West African State.

Doubts that a representative of Ghana could get in time for the session were dispelled when Seth Anthony arrived to represent the new State. Anthony, who has been serving in the British Embassy in Washington to obtain diplomatic experience, took the Assembly and reserved for Ghana after the vote.

Asia's Biggest Public Library

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Delhi Public Library established in 1924 by the Indian Government and UNESCO is "the largest public library" in Asia.

The UNESCO report said that the library serves more than 70,000 men, women and children a month and had lost 1,000,000 books in the past five years.

It added that more than 10 per cent of the users were male and that nearly 85 per cent of all the users were under 30 years.

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'NUGGET' WHITE

IN TUBES AND JARS

AS SUPPLIED TO THE M.C.C. AND S.A. TEST TEAMS

A Countryman's Diary

"By PARDESI"

SUPPOSE the Nais have a million changes of heart and decide to work towards a common society without any racial barriers, I will think many non-whites would accept themselves as citizens and go on paying allegiance to the monarch.

Last week-end I was invited to an Indian stage play at Defta End Estate. There were many white guests, mostly teenagers, who are overagers in the village and school. These youngsters were given the full and complete treatment. History of mankind laughed from their mouths, and they giggled about like vulgar parrots with a smirk on their lips. One little white kiddie came under the treatment, and the place was even transformed into a miniature South Sea Island!

Really, all these fellows would have looked better on the plane from which they were sent—

Meenabhai!

Now that the Rens Gens is about to shiping, many Indian women—are looking at Cape Town and Durban. I went on board one of these ships recently and was told an amazing story by the first mate.

It happened in Cape Town. Two passengers on board the ship were looking against the deck side and pointing excitedly at the sky. They were involved in a heated argument. The one was pointing at the sun and said it was the moon; the other a little heated up, was pointing to a wisp of a moon partially covered by the clouds and emphatically asserted that that was the real Moon. They were coming to a head when along

came another passenger with the intention of mediating to the dispute. The poor chap was in a quandary, too, and he did not know which was the moon and which was the sun. "Sorry, chap," he explained to the two passengers in confusion, "I am a stranger here myself."

Police Tried To Stop N.E. Table Tennis Team Boarding Plane

SOUTH AFRICA's table tennis team almost did not arrive at all.

The team consists of six non-European, five players and their captain, the president of the South African Table Tennis Board, company director Cassim Raza.

When they were about to board the Stockholm plane at Johannesburg Raza was told by the political police:

"We must check to see whether it is permitted for South Africa to be represented by non-European."

The politicians in departure time ticked by and still the police could not find their chief to give a decision.

Then it was time for the plane to take off. "OK get on board," Raza was told.

Before the plane was out of sight the head of police was badly contacted. "You should not have let them go," he is reported to have told his men. He Raza commented about the consequence when he and his team return home after touring Europe and finally appearing in the English Open table tennis championships!

"What consequence?" he asks laconically. "We have done nothing wrong."

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PURPOSE: To encourage young South Africans to study the life of the great Mahatma Gandhi and thereby to drink from the fountain of wisdom of one of the greatest leaders the world has ever known.

LENGTH: Essays are not to exceed 1,000 words.

PRIZE: First Prize — 50/-
Second Prize — 25/-
Third Prize — 10/-

10 consolation prizes of 5/- each will also be given.

The judges' decision will be final and no correspondence will be entered into on the merits or demerits of any essay entered. No essays will be returned, the entry fee of 1/- should be posted with each essay entered.

All entries to be sent to:

THE GANDHI COMPETITION, "Indian Opinion," Private Bag, Durban.

CLOSING DATES: All essays must reach the office by June 1st, 1957. Essays arriving after that date will not be accepted. The winning essay will be published in "Indian Opinion."

IMPORTANT: Please fill in the entry form below and post it with your entry fee before April 15. The closing date for the essay is June 1.

Results will be published in this Journal.

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PROFESSION..... AGE

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MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Vol. I

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

The book deals with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's most turbulent times. It may be said that it is the most successful literary work from the year 1945 up to the completion of the Bhopal Mission. The author, the author's character and interpretation of Gandhi's life and philosophy is seen with great clarity, sincerity and honesty. How Gandhi's ideas of Love and truth, Non-violence and Toleration, were put in these various tests and how he would through and the Union of India and the people of India and the world will be clear in the book. The book is written in a simple and straightforward style.

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દેશના કાર્યો અને બંધાના દરમ્યાન આપણના આનંદની સાગણી વહારે દેખાય છે. દુરમનને આપણની સારામાં સારી વસ્તુ તે સમાજ જાણ, મીઠાને માટે પ્રેમ, તમારા બાળકો માટે સાચો શિક્ષક, પિતા માટે મર્મ વશને બહાન, માતા આશીર્વાદ લઈ રહે તેવું આવરણ, તમારે પોતાને માટે આદર, અને બધા મનુષ્ય માટે દયા ધરતી.

— ત્યારે —

તમારા વહાલા પ્રિયજન માટે શું ?

તેમના જણા માટે તેઓની આકૃતમાં મહદગાર થાય તેવી

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—વી—

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કુલ્ય વિશિષ્ટ

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૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

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સ્થાપના ૧૮૯૦ રિક્ટોરીયા એસ્ટ્રેલિયા

— વી —

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૪૭૪૫૩

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જો ન હોય તો શા માટે નહિ ?

નવા પુસ્તકો

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સુસજીવન અને સુસજીવિ	૧ ૫

અમને આંખી

Indian Opinion,

P. Bag, Durban,—Natal.

—સામ્રાજ્યના અંગ્રજોના કામચલાઉ અધિકારીઓએ સંવિધાન પસંદ કર્યું. અંગ્રજોએ વિધાન સભાને કે જેને તેણે વિદેશ જાતી પોલીસ મોકલવા નહીં જાય ત્યાં સુધી સંવિધાનમાં ફેરફાર કરી શકે તેવી શરતો મૂકી હતી. તેથી તે સંવિધાનમાં ફેરફાર કરી શકે તેવી શરતો મૂકી હતી. તેથી તે સંવિધાનમાં ફેરફાર કરી શકે તેવી શરતો મૂકી હતી.

— ५६६/४ — श्री १०८ श्रीगुरुदेवः ॥ १०८/१०८॥

—ଏହିସ୍ଥଳରେ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର ଶରଣାର୍ଥୀ
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ଶରଣାର୍ଥୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର ଶରଣାର୍ଥୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର
ଶରଣାର୍ଥୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର ଶରଣାର୍ଥୀ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀଙ୍କର

—બીજી પગથિ-૨માં મધ્ય પક્ષના
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સહી દેવા સંતાનને અમર પ્રકિર્ત
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પર કાઢીનેથી પ્રમાણમાં થોડી કહી
ભાગે ભ. ૫૫૩ થઈને કામગીરીના
“કોલેજ” અર્થમાં કાંઈ અમલ
—સાહેબ-સેક ડેપુટી, નામની સેક

—કુનાવડેઃ રેલ-જવા દા મા કમ
તરી મળને ધાન્ય પ્રથમ ગરો દા
ધર્મે લેખુદીથી પ્રાપ્તિ-લીલાં બીજ
અને મિત્રોનીયમે રમુ કરેલા પ્રાણ
દા તારીફમાં ૨૨ દેશીએ મહા અંગ

કલ્પ વિષ્ણુનાં એક પદ્મ ન કહેતાં. આ
અવસ્થા કહે તોય કોઈપણની અવગણના
એકે-બીજીનાં અર્થ નથી હાતી. તરિકા
નો પાંચુડો પડે એવાનાંક મહાપતિ
નો અર્થ પડે છે એ મુદ્દો અપાયો.

—(અંક ૧૧) ૪-૧૨-૧૯૭૯ના રોજ રાજ્ય સરકારે
કુલિઓને જાહેર કરેલા કે ૩૩ નંબરના
સ. ૭૫ નીચેના એ કોષ્ટકની
૩૧-૧૨-૭૯ થયેલી એ-૨ નવામાં સમાવેશ
ની પ્રક્રિયા તરિક્કે થયેલી હોવાનો

શ્રી. અમર-સેન પુત્રાણી એ જાણે થી ને.
 મેન. પાનના અવગત મેન-પાનના
 પુત્રાણી એ. આ કોણ સિપ્પી
 કુન-પાનના અવગત મેન-પાનના.
 પાનના. અવગત. મેન-પાનના.
 શ્રી. અમર-સેન પુત્રાણી એ જાણે થી ને.

[illegible]

પાલકની કુલતરફી જુલુ અથવા ને જાણના
મોંઘા પીડાનાં કરી, અભિયોગ્ય એક
જાણના પરીણેજ વાત પેઠે-અજોને
પરોપચારના વિદ્યા મેળવ્યો છે.
આ જગત મેળવતી જાણનાં જગત
જાણનાં કરી, આ જગત જાણનાં

—સમજાવવા મેં એ સવાન, પૂઠા-
ભાન, ઈશ્વરના અને સુરના આ
પાત્ર દેશને દુશ્મનો દીને હાથ પાતળ
આપી ગયેલા મેં એ પાત્રાને હાથે

—કાંબાના કાઠને ચેતવિશ કાઠને
૧૫૦ થઈ શે. કાંચના કાઠ
૨૫૦ થે. .

—કાંચના કાઠને ૧૫૦ થઈ
૨૫૦ થે. .

આચાર્યે કુપાયદિ યોગને આજ્ઞાપી
 દેવું છે કે આજ્ઞાપના આજ્ઞાપિય પ્રજા
 મિથને રૂઢ આપણે એ કે એને કાંઈ
 આપણે નહીં.

2014-2015 2014-2015 2014-2015

—પ્રજ્ઞાની એ. એ. શુભ શિલ્પ
ભાઈએ જાતની તા. ૧ થી ૭ દરમિયાન
કળા માર્ગને અગ્રિમ કાર્યોમાં મહત્ત્વ
પ્રદાન કર્યું.

—પ્રજાના યશસ્વિનિ શ્રી ૧૧/૧૨

[illegible][illegible]

—સાહેબ શાહી 'સાહુકારી' ગ્રંથના
સંપાદક તરીકે 'સાહુકારી' ગ્રંથના

—“વિભાગના અધિકારી નક્કા મેલ્યા
અમલ મામલા મલકાઈને : કિલકે
કોઈમને પિતાના કૌશલપુરની પહોંચી

કચી કાઠ, જે આખરે નાથ જમિયાર
ભ. વજ્રવંદે કચી પત્ની આપણ
મેડોલિ એક આખરું ચંદ્રાન કહ્યું હતું
—આખરીએ રૂબરૂના પ્રાસંગિકતા-
વાદી તથા સામાજિકી; કુટુંબીયોઈ

—સમીક્ષાના આધારે કાર્યકારી, જેણે
માન્ય વિદ્યાર્થીની જેમ અભ્યાસ પોષ્ટી-
ક-પાઠ્યક્રમ અવગણ્ય માણે અભ્યાસ
ચલું છે.

ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವಿಜಯ-ವಿಜಯ

[illegible]

—ફોટોગ્રાફના આ મધ્યમ આ રેખા
ફોલો-અપ માધ્યમ અધિકારના કુચીક
ના આ મધ્યમ ની સુધારાના મા-
નવલકાથી ઈશ્વર સાથેની પ્રજ્ઞાથી
આપેલી રેખા પ્રકાશની અધિકાર તરફ
રેખાકર્ષકના તરફ ભેગાં છે. મુદ્દા સારા
માં મેં આ જાણના વિચારનામાં પો-
તાવામાં અને પો. ભેગાં રેખાં વચ્ચેની
અમી કાને પાડેલી રેખાના કાલે રેખાં
રેખાકર્ષક પેટાકીલન પ્રજ્ઞા પ્રકારે

सुनील-नरु' नम-नरु'

—મિત્રાદિગણની ધીર શક્તિ-અનન્ય
મણી તો જોઈને મેલીને મનુ મે
કે-તક મનમાં પગમાં રૂઝ કાળ
જાહનના જાનિ જાહોડી જાણી
જેઠ મેલીને જાહેરના મધન પા
મેલ, મેલ, મુગમુગી મણી કહી દે
મેલીને મિત્રાદિગણે જો કાલ-કાલ
જાણીને જાણીને જાણીને જાણીને
જો તે જાણને જાણને મેલી મિત્રા
જાણ મેલીને જાણીને જાણીને
જાણીને જાણીને

[illegible]

—સાવનની ડીઝીંગ કાર્યાલયોના કોન-
વેનસના ઘરે તેમણે કાર્યાલય નિહાળ
કેલોના કાર્યાલયોના ઘરે ઘરે નવકા
લગા છે એકાએક વધુમાં નવકાનું
કે કાર્યાલયોના કોનવેનસ નવા કાર્યાલ-
યના અને એકાએક કાર્યાલયના કોન
વેનકાર્યાલયના વધુમાં કાર્યાલયના

—ସିଦ୍ଧା ବଳଦେବୀ ଟାଉ ବର୍ମାଣ୍ଡି ଶିବ
କ୍ରମଣୀ ବସନ୍ତ ଯି. ଶେଷୋପନ ହେଉଛି
ଦିଅନ୍ତ ବାସନ୍ତା ଧରଣଦେବୀ ଶିବ ବର୍ମାଣ୍ଡି

ਸੀਨੇਟਰ ਜੀਵ ਸ਼ਿਵਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਕੁਝ ਸਮੇਂ ਪਿੱਛੇ
ਤਿਹਾਰ, ਦੂਸਰੇ, ਅਧਿਕ ਤੇ ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਸੋਨੇਵਾਰ
ਕਿਸੇ ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਸੋਨੇਵਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਸਮੇਂ
ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ ਸਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਇਦ

[illegible]

—કેશુભાઈની ૨૦૧૬મે જાણીકા ઝડા
મેળાન કાઢીને નાબૂદ કરીને પોલીસને
તેણેના કાગળની વાપરિયાને તેની જાણી
કાળી જાણના આગળ નોકરી મોકલવા
પોલીસનાની જો કે જેણેનાની પાંચ
કાગળ વાપરિયાને કાઢી કહ્યું. જે
જેણેનાની તેની જાણીનાની પાંચ
જો નીચ કુટીયાના જેણેનાની મોકલવા
જેણેનાની જો કાળ તેને આગળ નોકલ
ના જેણેનાની જેણેનાની જાણીને કાળની
જાણીનાની પાંચ.

[illegible]

પ્રતિબદ્ધ રીતે પાલન કરવામાં આવે છે. આથી જ આપણે આપણા પાલનની જવાબદારી સ્વયં સંભાળી રાખવાની જરૂર પડે છે. આપણે પાલન કરતી વખતે પાલનની જવાબદારી સ્વયં સંભાળી રાખવાની જરૂર પડે છે. આપણે પાલન કરતી વખતે પાલનની જવાબદારી સ્વયં સંભાળી રાખવાની જરૂર પડે છે.

— ૨૦૧૧ની ૩૪મ વર્ણવેલે. ૩૩૩૩૩૩૩૩
 ૩૩૩૩ ૩૩ ૩૩૩૩૩૩૩ ૩૩૩૩ ૩૩૩૩
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 ૩૩૩૩ ૩૩૩૩ ૩ ૩૩૩૩ ૩૩૩ ૩૩૩

Jethalal's Mithai House

and

Vegetarian Caffetaria

86 Queen Street, Durban.

Telephone : 27780 — P. O. Box 2043.

Tel. Address: "SWEETMEATS"

અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ધીની બનાવેલી મુઠ્ઠા મીઠાઈ, મળી શકશે.

આખો ડિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઅન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

જૂન પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સજવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

સોલ મુખ પ્રસંગે બાટે, મળી શકશે.

બોટીંગ અને ક્રોલિંગની સજવડ

કાપથી બોટિંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિધાયકિયા અને રાફ્ટિંગને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. કાલમાં લેા માત્ર ગ્રુપ વર્ગિજન લેવામાં આવશે. બોટિંગમાં નહીં અને વ્યક્તિગત રૂપે જ હાનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર લેા દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉત્તરમાં બાટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાખની સજવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે ફેટી ફેકરધની ચોખ્ખી લેકેલી, અને કાપી તેમજ વાજાની લાગ, ખારેક, પિસ્તા, અને બાટીલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ધરતું અથિલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હાથેમાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બોટીંગથી સિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

If I thought there was a stain upon the remnant here of the garment of our ancestry, I would devote my utmost labour to wipe it off.
—Daniel Webster.

INDIAN

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1948



The worst of the cowardly sort of people is that they are not cowards. A man grows ever wrong, he shuts his eyes, he takes his support he forgets.
—Voltaire.

No. 12—Vol. LV.

Friday, 29th March, 1957

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CHRISTIAN COUNCIL BACKS ANGLICAN BISHOP'S STAND

DR. BLAXALL, Secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa, told the conference of Churches convened by the Council, early this month, and held at Cape Town, that the Action Committee consists of representatives of the church who reside in Cape Town. It is convened when any matter of importance arises which calls for action that cannot wait for an ordinary meeting of the executive committee. On the first of March this committee met to consider the implication for the life of the churches, and their mission work, of certain clauses in the Native Laws Amendment Bill recently introduced to Par-

liament by the Hon. the Minister for Native Affairs. Feeling the matter to be both grave and urgent the Committee decided that a conference be convened of the heads of the churches and missions affiliated to Council (for their duly appointed delegates) for the following purposes: Exchange of views and clarification, if necessary, of the attitudes adopted by the various churches and missions, to decide on any action that may be necessary if and when the Bill should become law. Also to consider whether any joint statement should be made by the Conference. Towards the afternoon it became clear that confer-

ence decided to express certain views which were considered to be very urgent. The president suggested that a drafting committee be appointed. The following were chosen.

The Deod of Cape Town, the Rev. C. K. Storey, the Rev. R. Brown, together with the president and secretary.

When the conference re-assembled the president read the draft statement which was finally adopted for release to the press in the following form:

This conference convened by the Christian Council of South Africa and represent-

ing among others the Church of the Province, the Methodist Church of S.A., Presbyterian Churches, the Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, the Moravian Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, resolves to issue the following statement.

1. The conference associates itself fully with the statement issued by the bishops of the Church of the Province contained in the letter from the late Archbishop to the Prime Minister.

2. The conference further takes its stand on the following:
(Continued on page 133)

NYASALAND AFRICANS WANT TO TAKE OVER

MR. WELLINGTON CHIRWA, Member of the Federal Parliament, has warned Europeans in Nyasaland not to interfere with the expressed desire of the African people to rule themselves.

Speaking at a packed meeting of the Nyasaland National Congress in Salisbury recently, Mr. Chirwa said: "Any European who believes in White supremacy in Nyasaland is living

in a fairyland."

He said the time had come for the Africans in Nyasaland "to take over the reins of Government." The Europeans would be allowed to stay in the country, but he would not allow them to rule the country in any circumstances. He urged them to assist the Africans in achieving their ambitions.

To the African people he had this to say. "Be practical... be hard-working..."

PERSECUTED AFRICANS WILL BE WELCOME IN GHANA

THE Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, said that his country will offer asylum to any African who considers himself persecuted or in danger of persecution by colonial or other non-African authorities.

The invitation would apply also to West Indians or American Negroes.

"Ghana," said the Prime Minister, "will not only be a centre for the liberation of Africa from foreign domination, but also the hope of the black man throughout the world."

"We say, 'Here you can come and feel at home. When you are here you are really free to do what you like within our laws.' That is my vision."

Dr. Nkrumah revealed that he is planning to build a large radio transmitter to broadcast to other parts of Africa on which he was prepared to spend £1,000,000.

The station would broadcast in about eight widely-spoken languages, including English, French, Hausa, Swahili and Arabic.

(Continued on page 135)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 29TH MARCH, 1957

Wassenaar Is Also Wrong

THE English Press has shouted itself hoarse, cheering Dr. Theo Wassenaar for having stood up to Strijdom. Anybody who says apartheid is absurd and is prepared to pay the price has every right to be praised. But the cheers must not confuse people and make them imagine that Wassenaar is the saviour of the Union from the monster into which the Nationalist Party has grown. He is definitely not that.

At the same time it must be realised that the cheers from the English Press have the unmistakable ring of moves designed to widen the split in the ranks of Afrikaner nationalism rather than awaken the people of the Union to the need for a new sense of solidarity. In short, neither Wassenaar on the one hand, nor the English Press, on the other, has as yet got to the rock-bottom of South Africa's troubles.

Trills Comic

Against this background Wassenaar's threat to form a new Party if the United Party and the Nationalists do not give up their intolerance sounds a trifle comic. At the back of his mind he probably believes that he could play the role of Tielman Roos before Joubert. But events are such that the country no longer needs a Tielman Roos. At the time South Africa was threatened by economic dangers from outside, Tielman Roos could come in between Herings and Smuts, between whom there was no real difference on the race question. The last two could join hands in the face of an external danger, then.

The situation which faces Wassenaar is of quite a different order. Obviously, he has been frightened by the 10,000 women, mostly African, who marched to the capital, pulled off the lion skin which made the world believe Strijdom is the Lion of the North and let everybody see that beneath the skin is nothing more human than what an African writer has called the Lamb from the North. Wassenaar has been frightened by other things. When Schoeman threatened to break the boycott and succeeded in breaking PUTCO instead, people like Wassenaar must have received a very rude shock. They had always believed in the inviolability of Afrikaner nationalism. When they found themselves face to face with the reality of their own Prime Minister fleeing from African women; when they saw their own Minister of Transport making threats which the Africans proved to be empty and foolish, they saw the writing on the wall.

Challenging Fact

But because they still worshipped the god of race their awakening to these realities made them think of

giving new form to White Unity front against the man of colour—exactly in the same way that Union, at its inception, was a White united front against the man of colour. That front is collapsing to-day, not because the White community no longer benefits by it, but because the man of colour will no longer allow the White people to unite to oppress him. Wassenaar does not really face this very obvious and aggressively challenging fact. And because he does not do this all he does is to invite White South Africa on a new round of race consciousness doomed to end in that fatality which has made him quarrel with Strijdom.

It is time White South Africa realised frankly that White unity is now neither feasible nor desirable. It defeats its own ends by the simple process of uniting the African in ways which will always keep the White people divided while injustice remains unchecked in this land.

Publishers Note

WE wish to inform our readers that there will be no issue of "Indian Opinion" on Friday, April 5, as that day marks the first death anniversary of our beloved editor the late Mr. Mahatma Gandhi. Prayers conducted by Swami Nischalananda, will be held at the Phoenix Settlement at 5.30 p.m. on that day. All friends who wish to participate will be welcome.

There is a second reason why Wassenaar is not a convincing apostle of Peace. He is still too heavily handicapped by the *volksmoed* complex to see the real problems of the land objectively. All the people of the country are worried to-day not about whether or not a republic will come one day, but about the race problem. To shout himself hoarse about a republic at this stage and in the present crisis shows clearly that he does not understand the very problems he sets out to solve. The advent of the republic is not really a burning issue. At best it is only a complicating factor in the present crisis.

Flat On Stomachs

The Union Jack has been trampled in mud while the English lay flat on their stomachs. While the Republic comes, it seems reasonable to suspect that their performance will not be very different. To move heaven and earth about a republic in these circumstances is to be completely unrealistic.

But even here, Wassenaar shows streaks of tediousness thinking which is bound to make him ineffective in the end. Firstly, by addressing his appeal for a republic to the English-speaking he gives the impression that if the Afrikaner and the English agreed on it, all would be well. This is utter nonsense. The boycott should have made him realise that the non-European and in particular the African is determined

to have an effective say in matters affecting the meaning of the country—that includes the republic.

A republic forced on an unwilling African majority would be built on sand, never mind how many English and Afrikaners supported it. When the time became opportune the majority would rise to the ground. Not to provide for that emergency is a brand of statesmanship which is taken seriously only in South Africa.

Against this very wide background, reasonable people will find no difficulty in seeing in Westmore, not the country's saviour, but a little political goat attempting to lead those whom it believes to be the political sheep into the slaughter-house. For our part we think the White South Africans are a little more intelligent than Westmore thinks they are.

Alan Paton

We think they are because growing numbers of them realise that Alan Paton brings a real message of hope for the country when he talks of a common society where race or colour shall not qualify or disqualify a citizen for rights and privileges. We think there is a lot of sense in his suggestion that the problems of this country cannot be solved by the White people alone or by the non-Whites alone, but by the two coming down together and shaping their country's destiny. What is more, we believe he has a definite message for every South African worried by the recent events and asking what he, as a Black and White to stand together and the fall together, building that South Africa where it will no longer be possible to walk in the facility of the type peddled by Westmore, Sutherland and the Villiers Graft.

Christian Council Backs Anglican Bishop's Stand

(Continued from front page)

lawful basic rights of religious freedom:

- a. The right to assemble for undisturbed public worship.
- b. The right to freedom of association and fellowship.
- c. The right to preach the Gospel publicly.
- d. The conference further affirms the right of the individual to worship where he pleases and the right of the Church to admit any individual to its services or fellowship.
- e. In making these statements the conference affirms that it would act in exactly the same manner irrespective of any political party in power which sought to give a law on the lines of clause 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

With great regret the conference asserts that the Christian Churches would have to denounce any laws or regulations which they believe would infringe these fundamental principles.

f. The conference declares that the denial of freedom of association and the enforcement of compulsory apartheid in any sphere of our life is a denial of the law of God and a repudiation

of the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The president asked that approval be shown standing; all delegates present rose immediately. To avoid any danger of misunderstanding he was asked that as soon as possible an official copy be sent to the Honourable, the Prime Minister.

It was further agreed:

(1) That inasmuch as it has been stated by the Hon. the Minister for Native Affairs, that when he introduces the second reading of the Bill he will at the same time suggest "revisions" to clause 29 (d) he, "in view of the question of religion after the Bill becomes law be not concerned at this stage, and that the Action Committee for the Christian Churches serve as a consultation committee for the conference.

(2) That the special executive committee of the Council, meeting the following day, be asked to consider re-constituting the Religious Liberties committee which formerly met under the chairmanship of the Hon. Richard Frimman.

(3) That all official statements issued by the churches as far

together with others that may be released after the second reading of the Bill in Parliament, be published as a special supplement to the Christian Council Quarterly.

(4) On the suggestion of the

Rev. William Halsey, president of the Methodist Church, the executive be asked to consider the advisability of calling a nationwide day of hunger and prayer.

Archbishop On Treason Fund

THE following letter written by the late Archbishop Geoffrey Chayton shortly before his death has been published by "Good Hope," the official organ of the Diocese of Capetown. It deals with the Treason Inquiry Defence Fund and refers to a recent article that it might be illegal to collect money for the Fund because the Fund had not been registered.

The letter declares that steps had been taken to avoid any possible illegality, and official registration had been obtained for the Fund in various areas. The letter continued:

"I very much hope that the Fund may receive generous and widespread support. There is no reason at all why it should be supported by people of one party only. I hope and I also believe that there are many people in all parties, and also among those who, like myself, are non-partisans of any party, who believe that a man who is regarded as innocent will be it proved guilty.

"And I am quite sure that both in the instance of the accused persons themselves and in the instance of the good souls of South Africa it is of the greatest importance that those who are accused should not only have but be generally seen to have a fair trial.

"The purpose of the Fund is to help to provide the necessary money to pay the legal costs of defence, to offer bail and to support those dependent on the accused who may be in need. Some of the accused are in a position to sue to change themselves, but that is not true of all of them. It is obviously necessary to make sure that money collected is wisely administered, and I believe that this can be relied on. I cannot believe that there is anyone, whatever his political belief, who is not anxious that justice should be done. The purpose of the Fund is to secure, as far as is possible, that this should happen. So please support the Fund generously."

Persecuted Africans Will Be Welcome In Ghana

(Continued from front page)

Dr Nkrumah said he was holding regular meetings with party leaders from French West-Africa.

"There is fundamental agreement on the necessity for eventually forming a United States of West Africa. There is a broad measure of agreement, too, between us and opposition leaders in French Togoland.

Because of the relatively small number of Africans in important administrative posts, it would be 20 years before they could dispense with the services of Euro-

peans.

Plans are already being made for a pan-African conference in Ghana soon, to which the heads of state of independent African countries would be invited.

An invitation will be sent to South Africa.

"If South Africa is prepared to come to a round-table conference she will be very welcome," Dr Nkrumah said. "I believe that is the only way in which white South Africans might be led to change their views on the racial question."—R.D.32.

Indian View Of Boycott

It was on the soil of Africa that Mahatma Gandhi conceived the idea of Civil Disobedience. It was in South Africa that he had the vision and realisation of 'Satyagrah'. He carried the technique of 'Satyagrah' to South Africa but then, only with the assistance of his Indians who were settled in that

get up at 3 o'clock early morning in order to reach their destination in time. The government or the white man's co-operation is unable to appreciate the powerful strength and moral height of these poor labourers. They have interpreted the situation as a battle of wills. It is no job to carry on a boycott of this type unaided for full two months.

These boycotters are bound to succeed if their white masters grow a bit of a conscience. But what if these children of God do not succeed in their present initial struggle?

By
**ACHARYA KAKASABH
KALELKER,**
(A life long companion of Gandhi)

far off land, to solve their own problem.

The Ahimsat, the children of the soil, welcomed that wonderful struggle with amusement. It was too early for them to understand its implications then. No doubt Satyagraha was born in Africa, but it was for the ultimate use of Indians in their own country. However it was not for nothing that the Laboratory experiment was made in Africa and not in India. Ghandi's purpose is clear inescapable.

Africans in India in East Africa studied European history and used the Western methods of aggression in an unscrupulous manner with the Indian. They failed. The leaders of Ghana (Gold Coast) studied European and American history; at the same time they carefully observed Lenin's struggle also.

Uganda succeeded to some extent when Kenya failed. Gold Coast achieved its independence where East Africa failed to make any appreciable progress.

The Negroes of America have now witnessed the wonderful potency of the 'Africa born' remedy usually 'Satyagraha'. They are trying, at Montgomery, satyagraha against the discriminatory of the white people. The spirit of the times is with them and they are on a fair way to success.

It is high time the world realised at least the essential equality of all races. Realisation of equality is only the beginning. The ultimate goal is the recognition of the basic unity of all human beings.

Satyagraha is now taking root amongst African people in Johannesburg. Thousands of workers have decided to walk out rather than join their work and also refuse back to reach the miserable hotels which happen to be their homes. They

The whole world is watching this heroic and righteous indignation (in respect the world is mourning high). Those who have eyes to see, are in this struggle the beginning of the end of colonial rule. The African is on his own soil. He is fast cultivating the strength of suffering. He has suffered long enough. Now he is beginning to discover the potency of voluntary and determined self-suffering and Mahatma's words are ringing in his ears.

'Satyagraha has never failed. Surely Satyagraha can never fail. Because it is the invincible power of the soul unaided to men by God, who knows how to confound the mightiest.'

American Vice-President Comments On His African Tour

AMERICAN Vice-President Richard Nixon said in Rome that he found in African areas he visited in "toward independence and freedom rather toward Communist colonialism and dictatorship."

The Vice-President made this statement at a news conference in Rome shortly before he left for Tunis. Nixon said the Communists have made Africa one of the areas of their heaviest pressure and infiltration "because they recognise that if they can control Africa, they may be able to control the world."

Nixon noted that "up to now, however, their efforts have not had as much success as might have been expected."

The Vice-President's talk with newsmen came at the conclusion of a three-day unofficial visit to the Italian capital. Nixon said his stay in Rome gave him the opportunity to discuss with Italian leaders "many problems of common interest."

When asked to comment on his African trip, Nixon stressed two major points:

Impressed

He was impressed by the tremendous change that is taking place in Africa, particularly the movement toward self-determination in the areas he visited. He was impressed by the great importance of Africa in the years ahead. And he predicted that in the next generation, Africa will have "a tremendous impact on the lives of people all over the world."

Nixon asserted that "it is important that the free nations

outside Africa co-operate in helping the newly emerging countries to work toward independence and the end of free society which, I am sure, the people of this country want." He added that the newly independent states of Africa want to co-operate and, with just one addition, but with all free nations who peacefully desire to respect them and help them in developing their economies.

The Vice-President said he discussed Middle East problems with Pope Pius when he was required to pay a private audience at the Vatican. He said the Pope expressed "the concern which all peoples feel for the very difficult and complex problems in the area, and fervent hope that after the current crisis, it will be possible to find a permanent basis for peace in the near future."

Similar Interests

Nixon explained he had not included Egypt in his African tour because, he said, "it is especially the case on these visits to include a group of countries which have similar interests." He added that Egypt is in what "is generally known as the Near East complex and, since it was not able to visit other Near Eastern countries, it

was impossible to include Egypt."

The Vice-President, his wife, and his aides, since March, yet have visited Morocco, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Libya—all in Africa.

Bhondan Drive In Orissa

A SOFT 343,299 acres of land was collected in Odisha by Bhondan workers between May, 1955 and December 31, 1956, said Mr. S. C. Mahapatra, principal organizer of the movement in Cuttack.

According to Mr. Mahapatra, 1,500 villages were donated to the ghandan movement during this time period.

Of the total land collection, 94,176 acres have since been distributed among 37,500 landless families in 35 villages.

The cost of collection and distribution for each acre is a rupee and ten paise, respectively, Mr. Mahapatra said.

About 550 full-time workers are engaged on the Bhondan movement on an average payment of Rs. 35 a month, he added.

Fifty workers have dedicated their lives for the cause of the movement.

Akshay Award For Music, Dance, Drama And Films

New Delhi.

INDIA'S Sangeet Natak (Drama) Akshay has announced awards for music, dance, drama and films for 1956-57.

The award for Hindustani vocal music has gone to R. Ramaswami Iyer while Ustad Bahadur Khan has been the Karnataka vocal award. Mr. Chowdhury has won the Karnataka instrumental award.

For Kathak dance, the award has gone to Lachhmi Meheraj and for Bharat Natyam to Puthuvai Devi Arundale.

For acting the award has gone to Christina C. Gnanakumar and for production and direction to Jai Bhadur Singh.

Debiaki Bose got an award for film direction and Gajanan D. Madgulkar for screen-play.

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER IV

Life In England

WHEN the ship arrived in the English port of Southampton, Gandhi got on a white steamer, thinking that this would be suitable for the month of September. When he landed, however, he found the weather was far from summery, while he turned out to be the only person wearing white in the whole of Southampton! Wherever he looked he could only see people in dark clothes. How angry he felt! Were still, when he had gone to a hotel and taken a room, he was told that his luggage could not be sent to him until Monday. And it was a Sunday! Poor Gandhi! Two whole days were to spend dressed in that same white suit!

He felt terrible homesick, too, and cried when he thought how far away his family was. Everything about him looked so strange and foreign. There was not a single friend to whom he could say how lonely he was.

He did not like the food either. It was so different to anything that he had ever eaten. So he ate almost nothing and was hungry as well as sad.

In spite of his dreadful loneliness, he did not even think of writing to his brother and asking to be allowed to return home, as many another boy would have done. He knew that he must not disappoint his kind brother who had made great sacrifices in order to get together the money for this journey to England. He had been sent here to study law and he would not go back till those studies were completed.

After getting his luggage, Gandhi went on to London, where he was to study. There he found lodgings in the house of a widow who lived with her two daughters. He lost no time in telling her that he could not eat meat and was pleased when she agreed to give him vegetarian dishes only. But when the food was placed before him he could not eat it. The lady certainly cooked vegetables in a funny way—or at least Gandhi thought so.

He was much too shy to tell her this, however, so he just ate as little as possible, and got hungry and hungry at the days end by every day he would wander about the streets, looking for a vegetable restaurant, but in vain. Just when he was getting quite desperate, he found what he

wanted. The food sold there was good indeed, and at last he was able to satisfy his hunger completely.

Instead of giving his time entirely to his studies, Gandhi tried hard at first to become a perfect English gentleman. Like so many young men of his age, he was attracted by what was new and foreign, without considering whether it was suited to him or not.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corrie

He took notes of fashionable people and tried to copy them in every way. He wanted a lot of money on buying smart English clothes, a tall silk hat and so on. He spent his meagre early morning in brushing and arranging his hair. He carried "long trousers in half-room dressing, in paying the violin and in staccato. What a change from the sky boy on the ship who would not even talk to the other passengers! But these new ideas of Gandhi were not in fact long.

After three months he suddenly understood how silly it was to waste his good brother's money on learning dancing and such things. They would not make him a good lawyer, and he had come to study, so that when he returned home he might earn a lot of money and help his family. How then in another week to Gandhi that we must make carefully, and it is then as soon as he found out that he was doing a wrong or silly thing, he at once stopped doing it and tried to find out what was the right thing to do. So, now, as soon as he saw that he was wasting both time and money on his dancing and music lessons, he stopped. After this he gave all his time to serious study.

Having seen that it was his duty to save his dear brother's money, instead of wasting it, Gandhi now tried to spend as little as possible to make up for what he had already squandered on the dancing lessons and smart foreign clothes.

He began to keep a careful account of every copper coin, wasting down the smallest spent on every few pence and pence

stamp. When he grew older, he advised all young people to do this.

Next he decided to walk as much as possible, finding it good for his health. In this way he also saved a lot of money, by not taking the bus. This habit of daily walking he kept up all his life. When he was quite an old man he would walk up and down the verandah during heavy monsoon rain, so as not to waste the benefit of this daily exercise.

All the saving of money made Gandhi feel that he was living in a very struggle way, until he gets to know some other Indian students living in London. Several of these young men were very poor indeed and they lived so simply that it made Gandhi's way of life seem still very rich. Many of them even cooked their own food in their rooms.

Feeling that he could certainly do what these boys managed to do and so save still more money, Gandhi left his comfortable boarding house and went to live in a very cheap room. There he bought a small cooking stove and began to prepare his meals himself. As he did not want to lose too much time over this work, he

ate very simple things only, such as porridge and rice. Meanwhile he studied hard and made good progress.

Just about this time there was a wonderful exhibition in Paris. Gandhi thought it would be a good idea to visit it and see the lovely and famous city of Paris at the same time.

Paris is not very far from London, as you know, so the trip did not cost much.

Being by now a very capable young man indeed, Gandhi began by buying a good map of Paris and a guide-book of the exhibition. By studying these carefully he was able to see all the important places and things easily, without having to spend money on guides as tourists generally have to do.

The thing that he liked best in Paris was to visit all the lovely old churches. He liked to walk in them and watch the people praying. He would make a comparison in his mind between the noise and bustle of the streets outside and the holy peace and quiet in the churches.

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(To be continued.)

Articles Worth Reading In "Africa South"

THIS quarterly is improving with each issue. The first issue, reviewed in these columns last September, displayed much good intention of grappling with our social and political problems. But it was undeniably heavy going.

In the January-March issue a witty and pungent "Duchess Diary" by John Dudeney and a couple of short stories helped to balance Julius Lewis's essay on the Afrikaners, George Clay's portrait of Senator Joe de Klerk, C. W. M. Durrant's study of Coler and the Churches, and Feridol Nkomo's reflections about the Rhodesian boycott.

The April-June issue, now in the bookshops, has achieved the most readable balance yet. There are well written articles on the Johannesburg treason trial and bar boycott by Gordon Sanderson, the latest and sometimes not unimpeachable anti-South of the National Party by Senator Robin, on Nkomo's irrelevant and

Indian hostility by Maurice Walsh on African "temporary sojourners" by Phyllis Ntantala, on the crisis of Afrikaners from the Western Cape by Lou Lee-Watson M.P., on Kenya today by Basil Davidson.

There is also a short story by John Teese and a poem by Alan Paton. Better still, what has been conspicuously lacking hitherto, there is satire—both in the review of a 1975 book by a supposing van der Merwe and in the long eulogy from a poem by Anthony Delius. This last is brilliantly perceptive, ironic, yet unambiguously a masterpiece of "the South African way of life."

Looking back on the first three issues there is one obvious omission—the Federation. Perhaps someone can be found to write a "Federation Diary" for some future issue.

—C. G.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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Restrictions On Pakistanis Entering India

IN January this year, the Indian Government promulgated an ordinance to control the entry of Pakistani and South African nationals into India. These two countries were thereby placed on a footing different from other Commonwealth nations. The ordinance has now been replaced by an Act of Parliament.

A notice of the foreign press has publicised this legislation in a manner not very complimentary to India. It has ignored such facts, for example, as that long before India took this action Indian nationals were subject to similar restrictions in these two territories.

An Indian is not free to enter South Africa or the same holds as nationals of other Commonwealth countries. As regards Pakistan, it has exercised similar powers of excluding the entry of Indian nationals since 1952.

Why did India feel compelled to legislate on this subject now? For an answer to that question we must understand the background of the present situation between India and Pakistan.

After partition, there were no restrictions imposed upon travel between India and Pakistan. As a result of the freedom of movement, increasingly large numbers of Muslims who had left India began returning. In course of time this movement assumed such proportions that it began seriously undermining the rehabilitation schemes in respect of millions of non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan. In order to regulate this movement of the Muslims coming to India, the Government of India at first endeavoured to persuade the Government of Pakistan to reach to some agreement whereby the one-way traffic of refugees would be controlled. The Government of Pakistan did not respond. India was then compelled to introduce a permit system in July 1956.

A very large number of Pakistani nationals who should not have been allowed to stay in India are still in the country. The only method by which they could be sent back to Pakistan was with the consent of the person concerned and of the Government of Pakistan.

The statistics of Muslim migrating to India from Pakistan are very revealing. To give an example in the financial year April 1955 to March 1956, the number of migrants from Eastern Pakistan to India totalled 1,978,185. Of this number, 568,392—almost a third—were Muslim migrants from Pakistan. Many foreign observers and journalists have commented on the continuing migration of Muslims and non-Muslims from

Pakistan to India. In an article dated September 13, 1956, Mrs. Tapa Chakravarti, correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" in India, wrote:

"The mass exodus towards Mevlana was revealed in the sympathetic hearing given a few days ago by Mr. Ribot to a delegation of Bombay Muslims who stated nothing less than that 25,000 Muslims who had been in Pakistan for years should be allowed to come back to India on the plea that Pakistan is an unsatisfactory country in which to live and that they were really legal Indians all the time. Already 45,000 Muslims have come back to India from Pakistan's Azad Kashmir, and many of the Moslems of Rajasthan have come back because they find conditions in Pakistan less attractive than in India."

"Perhaps the clearest sign of India's partiality to Muslims, however, is a court case. Pakistan Muslims who after coming to India with temporary visitors' visas had then forgot to go home if the police catch them they are within their rights in deporting them."

"Recently four such Muslims were caught by the police and they have petitioned the High Court for a writ restraining the State government from deporting them."

"The Indian citizenship laws are as lax and all embracing that the High Court may hold that they are in fact Indian citizens, as has been done in various similar cases. This desire always to show unbecomingly favour to Muslims confounds in India the joys of permanent repatriate that is

Pakistan, where Muslims are in the majority, on such tender solicitude is shown to Muslims."

The Government of India can no longer ignore the legal issues which leave it powerless to deal with cases in which entry of an undesirable person has to be checked. In particular, it cannot fail to take into account the serious security problem arising from the presence in India of a considerable number of undesirable Pakistani nationals who had managed to overstay in India

long after the expiry of the authorised period. The Government of India had also to take into account the fact that within Pakistan itself warlike propaganda against India had assumed vast proportions and that it was not restricted merely to newspapers but was being encouraged by political parties and leaders both inside and outside the Government.

The legislation now enacted is based on the above considerations.—131.

Ghana Made Partnership Concept Less Attractive

THE attainment of independence by Ghana would inevitably be a speeding up of the progress of "partnership" in the Central African Federation to meet African demands, Mr. William Clark, former public relations adviser to Sir Anthony Eden, said in London.

Speaking on a B.B.C. programme "South of the Sahara," Mr. Clark declared "The difficulty will be to persuade the European electorate of the necessity for this speed."

"There is always the danger that they will decide that it is simpler to follow the South African route and simply make sure of White domination for a generation, after the delay."

Ghana's independence had made Africans in the Federation "very contemptuous of the present state of partnership, and very cynical indeed about the intentions of their White government."

"To them the progress, which was too rapid for some Europeans, did not seem to be progress at all."

Mr. Clark said he could imagine no other African leader emerging from "apartheid," who "has few words and political action which is respected as many of their followers slowly feel."

"Not Hypocrisy"

But, he added, it would be unfair to dismiss all talk of partnership between the two races as hypocrisy. He had been struck by the fact that nearly all the Europeans in the Federation felt very strongly that they must not imitate South Africa and that White domination was impossible as a theory.

A second necessity after speeding up progress towards greater partnership was "to ensure that tension between the two races, which I found undesirable, is reduced by channeling it into politics."

Africans should be taught to use political methods of voting and debating instead of boycotts and demonstrations, Mr. Clark suggested.

"That way, eventually, it may be possible to produce a mixed society which includes both Europeans and Africans, given them back the status they want and the feeling that they are masters of their own destiny," he said.

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Liberal Party Attacks Verwoerd Bill

THE amendments to the Native Law Amendment Bill announced by the Minister of Native Affairs mark a retreat from the great powers with which he had intended arming himself under the original Bill," says a statement issued by the Liberal Party of South Africa. "But we could make no greater mistake than to fail to appreciate and resist the very real powers which Dr. Verwoerd has retained, in our belief at the concessions which have been won.

"The Liberal Party takes the strongest exception to the following features of this Bill:

(1) Once the Minister and any local authority have agreed that an African may not attend a particular Church in an urban area it will be the African who attends such a Church, not the authority in charge of the Church, who will be guilty of an offence. By this device the Minister seeks to shift the burden of maintaining religious freedom on to the people least able to resist him.

(2) Schools, hospitals, clubs and other institutions admitting Africans will be dependent on Ministerial approval for their continued existence. If the Minister considers that they are being conducted "in a manner prejudicial to the public interest" he will be able to refuse them permission to continue. In view of the Government's known views on what constitutes "public interest" the Liberal Party believes this section of the Bill to threaten all multi-racial institutions with extinction.

(3) Under Clause 39 (1), the Minister retains the right to prohibit meetings, assemblies and gatherings (including social gatherings) attended by Africans in urban areas and to prohibit individuals from organising such gatherings. The Minister must advise the local authority of his intention to exercise these powers but does not appear to be in any way bound by its views. The Liberal Party regards the powers vested in the Minister as a definite and a direct threat to the right of free association through public and private meetings and to the right of the individual to associate with whom he pleases.

"Despite the concessions made in this Bill, and the safeguards which have been intro-

duced, it arms the Minister with the power to make inter-racial activity of any sort vitally impossible if he so wishes. That he may not use it immediately does not make the existence of this power any less dangerous. The Liberal Party regards the right of free association as a basic freedom not to be controlled by any Minister."

Welsh Children's Annual Goodwill Message

"ONCE again, we, the boys and girls of Wales, send to you, the youth of the world, our warmest greetings."

That, on May 18, the children of Wales will broadcast their annual message of goodwill to children all over the world.

The message, broadcast each year since 1919, was launched by the Reverend Gwyneth Davies, who died in January 1955. His work is now carried on by the Welsh National Council of the United Nations Association, and the Welsh League of Youth.

Goodwill Day, May 18, marks the anniversary of the opening of the First International Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1899. Each year, children in all continents respond to the message by sending cables, letters and postcards to Wales, and by broadcasting programmes to children in other continents.

"We are growing up in a troubled world," runs this year's message. "Amid so much suffering and strife, we often wonder what the future holds for us. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that if we, the youth of all nations, dedicate ourselves to the cause of righteousness and peace, the forces of evil will be overcome."—(UNESCO.)

Africans Might Wreck Lyttelton Plan For Kenya

Nairobi.

IN a polemic statement issued here even of the eight newly elected African members of the Kenya Legislative Council said that they would take no part in Kenya's multi-racial Government.

They declared the Lyttelton plan, on which the constitution is based, to be "evil and void."

Only Mr. Lawrence Kiwuka (South Nyanza) did not sign the statement. The other members explained that they were unable to attend, but that they understood he shared the views expressed.

The members declared their intention to direct all their efforts to securing constitutional reforms to give everyone effective and real representation.

"We shall fight to build a Government and society in which all enjoy equal rights and opportunities and no one enjoys privileges or a privileged position," they said.

Mr. Tom Mbiye (member for Nairobi and present secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour) said afterwards that behind the move to "wreck" the Lyttelton plan was the demand for increased African representation. Censorship proposals would be made when the Legislative Council assembled.

In the statement, members declare that none of them will accept a ministerial post or a position at parliamentary under-secretary.

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H. S. Ibrahim Trust

The Trustees of the above Trust have announced the five candidates for the current academic year course of the M.B., B.Ch., course at the Westminster Medical School. They are:—Mr. I. H. Haffey, 5th year student; Mr. A. H. Mahmood, 5th year student; Mr. S. H. Kaddam, 5th year student; Mr. R. Samra, 1st year student; Mr. A. H. Ibrahim, 1st year student.

The Trust has also granted a loan to Mr. H. M. Moghila, a final year student at the Westminster Medical School.

The Trustees wish to bring to the notice of the public that the Trust will be granting six scholarships for the academic year of 1957. The five scholarships awarded this year will automatically be renewed, provided satisfactory progress is made during the year. The sixth scholarship will be open to other candidates, whose applications should reach the Trust not later than the 20th October, 1957.

Two Anoka Pillars Discovered

Two memorial pillars, believed to have been erected by Emperor Asoka have been found in Nepal near Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha. The finds, buried in ruins and also broken, were recently examined by specialists and it has been determined that there are two of the 16 pillars Asoka set up at various places over 2,000 years ago.

Asoka's young son was quickly over high schools in secondary and university teaching; membership. Forty-seven years of successful education at various. Some time immediately you will find the last. "The Great Way to Success," will have your name placed by The School of Accountancy, P.O. Box 499 (N.J.), Jalandhars.

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Vol. 1

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

The last days with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's most important period. It is very beautifully written and contains the most essential information from the past 1914 up to the completion of his final mission. The author, the author's character and importance of Gandhi's life and philosophy are shown with great clarity, accuracy and accuracy how Gandhi's ideas of Love and Truth, Forgiveness and Fellowship, were put in their correct form and here, he would through under the theme of different and despite all sword and tragedy, his life and death in the Indian soul portrayed in light and higher order known.

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'Indian Opinions', Dr. B. D. Durrani, Noida.

કંમેરા કરતાં આમે જાણના દરદરમાં આપણના આર્નૅન્ડની લાગણી વધારે દેખાય છે. દુરમનને આપણની સારામાં સારી વસ્તુ તે કૃષિ જાણ, મીઠાને ખાદ્ય મિશ્ર, તમારા બાળકો માટે સાચો રાહ, પિતા માટે મર્વ અને માન, માતા અહીંમાન લઈ રહે તેજ આશ્વરજી, તમારે પોતાને ખાદ્ય આદર, અને બધા મનુષ્ય માટે દયા અને મર્યાદા.

— સ્વારે —

તમારા વહાલા પ્રિયજન માટે શું ?

તેમના બધા માટે તેમની જાકૂતમાં ખદદમાર જાય તેવી

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયાની જીન્ડગીના વીમાની પોલીસી

જે એક ખરેખર સાચી બેર છે.

કરો કે કોમો એ તમારા વહાલોને હમે જાનના આપી દો કે, અને મર્યાદાથી રીત હો જાનના વાજ કરો કે ખાસ.

વીમા જાવતની સાચી સલાહ જામારી પાસેથી મેળવો.

— મી —

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ કં. લી.

જુન્ય ઇન્ડિયા

ફ્રેસ્ટમલ (પી.ટી.) લીમીટેડ

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

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આગ

અગ્નિમાલ

તથા દરીયાઈ માલને

— વિમો —

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માટે કરે છે.

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૧૦૬ મેન્સફીલ્ડ રોડ

— મેન્સફીલ્ડ નંબર ૧૦૬ —

કેપટન.

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(પી ડેઈના મીકાઈ કારકેઈના)

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હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે ખાટે મળી શકશે.

બ્રાઈડીંગ અને લોલંગની સગવડ

કાપડી ગોડશિને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિધાયોગી અને શરૂઆતે વંચુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ કુરુપ વર્ડનેજ લેવામાં આવશે. સિરાપ્પોમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક અંબરુ ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં જમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાડીઓ માટે કુદરતને રહેવા ખાટે રહેવાની તેમજ જાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરમની ચોપરી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ વાણુની ટાગ, ખારેક, પિરક, અને ચાંચીલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ધરતું અથિલું અથાહું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બ્રાઈડથી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

Not all the smiles of all
the empires of earth can crush
the spirit of our true men.
And that our men will per-
sist.

—Toronto MacSwiney.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1923

Former Editor: Madan Mohan Malaviya

There is something that is
much more scarce, something
far, far, something rarer than
ability. It is the ability to
recognize ability.

—Elbert Hubbard.

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N. RHODESIAN APARTHEIDERS SLAP DISTINGUISHED AFRICAN IN FACE

HUNDREDS of Africans at Ndots heard Mr. James Johnson, the British M.P., on a fact finding of Northern Rhodesia at the invitation of the African National Congress says:

"I would like to see twice as much spent on African Education as on the police.

"You are still under the protection of Her Majesty's Government and there are many people like myself in the House of Commons who watch over you and are studying your conditions."

Mr. Johnson caused annoyance among European circles in the Copperbelt by telling Africans at Kitwa that he was disappointed to find that in the centre of the mining industry there was no technical college for African mine-workers.

On Mr. Johnson's bold, logical utterances, Sir Roy Welensky has given the tag "affective."

"Referring to a remark by Mr. Johnson that Africans in Northern Rhodesia might sometimes think they are 'fighting alone,' the Prime Minister said one might well ask Mr. Johnson what Africans are fighting. According to a Northern News report he said:

"If the suggestion is that they are fighting against their fellow citizens in the Federation, I take the greatest exception to his remarks.

"I would remind Mr. Johnson," Sir Roy Welensky continued, "that the House of Commons and the

United Kingdom Government have had considerable opportunity to demonstrate their desire to aid Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in days gone by."

Genial Mr. Johnson had the viciousness of the colour bar in Northern Rhodesia brought home to him when he saw Mr. Harry Nkumbula and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda were attacked by European men in a Native cafe.

Nkumbula Menaced
Mr. Nkumbula who is President of the African Congress in Northern Rhodesia, wanted to buy some cigarettes. The shop assistant refused to serve him and told him to wait outside and be served through a hatch.

When Mr. Nkumbula asked for normal service a European customer got up and struck both of these distinguished African leaders.

Outside the cafe more whites were attacked. Mr. Nkumbula and Mr. Kaunda.

Police took Mr.

Nkumbula to a police station, where, he alleges, a European police officer slapped his face.

"The officer," said Mr. Nkumbula, "manacled me, took off his belt and called me a cheap boy."

Faster this year Mr. Nkumbula led a campaign to break the colour bar in Lusaka by entering cafes and asking to be served.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, "No. 2 man in the Northern African Congress," was refused a passport when he

wished to attend the Asian Socialist Conference in Bombay last November.

Mr. Kaunda, a British Protected Person, was told by a Government "The issue of a passport is a matter for discretion and cannot be claimed as a right."

Mr. Johnson, a school-teacher, was elected Labour M.P. for Rugby in 1950. He is 48, has served on Coventry City Council and is a member of the National Union of Teachers and the Fabian Society.

SCHOEMAN SAYS BOYCOTT MIGHT BREAK OUT AGAIN

It is quite possible that the Rand bus boycott might break out again, or it might break out in other areas, said the Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, in the House of Assembly.

For this reason he considered it necessary that the day clause in the Motor Carrier Transportation Bill should be passed by Parliament.

The clause empowers the Minister to order that no new bus service should be allowed to operate along routes where an existing bus service has been discontinued.

The Minister was speaking in the committee stage of the Bill.

Mr. S. J. M. Sooye (U.P.

Vereniging) asked the Minister for a statement on the bus boycott, so that the House could judge whether it was still necessary to go ahead with the Bill.

The Minister said that in Lady Selborne about 95 per cent. of the normal number of passengers were being carried by the buses. At Mossburn the figure was about 80 per cent.

In Johannesburg's south-western areas, Norok and Jabavu, the feeder services

(Continued on page 167)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 19TH APRIL, 1957

Grahamstown Incident

ABOUT a week ago the Police attended a meeting of the Grahamstown Joint Council of Africans and Europeans where they took notes and later stated that prosecutions might follow as a result of the meeting. This incident is of the greatest importance because it shows precisely how far this country has become a Police State.

First, we must get our thinking straight on one thing. In terms of the law the Police can be said to have been within their rights when they attended a meeting where there were ten or more Africans and suspected that a crime was being committed. For a meeting with ten or more Africans there must be a permit.

Police present at the Grahamstown gathering, the taking of notes and the threats of a possible prosecution assume a new significance when seen against the fact that what the Government now seeks to do is to break every form of social contact between the African and the European. Apart from being dangerously short-sighted in a mixed nation, this policy represents a grave invasion of the liberty of the individual to choose and associate with his friends.

In other words we have reached the point where the State can now say to every European and to everybody else, for that matter: Make friends with So and So; keep away from X and Y, purely on the personal social level. A grave subversion of personal liberty it is impossible to imagine.

In Nazi Germany they made it a crime for a citizen to associate with the Jews. The latter were regarded as pariahs. Sometimes it became a crime for a German to hand a slice of bread to a Jew. We are heading for a position which is not very dissimilar. The African must be isolated from everybody else and must not be wanted by anybody.

If the African were in the minority the Nazisboeties would possibly hope to go quite far in their madness. But for them to imagine that they can reduce four fifths of the population to the status of the Jews in Nazi Germany is idiotic nonsense. If the Afrikaner *volksraad* is a decisive influence in the White community, it is time the Nationalists were told plainly that the will of the majority will no longer allow the madness called apartheid to make a mess of the lives of millions of South Africans.

The Nazisboeties are not as powerful as most people think they are. The determination of the people of Alexandra Township made it quite clear that there is rising in this country a new force which

is infinitely more powerful than anything apartheid can muster. This is the will of the oppressed majority. It is the strongest single force which can bring apartheid crashing to the ground.

For this reason those who feebly oppose White domination; those who seek to see this country freed once and for all time from the scourge of apartheid, must not be frightened by incidents like the one under discussion. They have nothing to hide. Right and ordinary human justice are on their side. All they are asked to realise is that race and colour are no qualifications for privilege, if they are White; and to realise that Black and White domesticities belong together, if they are African.

It is one thing when Black and White meet for purposes of subverting the authority of the State. There the law is definitely being broken. But when African and European citizens gather, as at Grahamstown, to do good for the greatest number possible, the State is absolutely wrong to say they should not meet. It is not the function of the State to say to an individual who his friends shall be. When the State arrogates to itself this right, it becomes a dictatorship and forfeits the right to expect from the citizen that degree of obedience which is must have in order to balance the very often conflicting interests in an organised society.

The Nazisboeties in power are rapidly losing all moral right to expect the majority to regard them as anything other than a positive menace to the peace and stability of the South African nation. Grahamstown was but one more incident in a chain which will land this country in absolute disaster, before very many years are out.

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

COMMENTING on the University Education Bill, "The Manchester Guardian" from London writes as follows in its editorial of April 4th:—

"The text of the South African Government's Separate University Education Bill has now reached us, and the Bill looks a great deal worse than it appeared at first sight. It does not merely interfere with academic liberties in the choice of students; it interferes with these in every possible way. The new university colleges on which, if the Bill is passed, African students will presently be enrolled will be completely under the thumb of the Government. The colleges will be 'established, managed and controlled' (and may be disestablished) 'by the Minister'—it is not clear whether this will be the Minister of Education or the Minister of Native Affairs. The Governor-General will appoint a college council; the Minister will appoint its principal, and all the other members of its senate, and its entire teaching and administrative staff. Every student entering any of the colleges will require his permission to enter it. Not only will the Minister appoint the principal and the senate, he can prescribe all their powers and functions and the procedure at their meetings. The existing University College at Port Harle, and the non-European medical school at Durban, now part of the University of Natal, will be brought under the same system. What self-respecting university teacher will accept an appointment under these terms? And what sort of university education can African expect from the men who will? Yet this will be the only sort available to them. No wonder that many South Africans feel that the Bill is a step towards the end of the road. The Bill is a further instance not merely of racial segregation but of apartheid."

Group Areas Review

BY the time the reader arrives at page 125 of Miss M. Howell's *White's Land* he will be hardened to such remarks as "settlers in fact, for one White would have further to travel." This refers to the Durban proposals. But it might as well have been Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Johannesburg, etc.

For everywhere the pattern is the same. Everywhere, whether under Government or municipal proposals, non-Whites are to be pushed out of the centres of the towns to the outskirts or even beyond municipal limits. There will be, it is true, a measure of financial compensation for those who lose their homes. But it

the longer journeys on the legs of goodwill suffered by non-white traders, most of whose businesses will be deliberately ruined. There is the further consideration that many of the proposed "new" areas are at present completely undeveloped. Theoretically their development will be the task of the Group Areas Development Board. But in work, such areas are to be implemented within one or two years, remain as yet only a promise. And non-Whites

C. W. M. GELL

have long since grown disillusioned about white promises of this sort. Only hard, visible work on progress will convince them that the colossal additional amount of rehousing and development, which the Group Areas Act has added to our tremendous existing housing backlog, will in fact be utilised in time and adequately.

Miss Howell's own by-line survey—the *White's Land* Group Areas activities in 27 places—underlines the extent to which the Act is being directed against our Indian trading community. All over the rural areas of the Transvaal and Natal, where there are few Coloureds and Africans are already largely segregated, municipalities prepare to uproot their Indian populations and kick them out of town—"across the railway line", "over the spruit", "back to the sewage farm", "to a barren hillside", "on a hillside and where no building society will guarantee." In some cases it is further proposed to close roads leading across the railways to their proposed areas in effect, constraining trade as impossible as we can.

Obviously a primary motive behind the Act is to put the Indian trader out of business. And municipalities have taken to this idea with a zeal which is clearly inspired. Indeed counsel for White River admitted that councils had received official encouragement "to the knowledge of the Group Areas Board." Council for Nyabenda denied that Indians had "a fair right to trade." And Council for Klerksburg, Beaufort West, and so on, said that they would have "to learn to work with their hands."

At the same time the Act has been directed almost exclusively against the Coloured people of Port Cape Town, Port Elizabeth etc. It has been amended specially to deal with areas like Lady

Sibson, Sebroun, Kromme, where Africans have hitherto been explicitly allowed and even officially encouraged to purchase freehold plots. Everywhere today permits are required for changes in the race of owner or tenant. While this hardly worries whites, who have little difficulty in getting permits to buy from non-whites, it severely hampers non-whites who are seldom allowed to buy or lease from groups other than their own. To the existing overall scarcity of housing is added the available burden of artificially imposed restrictions on new building, alterations, repairs and transfers.

Much else may be discovered from the pages of this booklet about dubious motives and spurious planning on the part of whites determined to remove non-whites. But one fact stands out like a rock. Until recently, all criticisms were met with the effed rant that their schemes were still only proposals.

Since the proclamation for large areas in the north and west

of Johannesburg were gazetted on August 2, the rant is no longer valid. The proclamations, following the ideological proposals of Nationalist spokesmen and Government councillors with an excellent taste that was hardly to be faulted, confirm the worst fears of opponents and critics of the Act. Miss Howell calls them "a travesty of justice."

At the end of her booklet Miss Howell stresses that the Act was passed not only in the wish of the majority of the whites and is bitterly opposed by non-whites. The facts she discloses by upon whites "a clear obligation to take cognizance of and full responsibility for the effects of this legislation." The inescapable conclusion that non-whites are being to make all the sacrifices confront white South Africa with a moral challenge: it is at present doing its damndest not to listen.

The Group Areas Act by Miss Howell. (R.A. Institute of Race Relations) 15s.

Publishers Note

WE advertised sometime ago in our column, an early competition on *Makana Goods*. The competition is open to all under the age of 25 years. The original closing date was April 15th, but owing to requests from our readers we have extended the date to April 30th. This is definitely the final closing date. We appeal to all those who wish to participate, to send in an early stamped and addressed envelope and we will send them early forms.

will be based upon a "basic value" to be arbitrarily assessed as value immediately prior to the proclamation of Group Areas.

His proclamation in the end of the long drawn out process of proposals, counter-proposals and public hearings. As a result of this, the values of non-white properties in areas likely to be proclaimed "white" have already slumped drastically (as Miss Howell shows for Brits and Durban, and we know later in Port Elizabeth for ourselves). Whereas the values of white properties in the few build-up areas likely to be set aside for non-Whites have soared owing to the pressure of demand.

Miss Howell makes it clear that no policy which encourages might be set at rest by the promise of compensation in these terms, especially as no account is taken of the increase in non-White fares on work, the decrease in already limited leisure time due

Apartheid A Cloak For Oppression

—OPPENHEIMER

THE present South African Government proclaims the country's "democracy" and defended and embarrased the friends, said Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, M.P., at a United Party meeting at Maitland.

"Nationalist policy is calculated to show the great Black masses into the hands of the Communists," said Mr. Oppenheimer.

"When the Government deals with our relations with countries outside, it deals with clumsiness and stupidity. It seems that the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Swart, conceals himself continually with a sort of demonstration of how extremely independent South Africa is."

After that, the South African Government had acted clumsily and foolishly.

"The actions of Transvaal were foolish, in the long run, for the interests of South Africa."

"We are in a much more isolated position—an actually more dangerous situation—than when General Smuts was in charge of our national affairs."

The traditional position of minorities in South Africa was not apartheid. It was such that when Europeans and non-Europeans met they did so as master and servant.

The Nationalists came with apartheid because they realised that this pattern could not be

main. They said that if you could not have a master and servant relationship, let there be no relationship at all.

"Apartheid is not going to be carried out in South Africa because it cannot be carried out."

Marshallism the word was extremely dangerous. It was used by the Nationalists as an excuse not to meet the aspirations and needs of non-Europeans in European areas.

"Apartheid is an excuse not to deal with problems which have to be dealt with now. It is being used as a cloak for oppression."

How Government Tried To Break Bus Boycott

Mr. Swart told the House of Assembly that 14,000 Africans were detained as police aids during the bus boycott, including 3,375 for tax infringements, 1,754 under the Urban Areas Act, 3,375 under municipal regulations, 4,300 in connection with registration books, 1,860 for trespass and 25 who were being sought for serious crimes.

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER VI

GANDHIJI found South Africa wonderful and was astonished on finding out that the great towns and huge farms that grew there.

He soon made friends with his new clients who had called him there. They were simple, kind-hearted Indian people, very wealthy and influential among the Indian community.

Two or three days after his arrival, Gandhiji went to the law Court with these new clients to attend to some of their legal business. He had gone back to wearing Indian clothes since leaving England and on this occasion he was wearing a turban. The magistrate ordered him to remove it. Gandhiji refused to remove his turban. Indians consider it respectful to cover the head just as Europeans uncover their heads as a mark of respect. He already noticed that the white people who ruled in South Africa were very rude and snobbish to Indians, treating them as labourers, no matter how educated or skilled they might happen to be. As for the poorer class of Indians who had come out to Africa to work as labourers, they were treated too badly for words. They lived a life better than a slave's life.

Large numbers of very poor people from North and South India used to come out to South Africa in those days as indentured labourers. This meant that they were employed by their masters only on condition that they worked for them for five years. They had to work terribly hard, and for the lowest wages, but they had to go on working till the five years were over. They only consented to come out to South Africa on these cruel conditions because of their poverty. Afraid of starving to death if they remained at home, they had few alternatives to accepting them, when they found out what a South Africa it was too late to change. They had already signed an agreement to work for five years, and after those five years were over, they were little better than slaves. Gandhiji felt great pity for these poor creatures of his.

He had been here for many days in South Africa before he found that so Indians were allowed to stay at good hotels or to eat in restaurants, or to go to theatres. All these places were reserved for the white

people. In some parts of the city even the pavements were reserved for them, while Indians had to walk in the roads.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correll

The white people had got the foolish idea that if a man's skin was dark he was not fit to associate with them. It did not matter how clever he was, nor how good were his manners. If he belonged to a dark-skinned race, they thought that he was inferior. It was very hard to believe that people could be silly, but they were. And if they treated Indians in this way, as animals how educated they might be we can guess how they despised the poor Africans, who were very black and uneducated.

A few days after being asked to remove his turban in the court, Gandhiji had to go on a railway journey from Durban to Pretoria on business for his clients. They brought a first class ticket for him and he stayed on his journey.

After this a European passenger got into the carriage where Gandhiji was sitting alone. The European objected to travelling with an Indian and called the guard. The guard ordered Gandhiji to get out of the carriage and go into the compartment kept for African people. Gandhiji refused to go because he had a first class ticket and had every right to be in a first class carriage.

The guard sent for a policeman who pushed Gandhiji out of

the platform, but when they ordered him to go into the other compartment, he would not. So the train started out of the station leaving Gandhiji behind on the platform.

He went and sat in the waiting room. It was night and very chilly, and he had no warm clothes with him as the railway authorities had taken charge of his baggage. He did not wish to ask them for any of his things for fear they might laugh at him again. So he just sat and shivered in the dark waiting room, without a friend, alone in this strange, lonely land.

He felt that he had seen enough of South Africa and of the race, and that way to which Indians were treated there. He longed for home and the company of his dear ones. Should he not return home without delay, he asked himself.

Then he remembered his duty towards his clients. They had called him to Africa to manage their business difficulties for them. They had been kind and friendly to him, and they trusted him. Was it not his duty to remain in South Africa until his work was finished?

And there was another thing that made him want to stay: Indians were treated so badly in South Africa, yet nobody did anything about it. Was it not time that somebody made these foolish Europeans see how wrong it was to treat a man badly just because his skin happened to be of a different colour to theirs?

As he was shivering there in the cold dark waiting room,

Gandhiji made up his mind to remain in South Africa, and work and suffer if need be, until he had saved the honour of his countrymen there.

His life's work had begun. His decision taken that night was like a tiny seed that would one day become a mighty tree. Who could have guessed that the tiny young man, shivering in the dark would one day make India a free nation?

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(To be continued)

DRC Not So Satisfied With Church Clause

A STRONG section of the Dutch Reformed Church is still uncompromisingly opposed to the principle in Clause 20 of the Church Clause of the National Laws Amendment Bill.

It is felt by a number of leading members of the Church that the Minutes of the National Assembly, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, has not altered in any way the principle of the Bill.

It is felt that it is a badly worded Bill, and no matter how benevolent the intentions of the present Minister, the Bill could be abused and used to keep people, because of the colour of their skin, from divine worship by any successor to Dr. Verwoerd.

Strong feelings were expressed against the Bill during the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church meeting in Pretoria some weeks ago, when the Bill was first discussed by the Council, and many of those who were opposed to the principle of the Bill then are as determined with it now as they were with the original motion, it was learnt.

It is understood that the committee of the Federal Council, which met the Minister of Native Affairs in Cape Town, returned for publication only four of the points which should have been raised with the Minister and on which assurances should have been given.

Members of the Federal Council who may still oppose the Bill, will have an opportunity of publicly expressing their feelings about the amendments when the Council meets again in two years' time.

They are strictly bound to abstain outside the Council, encouraging members joined in the Council.

Members of the Church can, however, still discuss the measure at church synods.



GANDHIJI - A Savonar

800 Heard African Minister At DRG Church

ABOUT 800 people crowded into the small D.R.C. church at the Postleade (Kapitene) to hear a sermon given by the Rev. W. Nkomo, of Rhodesia. He was the first African Minister to preach to a European congregation at the church.

The church, which seats less than 400 people, was packed long before the service started and the altar, vestries and entrance were crowded. Latecomers stood on the steps outside the church.

In the congregation were many other Dutch Reformed Church ministers, as well as M.P.s from both the major political parties. There were no Africans in the congregation.

The service had aroused tremendous public interest and the roads leading to the church were lined with cars.

The early part of the service was conducted by the Rev. Dr. K. W. Hesse, the minister of the church, who stood at Mr. Nkomo's right throughout the service. One of the elders of the church stood at his left.

"Chosen People"

Wearing a minister's gown and white tie, Mr. Nkomo stood in the simple wooden pulpit. His text was from Peter 1, chapter 2:

"But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light."

In perfect Afrikaans he spoke of the people of Israel chosen by God though they had done

nothing particular to be chosen. They had been the same as those around them.

There were two aspects to be considered, he said. Who were God's people and what should they do?

Those who believed in God belonged to Him; they were His Kings and His people.

He Came For All

"Jesus came for all nations and all languages. We, the people, must give Him all we have for His church will reign and fight with Him."

The chosen should carry God's message everywhere taking "the wonderful light" to all the peoples of the world.

"We must show this message in our words, deeds and very life."

After his sermon, Dr. Hesse said the last prayer and then Mr. Nkomo gave the benediction.

Dr. Hesse introduced Mr. Nkomo before the sermon and said that the African Minister was a product of the mission policy of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Mr. Nkomo was a member of the synod of the Dutch Reformed South Church of the Cape.

After the service several people went to the vestry to shake hands with Mr. Nkomo.

also can be kept separate. While I am not anxious to see more politics in religion, I am very anxious to see more religion in politics.

"We play into the hands of the Nationalists when we take any notice of their charges that if a priest or minister condones a law, he must be a political meddler."

Mr. Paton said: "I was brought up to believe that democracy couldn't work unless men had certain inalienable rights which no State could take away from him, unless he committed some grave offence or engaged in activities subversive of order and law."

Rights Of Man

"In the U.S.A., such rights are enshrined in a constitution, and to this constitution all

minors, parliament and courts are subject."

Such a constitution was an essential for the Union.

"If South Africa is ever to be a country in which men can enjoy justice—all men, White and Black—then there must be this constitution which will guarantee, not perpetual majority nor perpetual subordination, not racial advantage and racial persecution, but the fundamental rights of man."

Mr. Paton introduced a motion: "In the opinion of this House the government of an inferior House is sharing its power in seeking to control the meeting of Africans with their friends of other race groups for social purposes or for legitimate political purposes."

The motion was carried by 25 votes to nine.

Road To Tyranny

THE newsletter of the Civil Rights League makes the following interesting comments on the Cape Hill:

Our recent distinguished visitor, Professor W. G. S. Adams, former Minister of All Souls, Oxford, said in a lecture on 'The Challenge of Power': 'The quickest way a tyrant can conquer a nation is to sweep away or bring under his control the churches, trade unions and universities.'

And it goes further than that. Don Watson, M.P., has already said in Parliament that Dr. Vorster's legislation does not go far enough. All mind authorities, he says, should be forbidden and punishable. He mentions the Institute of Race Relations as a body which should be controlled by such legislation.

Mr. Smart at Winkley is reported as saying that there are overtures which "deliberately arrange meetings which are attended by white and non-white" and that to further the Government will be able to prohibit and render punishable such mixed meetings and gatherings.

"Transvaal" Objects

"Die Transvaal" objects to the habit of "liberalists" of "mixing by gatherings of whites and non-whites in houses or buildings situated in poor white areas" (where else could they, we wonder, arrange them!) and that "make action on the part of the authorities necessary."

Dr. Vorster himself is Par-

liament, speaking on the amended Bill, is reported to have said that "the attitude of the Liberal Party and the threats that they would endeavour to break down racial segregation on all spheres of life made the passage of this legislation a special and timely promulgation."

We may well ask with Mr. Leo Loeffel, M.P.: What right have the Government and the Nationalist Party to "impose their prejudice on churches, or worse else, that before the principle of the brotherhood of man should be carried out in practice?

Paton Urges Need For New Constitution

IF compulsory apartheid in church was wrong, it was wrong everywhere else, Mr. Alex Paton told a meeting of the Durban Parliamentary Debating Society, which discussed the effects of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

Mr. Paton referred to the meeting in the Durban City Hall on Sunday, held to protest against the "churches" clause in the Bill.

He said: "It was a significant meeting, and one left encouraged to think that there were lots of people in Durban, and lots of White people, too, who could use to clearly that there are human rights which no State can over-ride."

"Let us be quite clear, the threat to freedom of association is inseparable from the threat to freedom of religion. If compulsory apartheid in church is

wrong, it is wrong everywhere else."

"I cannot possibly agree with an Indian Christian in a church in Durban, and then outside the church not consider myself with what apartheid laws are doing to him in daily life."

Religion In Politics

Mr. Paton said he had one other criticism to make of the present meeting.

"There was too much reassurance that there were no politics there."

"I am not one of those who believe that politics and reli-

DRG Proud Of "Us" Africans

In a leading article in "Die Embode" recently emphasis was placed on the "oneness" of the various racial branches of the Nederlandse Gewerksaats Kerk in South Africa.

Referring to the spread of "voedsel Church" at Lang, the article said that emphasis should be placed on the word "we".

"It is our religious persons who are represented there" (at the spread), says the article, and "we are justly proud" of them.

The election of the Rev. W. Nkomo, of Rhodesia, as the first African speaker of the spread was described as "a courageous step."

The Beautiful World Of Ours

A Letter To Children From Jawaharlal Nehru

Dear children,

Shashi asked me to write something for the Children's Number of his weekly. In a week or more, thinking more of the children than of the weekly, I promised to write. But I soon realised that I had made a rash promise. What was I to write about?

I like being with children and talking to them and, even now, playing with them. For a moment I forget that I am terribly old and that it is a very long time ago when I was a child. But when I sit down to write to you, I cannot say age and the distance that separates you from me. Old people have the habit of delivering sermons and good advice to the young. I remember that I did this too very much long long ago when I was a boy. So, I suppose you do not like it very much either. Grown-ups have also a habit of appearing to be very wise, even though very few of them possess much wisdom. I have not quite made up my mind yet whether I am wise or not. Sometimes I am in a hurry, I feel I must be very wise and brilliant and important! Then, looking at myself, I begin to doubt this. In any event, people who are wise do not talk about their wisdom and do not behave as if they were very superior persons.

So, I must not give you a string of good advice or to what you should do and what you should not do. I suppose you have enough of that from your teachers and others. Her next I promise to be a superior person.

What then shall I write about? If you were with me, I would like to talk to you about this beautiful world of ours, about forests and trees and birds and animals and stars and mountains and glaciers and all the other wonderful things that surround us in this world. We have all this beauty around us and yet we, who are grown-ups, often forget about it and lose ourselves in our affairs and worries that we are doing very important work.

I hope you will be more sympathetic and open your eyes and ears to this beauty and life that surround you. Can you recognise the flowers by their names and the birds by their singing? How easy it is to make friends with them and with everything in nature, if you go to them often.

Kindly and with friendship, you must have read many fairy tales and stories of long ago. But the world itself is the greatest fairy tale and story of adventure that has ever been written. Only, we must have eyes to see and ears to hear and a mind that opens out to the life and beauty of the world.

Grown-ups have a strange way of putting themselves in the compartments and groups. They build up barriers and then they think that those outside their particular barrier are strangers whom they must distrust. There are barriers of religion, of caste, of colour, of party, of nation, of province, of language, of custom and tradition and of poverty. Then, they live in prison of their own making. Fortunately, children do not know much about these barriers which separate. They play or work with one another and it is only when they grow up that they begin to learn about these barriers from their elders. I hope you will take a long time in growing-up.

I have recently been to the United States of America, to Canada and to England. It was a long journey, right on the other side of the world. I found the children there very like the children here and as I really made friends with them and when ever I had the chance I played with them a little. That was much more interesting than many of my talks with the grown-ups. For children everywhere are much the same, it is in the grown-ups who suppose they are very different and deliberately make themselves so.

Some months ago, the children of Japan wrote to me and asked

me to send them an elephant. I sent them a beautiful elephant on behalf of the children of India. This elephant came from Mysore and travelled all the way by sea to Japan. When it reached Tokyo, thousands and thousands of children came to see it! Many of them had never seen an elephant. This noble animal then became a symbol of India to them and a link between them and the children of India. I was very happy that this gift of our gift to much joy to so many children of Japan, and made them think of our country. So, we must also think of their country and of the many other countries in the world and remember that everywhere there are children like you going to school and play, sometimes quarrelling but always making friends again. You can read about these countries in your books, and when you grow up many of you will visit them. Go there as friends and you will find friends to greet you.

You know that we had a very great man amongst us. He was called Mahatma Gandhi. But we used to call him affectionately Bapu! He was very wise but he did not show off his wisdom. He was simple and childlike in many ways and he loved children. He was a friend of every body, and everybody, peasant or worker, poor man or rich man, came to him and found a friendly welcome. He was liked not only by all the people of India but also by all the people in the rest of the world. He taught us not to hate anybody, not to quarrel but to play with one another and to cooperate in the service of our country. He taught us also not to be afraid of anything and that

the world should be with us and with laughter.]

Our country is a very big country and there is a great deal to be done by all of us. If each one of us does his or her little bit, then all this comes up and the country prospers and goes ahead fast.

I have tried to talk to you in this letter as if you were sitting near me and I have written more than I intended.

(Written July 12-19, From Nehru's Speeches.)

Schoeman Says Boycott Might Break Out Again

(Continued from first page)

were carrying no passengers. At Alexandria the figure was about 55 per cent.

Sufficient Money

Sufficient money had been advanced by interested parties to cover the position for about three months. The Syrians said that Africans could buy books of coupons at a reduced price, but Pasha, the master of the buses, refused the higher fare had down in October.

Mr H. F. Oppenheimer (U.P., Kimberley City) said that the Minister had been able to give some facts with regard to the state of the boycott movement, but what was particularly relevant was the information which the Minister was not in a position to give at this stage.

There was the information about negotiations which followed from the decision created by the intervention of the Chambers of Commerce—Sigs.

President: "Indian Opinion" is making arrangements to publish the Indian story of the boycott which has not so far been told.



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Gandhi's Letter To Tolstoy Released

A HITHERTO unpublished letter written by Mahatma Gandhi to the Russian novelist, Tolstoy, 47 years ago has been discovered hidden in one of the books in Tolstoy's library.

It was found at Tolstoy's residence, "Yasnaya Polyana," which has been turned into a museum. The letter, the second one written by Mahatma Gandhi to Tolstoy was dated November 30 1909, from London.

In the letter which was published on April 5 by the Soviet magazine, "Soviet Eastern Studies," Gandhi asked Tolstoy to "use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the positive resistance movement. If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over evil, but also a triumph of India and to people in other parts of the world who may be down-trodden and will certainly gain great joy towards breaking up the tendency towards violence, at least in India."

Mr. Tolstoy replied, "If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I believe and the slightest doubt as to our ultimate success, and your encouragement, in a way suggested by you, can only strengthen us in our resolve."

E.A. May One Day Face Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions might one day be used against South Africa to force it to fall in line with the rest of the world," said Mr. Port Moring, Director of the State Information Office.

Mr. Moring was speaking to the Women's Workers' Club—an African women's organisation—in "South Africa is the eyes of the world."

There were many difficulties in pulling South Africa to the world, he said, quoting General Smuts "We are walking against a stone wall."

"I did not concern myself, but South Africa's apartheid policy of keeping the Whites was born in this sub-continent," said Mr. Moring.

He added "There are friends for us to make."

He commented some methods.

The African women must open their homes to visitors to the Union. Over 25,000 people

came to the country annually, and Mr. Moring.

"We must get to know the non-European in our midst. We must find out what is going on in his heart and head," he said.

"We must show that we can give the people here a chance to develop."

Ghana's Stand Against Apartheid

The Premier of Ghana, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah told members he was "anxiously considering appropriate steps to force our brothers in South Africa."

He made the statement when asked about appeals from South Africa to support the fight against apartheid.

Mr. Nkrumah said that the Reverend Michael Scott, a former West London clergyman and champion of South Africa's coloured people, had appealed to African countries "not to control themselves with passing resolutions."

The Rev. Michael Scott, in a secret memorandum to Mr. Nkrumah, urged that the time has come for a lead to be given by some country or countries vitally concerned about the state of Africa, which will initiate a new approach to the question and lead to more effective measures being taken to deal with the menace of apartheid to peace and stability.

Mr. Bevan's Advice To Students

Speaking at Kennerly, the British Labour leader, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, said that the progress Kashmir had made in the sphere of women's education indicated the progress which the State was making in all directions like other parts of India.

Mr. Bevan, who was addressing a meeting at the Government Girls' College, said he was glad to find that women in Kashmir were taking to the medical and teaching professions. This would also pave the way for the greater progress of the State.

He called upon the girl students to work among the masses after securing university degree. The students should not remain aloof from the masses people, but should spread enlightenment among them. By doing this they would be rendering a great service to the cause of education. There were also tremendous opportunities for spreading education in rural areas.

Bill Thrawn into Beirne House-made tarjans "bombs" exploded at Witwatersrand University when rival student groups clashed over the wording of a representation of the University Segregation Bill now before the South African Parliament.

The clash occurred when 300 students threw the "bombs" into a lecture.

Tegore Controversy

The Sabitrye Akhram has set up a committee to plan the programme for the celebrations of the anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore in 1961. No one had more for the national resurgence than Tegore. The

committee has to find out in what way the country can best cherish his memory.

R. VITHAL

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—સચ્ચાન પટેલ.

ઓપિનિયન

પ્રકાશક નીલકાન્ત દાસે અને 14-15-16 સપ્ટેમ્બર
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 સહન પડેલ, ધીરને મળા મળ્યા
 ન જીવ્યા પડ્યા.

હિંદુસ્તાનના નવા જવાબદાર
મુસ્લમાનોને પાછળે નહીં મુકીએ
હિંદુસ્તાન એક જ પાછળે પડે નહીં
સામે તોય પડે નહીં નહીં
પરજાઓને ને પાછળે મુકીએ
સામે નહીં સામે પડે નહીં
સામે નહીં

[illegible]

‘અવિરત: સત્ત્વ નહીં, મત્તુ સત્ત્વ
કન્ધ ક, ઊર્ધ્વ ચામરૂં જાયે કે
ઉના ઝામે, પાદે હરે મન હાવું
મત્તુ નહીં, મહુજાગ ૩ જાણે-દો
સાધી નહીં, પાદી મેઘાવૈક.’

[illegible]

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਭਗਤੀ ਸਾਹਿਬੀ ਜੀ, ਭੋਲੀ, ਕਾਮੀ
ਜੀ, ਮੋਹਨਾਥ ਪੰਥ, ਗੁਰਮਤ, ਗੁਰਮਤ

ପ୍ରାଣୀ ବିକଳେ ଶୁଣି : 'ହାଏ ଶିଶୁଙ୍କ
ଅନ୍ତା ନାହିଁ, ସେଇ ଶୁଣି ସାଧୁ ନାହିଁ
ବିକଳେ ଶୁଣିଲେ।'

[illegible]

પેશકર્તા: તમારે જે કલિયાસ ભેટા
પાયા કાઢે તાણે જાણી જાણી
કાણનાં કમલોડો ૫૪ પુરો, કલિ
જાણે જાણીને જાણું: 'પેશકર્તા

'સામિયાળો-૧'
'સામિયાળો-૨' અને
'સામિયાળો-૩' અને
આ બધા સાથે સુધારા સંચયકો
અને સુધારા સંચયકો

હરિવલ્લભ વિભાગથી પાસુ કાર્ત્તીકેય પદ્ય, ૫મી સેપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૪૫, ઉપરજીવન, અમીકામાં રહેતા પદ્ય ગણપદના કા.કર્મથી પદ્યો લખે છે તેમજ સ્વામીનાથના 'ભાગ્યે ભાગ્યેજીવન કલ્યાણ' હરિવલ્લભે સમજાવેલા કાવ્ય અનુભવથી, અમીકામાં પદ્ય અભિજ્ઞ નથી હતા. તેથી કવિ સમુદાયથી પણ નિષ્ફળ કાર્યો કર્યા. ૫મી જુલાઈએ ઉભા થયા તે સેપ્તેમ્બર મોડામાંથી અમુકાના પદ્યના ઉપરજીવન પરિણે તેમણે મેઘ તે પણ નિષ્ફળ કાર્ય કર્યું.

उत्तर: सत्य है।

આ પણ વાંચો: નેપાળી ભાષાની ઇતિહાસિક ભાષાઓની કાળગણતરી, તેમજ તેની સાથે જોડાયેલા સાહિત્યિક અને સામાજિક પરિવર્તનો. આ પાના પર, આપણે જોઈશું કે નેપાળી ભાષાની રૂપરેખા કેવી રીતે બની છે અને તેના પાછળના સામાજિક અને સાંસ્કૃતિક પરિવર્તનો. આ પાના પર, આપણે જોઈશું કે નેપાળી ભાષાની રૂપરેખા કેવી રીતે બની છે અને તેના પાછળના સામાજિક અને સાંસ્કૃતિક પરિવર્તનો.

‘ભાવ કવચ યાવ કઠોર કે આ
પર કું આ પરી વાળી પછી તું,
ભાવને કવચથી’ કાઢીને કું એટલી
ભાવની ભાવના મારું તું કે યાવતને
મેં કોણને નથી, કોણે નથી. કા,
કે ભાવ મેં કે એ કોણે નથી’

[illegible]

‘મોડી કાચેલા મારાનીવા કાચખી
મન કાચેનીથી આપણ તમારું પાલન
મોડાણનું ભુલ કુ.પ. પાઠ્યથી શેષ મોડી
તે’ ભાવ્યું છે. મોડાણનું તો પાલન
પણ પશુ મળે ત્યાં છે. આપણ
કાચખી પાલે પાલે તોયે પેલની કાચખી
મોડી. કોણ તે વળગાડીને છે. પાલન
ના અગ્નિ કાચખી આપે તે મોડાણ
તે મોડી પાલે ના હોય કાચખી
ભાવણ. અંધપણ. અગ્નિ ભાવણે
પણ કોણ અને તેથી કાચખી આપણ
કાચખી આપે. આ કોણ તે છે કાચખી
કાચ છે.

[illegible][illegible]

ધીરુભાઈ પી. નાથક

કુશાલ, કુશાલ, કોશાલ અને સમસ્ત કોશાલ
દીપ્તિ અને કુશાલ તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.
જો કુશાલ તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.
જો કુશાલ તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

કોશાલ, કોશાલ, કોશાલ અને સમસ્ત કોશાલ
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Phone : 33-9933, 26 Barkly Arcade,
Cor. 38, Market & Diagonal St., J'BURG.

ફરનીયર! ફરનીયર!! ફરનીયર!!!

ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર અને સમસ્ત ફરનીયર
ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર અને સમસ્ત ફરનીયર
ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર અને સમસ્ત ફરનીયર

—ફરનીયર, ફરનીયર અને સમસ્ત ફરનીયર—

જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.
જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

L. MISTRY

51 BRID STREET, BURGERSDORP, J'BURG.
PHONE 33-4591. BOX 2626.

Phone 3355 P.O. Box 100 Tel. AM BURGERSDORP

MASTER BROS.

(PTY) LTD.

33 West Street, JOHANNESBURG.
MANUFACTURERS OF LADIES & GENTS' SHIRTS & TIES
WHOLESALE MERCHANTS & DIRECT IMPORTERS
HOUSE FOR KEEN CASH PRICES

જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.
જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

માસ્ટર બ્રદર્સ (પ્રા.) લીમિટેડ

33 વેસ્ટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનસબર્ગ.

ફોન ૩૩૫૫

લાલુ ઉમદા ફૂડ

આપના આશય, લીલા અને સુખની શોધ માટે
જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.
જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

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જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

All prices subject to Market fluctuations.

A. KADER & Co., (PTY) LTD.

WHOLESALE FRUIT MERCHANTS

P. O. Box 251. DURBAN.

શ્રીમતી અમીત

અમીત અને સમસ્ત અમીત

જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

કેપીટલ્સ બાલ્કની હોટેલ

(પી કેન્ટર બીલ્ડિંગ હાઉસ)

જો અને કોલોનિયલ સ્ટીલના મુખ્યત્વે - ફરનીયર

ફોન નંબર ૩૩૫૫ ૩૩૫૫ ૩૩૫૫

ફોન નંબર: KAPITAN.

એ. વી. પારેખ એન્ડ સન

ફરનીયર અને સમસ્ત ફરનીયર

જો ફરનીયર તો જ સુખ અને કલ્યાણ સુધી લઈ જાય છે.

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દાંમેશ કરતાં આજે વ્યક્તિ દરેકમાં આપવાના આર્થિક સામગ્રી વધારે રેખાય છે. દુરમનને આપવાની સારામાં સારી વસ્તુ તે દામા જાવ, મીઠાને માટે પ્રેમ, તમારા વ્યાખ્યાને માટે સાચો સહ, પિતા માટે ગર્વ અને માન, માતા અલીમાન હાથ રાંધે તેજ આચરણ, તમારે પોતાને માટે આદર, અને વધા અનુકૂળ માટે દયા અને ધર્મીય.

— ત્યારે —

તમારા વહાલા પ્રિયજન માટે શું ?

તેમના બહા માટે તેઓની આત્મિક અદરદાર થાય તેવી

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયાની જીન્ડગીના વીમાની પોલીસી

એ એક ખરેખર સાચી બેટ છે.

જ્યોત્તે રીમે જ્યાં તમારા વહાલાને તમે જાન્યે જાવ છો એ, તમે જ્યોત્તે તમારી મેરા કરી જાવ છો ત્યાં જ્યાં જ્યાં જોયા જાવતની આવી સલાહ આપવાની પાસેથી રોકાયા.

— પી —

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ કંપની લી.

કુપન સિસ્ટમ

ફ્રેસ્ટમથ (પી.ટી.) લીમીટેડ

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

ધી કવીન્સલેન્ડ ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ કંપની લીમીટેડ

૧૮૮૧માં ન્યુ સાઉથ વેસ્ટમાં સ્થપાઈ છે

આગ અકસ્માત તથા હરીયાઈ માલને

— વિમો —

તેમજ બધી જાતના વિમાન

કામ કરે છે.

આસ લિંટી પ્રતીનીધી

ગ્રીમલી તથા સારાખજ ફ્રેસ્ટમથ

વધુ વિગત માટે મળે આપવા જાય

૧૦ મેન્સીફિક રોડ — બ્રાઉન નંબર ૧૦૦ — ડરબન.

ટેલિફોન નંબર ૪૦૪૫૪ અને ૪૦૮૮૮.

Jethalal's Mithai House

and

Vegetarian Caffetaria

86 Queen Street, Durban.

Telephone : 27780 — P. O. Box 2043.

Tel. Address: "SWEETMEATS"

અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની શોષપા ઘીની બનાવેલી મુંદ્ર મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો દિવસ વેસ્ટેરીયન બોળન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ મુજ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને હોસ્ટલની સગવડ

કામથી બોર્ડરને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માન યુરુષ વર્ગનું લેવામાં આવશે. ચોરસબેઠાં નહીં અને આધુનિક ફર્નિચર સાથેનાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે. દેશમાંથી આવના ઉતાવળો માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરધની ચોપારી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ માંજુની ટાગ, ખારેક, પિરવા, અને ચાંચલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ધરતું અધિભૂ અચાહુ અને સારી જાતના પાપક હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

એલેક્સી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 26TH APRIL, 1957

New Look At The Afrikaner

ELSEWILLER: In this issue we publish two comments on South Africa's race problem which we would ask our readers to consider with special attention.

Both have been made by leading Afrikaner journalists. The first is by Mr. van Heerden, who holds a key position in that section of the Afrikaans Press where Mr. Strijdom is the dominant personality. The second is by Jan Burger who runs a daily journal, presenting the Afrikaners viewpoint, in the Johannesburg "Star".

Mr. van Heerden told students of the university of Stellenbosch that it is no longer in South Africa's interest to continue to adhere to outmoded outlooks in a changing world. He deplored the fact that South Africa was isolated in the moment and, in effect, made a powerful appeal for a recasting of attitudes.

Apartheid Outmoded

Apartheid is, of course, the only outmoded outlook in the world to-day—in so far as South Africa is concerned. While in every part of the globe men and women are shaking off their shackles the shackles which keep them slaves under foreign rule, in this country the fashions is to go in the opposite direction. A racist White South Africa finds itself alone, travelling backwards, when the world is moving forward. Mr. van Heerden rightly sees in this danger for the White people who shut their eyes to unacceptable realities.

Jan Burger is also obviously inspired by the desire to see outmoded outlooks discarded—but in another field. He regards as nonsensical the view that all African leaders are communists. Some of them, he points out with convincing truthfulness, are genuine nationalists and plead for the destination to be made between the agent of Moscow and the man who pleads a genuine case on behalf of his people.

Genuine Democrats

While welcoming this effort to see the truth from slightly different perspectives we would like to point out to Jan Burger that not only are the leaders of the Africans mere nationalists, very many of them have gone beyond that phase and have come to be recognised as genuine democrats as well.

But this is not the real point we wish to make. What is important is that some informed Afrikaner leaders of thought are beginning to awaken to the eternal realities of the country's race problem. They realise it is madness to imagine White domination can

endure in this country in the face of the determined challenges to its authority from the non-European side. They realise also that the most cruelly oppressed section of the population has forged, in the boycott, the only weapon that constitutes a real threat to apartheid. Above everything, they are not allowing themselves to behave like frightened men—like the Verwoeds and the Swarts. They view the situation calmly and realise it is time their own people got into mood to agree on objectives with the majority of the citizens of the land. This is true statesmanship.

Fringes Of Problem

We realise that what men like the two journalists mentioned above as well as respected scholars like Professor Kent and Pieterse do at this stage does no more than touch the fringes of the problem. At the same time we should be happy that a positive beginning is being made to awaken the Afrikaner to the realities of the new situation which has developed. The Afrikaners are beginning to be made to see the truth in new light.

A no less notable fact is that Mr. van Heerden comes from the Strijdom Press and has written extensively defending the Strijdom line. It is inconceivable that he could have expressed views attributed to him at a place like Stellenbosch without knowing what the Prime Minister's reaction is. If this surprise is correct even Mr. Strijdom might not, after all, be so blind to realities as Verwoerd wants the world to believe he is.

But we should warn very strongly against too much optimism. Mr. Strijdom is a politician and the votes of the plateland are so important in his calculations. For this reason we should confine ourselves to the awakening, at least in Afrikaner intellectual circles.

Challenge To Non-European

It poses a new challenge which the non-European, in turn, must be ready to face. Up to now the Black peoples have, with every justification, seen in apartheid their deadliest enemy. Since the Afrikaner Nationalists claimed to speak for Africanism and were not repudiated by the Africans community, the non-European drew the conclusion that alliance meant that Africanism regarded the non-Whites as enemies. Over the years this infused into the minds of the non-Whites the feeling that Africanism threatened their existence. As a result there are not very many non-Europeans who wish the Afrikaner much good.

If the Afrikaner is largely to blame for this, the change in Afrikaner thinking creates a situation where the non-European must also be a realist and see if the new Afrikaner outlook does not, after all, hold out possibilities of agreement on objectives and, therefore, of finding a permanent solution to the race problem.

Guarantee Of Liberty

What we plead for here is a new attitude towards the Afrikaner: a readiness to see good when it shows itself and a willingness to convince the Afrikaner that

in the final reckoning the only guarantee of survival for himself is to ensure that that liberty and independence he wants for himself are enjoyed by all his countrymen regardless of race or colour. In that position they will be allies with him in defending it against all dangers. But if he remains the enemy of their freedom he must always be made to realise that he and the majority are not going the same way and do not belong together.

Afrikaans Journalist Says African Nationalism Not Communism

JAN BURGER is the pen name of a leading Afrikaans journalist who writes regularly in the Johannesburg "Star". In the following he presents a viewpoint on African nationalism which is both realistic and states the truth more than anything Swart has to say:

I have always stated in this column that we should be careful not to confuse a strong nationalism among South African Africans with Communism. Now a prominent figure, Prof. L. J. du Plessis, of the Potchefstroom University, has written a fresh article in which he makes the same point.

Writing in the Afrikaans Sunday paper "Dagbreek", Professor du Plessis, who is this discussion of the paper's doctrine, states that we have always considered a Black nationalism negatively.

"The national consciousness of the growing non-European nations of South Africa has begun, and nothing can stop it in the end. It cannot be dispelled by violence material or cultural measures either. Nationalism does not strive for wealth or prosperity but for political independence," he says.

He thinks that this national idea can only be directed to its "final stage" if we co-operate with it before it is late.

"Let us not follow the road of England and Holland who have driven out of the Indian by indigenous nationalism and were subsequently treated and regarded as oppressors and exploiters by the Indians and Javanese."

"Let us rather follow the example of America, who made the Philippines free with the result that the Filipinos look up at America as the architect and guardian of their national freedom."

"Hirelings"

The following paragraph, coming from such an influential personality, is of the utmost importance.

He says, "Please, do not let us say that the so-called apathy are not true non-White nationalists but Communists and that the tribal chiefs are the true national leaders."

"These apathy are not all Communists and those tribal chiefs are hirelings of the Government in a certain sense. What is more, how can we pick the leaders for another nation? Have the British not tried in the past to induce us to act as well as to the Irish and Indians without such which leaders must be rejected as hirelings and which must be accepted as hirelings?"

"It is a hopeless task, and the answer we stop in the house."

"It does not mean that we must not act against the consequences of the article and that we must not protect the Indians but only that we should not make hirelings out of Indians by appointing ourselves."

"We should rather make legislation out of tribal by promoting their national endeavour in the material and common interest of South Africa and all its peoples."

Professor du Plessis states that Swart, Verwoerd and Drost, as leaders of the individual nation, join in alliance with each other in a spirit of South Africa first Africa step in this direction, he concludes, is a responsible meeting with the true national leaders of the non-Whites.

Apartheid Madness Invades Nursing Profession

THE revised version of the Nursing Bill published recently goes much further in its application of apartheid to the nursing profession than either the South African Nursing Association or the Nursing Council aimed that it should.

The Bill provides that the Nursing Council should be an all-White body and that there should be segregation in the Nursing Association. It lays down that anyone who makes or lets a White nurse work under a non-White person in any hospital or similar institution, or a training college shall be liable to a fine of £200.

It provides that White, Coloured and African nurses shall be enrolled on separate registers, that different uniforms and badges may be prescribed for them, and also gives the Nursing Council power to prescribe different qualifications or conditions for different "classes" of persons of different branches of nursing.

Membership of the Nursing Association will still be compulsory for nurses of all races, but separate meetings will be held. The decision of the White meetings will be the decision of the Association.

The decision of the non-White meetings will merely be referred to advisory boards for

consideration.

The Bill is arbitrary and drastic in its provisions and is in many respects highly unfair to non-White nurses. It deprives them of all effective say in their own affairs and for these reasons it should be opposed by at least a section of the Opposition in Parliament.

Although the Bill concerns no invasion of the autonomy of the Nursing Association, it is vitally that there will be any opposition to it from South Africa's European nurses. The campaign for apartheid in the nursing profession has been waged by a comparatively small group, but the apathy of the bulk of the members of the Nursing Association has enabled this group to make great headway.

For the nursing profession this legislation holds the threat of a conflict with several nursing bodies and in particular the national institution, the Nursing Council, which has wanted the South African Nursing Council that it will not be recognised if it enforces apartheid.

Afrikaans Editor Recognises Non-Whites Right To self-Determination

(Continued from front page)

but two years ago, matters had changed to such that Mr. Strijdom expressed South Africa's readiness to recognise the independence of non-White African nations on a basis of common action.

Two weeks ago the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Louw, had gone further and said that the Union must act as a leader in getting the Black nations of Africa to throw a line to the West rather than be dominated by the East.

Became Isolated

Mr. van Heerden said that the Union had become isolated because of common acceptance of which the South African community had a very real and well-entrenched view today applied by virtually the whole of the rest of

the world.

In the inevitable political awakening of Black Africa the Black population of South Africa would not be excluded like a sort of lagoon of people outside the walls of the strong.

There was one remaining aspect in which South Africa could play a decisive role—in its influence on the development of the development. South Africa could only expect the non-Whites to go along if he knew where the path led.

Warning the students that there was no solution for South Africa's race problems which would not require sacrifices for the Whites, Mr. van Heerden said that the present generation of students would have to decide.

"I believe that you see the last generation which will have the opportunity of a free choice."

GANDHIJI—

The Story Of His Life

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA FIND A LEADER

CHAPTER VII

THE next day Gandhi continued on his journey to Pretoria.

Part of the way had to be made in a stage coach in those days. A stage coach was something like a big bus driven by horses.

Gandhi had only fresh laurels and words to him.

He had already bought his ticket for a seat in the stage coach when the guard told him to sit outside with the driver. This was because the European passengers did not like to travel together with Indians. Gandhi always told him to get on with his journey and did not want to waste any time in arguing.

After the coach had been travelling for a few hours, however, the guard wanted to have Gandhi's seat outside, in order to enjoy some fresh air. But instead of offering him a seat in a carriage he rudely threw a dirty grubby bag on the foot-board and said, "Free sit on this." This was too much. Gandhi refused absolutely.

The cruel man at once began to beat him and curse him.

Seeing that poor Gandhi had done no harm, some of the European passengers began to take his part and made the man stop beating him.

Successful things like this happened often in South Africa in those days, and Gandhi was to have many both better and worse experiences.

When he went to a hotel the manager would not give him a room. In another hotel, although he got a room he was not allowed to sit in the dining room with the other people. These things never made him less patient. They only made him more determined to make his countrymen respected in South Africa.

Gandhi did only come to spend a year in South Africa, but it was three years before he returned home.

There was so much work to be done for his countrymen and there was no rest, it seemed, with the courage to do it, but himself. He lost no time in making the acquaintance of the

leading Indians in South Africa and in discussing with them what was to be done. He made them see that it was disgraceful to sit idle while rich plantation owners treated thousands of poor Indian labourers like slaves. His burning words awakened a sense of national pride and duty even in the laziest and most indifferent hearts.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

His first great step was to point out that all communities of Indians must unite if they wanted to be strong, and safe from insult, in this foreign land. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians—all must become brothers in the struggle that was to begin.

In a few short months the shy young man had become the brave and fearless leader of thousands of oppressed Indians. It was as if God had chosen him to be his captain in the struggle for India's freedom, and had filled his heart overnight with the courage of a lion.

In his fight for the rights of Indians, Gandhi did not fear to see any of them driven from work with which they were trained. It pained him terribly to see how many Indians had

become carmen, waiters and dirty in their habits. He listened then anxiously about this. He told them that they must never give others the slightest cause to look down on them.

There were many unjust laws against Indians in South Africa at that time. These laws made life very difficult for the Indians. Gandhi fought against these laws with all his strength, and taught his followers how to fight against them too. Only on one point he was very strict: everything must be done peacefully. He had already chosen for himself the path of non-violence in all things and he felt that it was the only path leading to God.

In order to bring South African Indians permanently together he founded a political party known as the Natal Indian Congress. It was named after the political party in India which was already the hope of all patriotic Indians. This party worked to make life better for all Indians, no matter what their community or religion was. It also worked to make India free, but in those days this seemed a very far-off hope. The members of Gandhi's new party were to work to make life better for all the Indians in South Africa.

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Delhi Celebrates Second Bandung Anniversary

"BANDUNG WEEK" to mark the second anniversary of the Bandung conference opened in New Delhi on April 12 with a call to the peoples of Asia and Africa to reaffirm themselves to the principles enshrined by the Bandung powers. The Republics and Syrian Arab Republic in India were among the speakers. The week has been organised by the Indian Association for Asian Solidarity, an unofficial body formed in April 1955 when delegates from Asia-Africa countries met in a conference in New Delhi.

Ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives of China, Burma, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and other Asian-African countries at New Delhi were present at the function, which was inaugurated by Mr. Ramdas Nair, a prominent social worker and chairman of the Indian Association for Asian Solidarity.

Dr. Mustafa Kemal, the

Egyptian ambassador, said that the spirit and effects of the Bandung conference had been and would continue to have far-reaching influence on the evolution of human history. He said that on this occasion the people and the Government of his country declared themselves anew to the Bandung principles.

"Our policy is very clear," he

said. "Our Government has declared many times that we want to be free and that we want that our sovereignty and national dignity should be respected in respect of others."

Syrian Tribulations

Dr. Kamil said that the Bandung principles were the basis on the teachings of Gandhi, Nehru, Nasser and Tito. "We stick to them and we are determined to stick to them for ever." The Syrian ambassador, Mr. Omar Abu Rihien, recalled the tribulations undergone by the people of Syria in achieving their freedom. He said that efforts "being made" by imperialist powers to destroy the freedom of Syria and the unity of the Arab countries would never succeed. He added: "I heard your Prime Minister say that the world has to choose between the iron bomb and the Pandemic. Syria has chosen with all confidence and full resolution your Prime Minister's principle."

Minister Laila Tachar, secretary of the Ethiopian Women's Organisation, earlier conveyed greetings from Ethiopian women to Indian women.

A programme of lectures on the Bandung conference and on exhibition of films produced in Asia and Africa continues forms the main feature of the celebration. An exhibition of the arts and crafts of Asia and Africa countries has also been organised.

Experts For Indian Industries

The U.N. Technical Assistance Administration has offered increased aid to India in the industrial field. The U.N. Experts were already working in the fields of the Glass Industry, dams, light-house, occupational therapy and physical rehabilitation and power transmission. Technical aid amounting to 243 millions will be available and the number of experts working in India will increase by another 51.

NOTICE

Under the auspices of the Indian Cultural Group a public meeting will be held at the Pabna Settlement

on Sunday, the 28th April, 1957 at 3 p.m.

Mr. A. D. Lawrence will speak on "Mahatma Gandhi and his experiment of Passive Resistance"

At Pabna.

To Agatha Harrison

THIS book is a quite delightful, short memoir of Agatha Harrison by her sister. Not many people in South Africa will know Miss Harrison's name. But I suppose if Indian and Englishmen with some knowledge of Anglo-Indian affairs during the years 1913-47 were asked to name the six people most responsible for the voluntary abolition of Imperial power and the cordiality of Indo-British relations after independence, Agatha's name would appear almost as high as every list as Mahatma Gandhi's and C. F. Andrews, with both of whom she worked intensely.

Agatha Harrison held an official position. She had no rank or title. But she was sought after by viceroys and Congress leaders, each putting an equal confidence in her honesty and sincerity, as an indispensable go-between during the long years of management and hardship. As one reads this unaffected, yet joyous record, one is aware of a great void in our South African public life—the lack of people like Agatha Harrison opening effectively on both sides of our colour bar. In all fairness, it is not merely a lack of personalities. There is a far greater need of an attitude more British, the imperial power in India, was pledged, manifestly at least, to mutual self-government for India since 1917. There was plenty of procrastination and mismanagement but faith. But it was limited to stifling by decades, not centuries or even millennia, of our own planners sometimes postponed. And there were always more Britishers in influential positions—Lord Irwin, Sir Stafford Cripps, the Mountbattens, even the privately and rather staid Liallghum—who could be persuaded to respond to Gandhi's own realistic magnanimity.

Agatha Harrison was one of the pioneers among social workers, if one can apply so drab a name to one so gay and spontaneous. From there she went on to China and wrought a revolution in sterile factory conditions, "probably abolishing child labour, lowering hours, shortening shifts, shortening rest days. And doing all this by pressing to the self-interest, foreign and Chinese, that is actually paid them to be human. No matter should suppose that Agatha was just a sentimental "Gandhi". She was a professional in her finger tips, whose greatest successes depended as much upon her rich experience of a self-knowledge

as upon her grasp for personal relationships. She always carried her brief before morning in for the arrival.

In China she learned the lesson which she was later to put to successful use in the Indian cause, the vision that racial frontiers are most easily crossed "by sending individuals to carry on their daily work alongside of, and among the people of another nation, so that both sides may discover and lose the common humanity that unites them."

C. W. M. GELL

Though our circumstances differ in detail, this lesson is essentially applicable here and could revolutionise our society if more widely accepted. But, of course, it must be practised as naturally and unaffectedly as Miss Harrison used to accompany Gandhi on his travels, sleeping on the ground with him and his relatives, travelling third-class in the railways, the lack of privacy, the dirt, the heat, the crowds. Agatha earned the confidence both sides reposed in her the hard way. And I have no doubt that here we, too, will have eventually to put our arrogant aside, and have to talk and work with Congress leaders as equals, if we are to solve our own social problems, dealing with the leaders the people themselves choose, not men we choose for them and label "audacious" or "responsible" as convenient or "legitimate." We will then find the object of our present suspicion and prejudice as human as Agatha Harrison found the Indian Congress leaders.

Typical of Miss Harrison's attitude was her refusal to be put off against some half-witted trade union leaders in a serious industrial dispute. "Probably they are not Communists, but are always dubbed such. But I refused to believe that anyone acting the prevailing anxiety would not turn to aid work." She was right. For sure it is in the reply she would give Mr. Swami if she had come here. And then her rage at constant of coal miners, employing women underground, using all the same old arguments as in 1944 when British coal miners got up the mines. I feel I shall put up and had someone on the head when I see these men again using round silver things when women in the mines that were said to "let."

On the unfortunate Judge's wife who remarked from the chair that she hoped the Commissioner would not raise wages that we had all seen what the result had been in England and that she could not see competitors with other countries; that they did not want the workers in India to feel they needed wages that would not pay-their-own! "I had meant to let them down lightly, but when I heard that One thing claps in our ears from these dumb, ignorant people, over and over again: "Our stomachs are empty." And then to talk about them asking for wages that will provide parity-of-employment." One would have liked to hear Agatha Harrison on the economic argument underpinning our best support.

In 1954 she died suddenly of a

heart condition. Krishna Menon said: "She had an office or style, and no flags were lowered for her, but all over India people honour her name." And Mrs. Pandit went: "When I heard she was no longer with us, the world suddenly seemed a very lonely place." For an epitaph her sister has set down some lines composed by Agatha Harrison herself.

The strength of gentleness,
The might of meekness,
The glory of a courage

unfired
A constant love, a tenderness
for weakness,
Went in her face and in her
life displayed

(Postscript: Agatha Harrison, an inspiration to her sister, Irene Harrison (John & Greville)

Pistorius Sees Deranged, Dangerous Society

FEAR grips South Africa today. All the race groups are afraid and the danger is that fear of this kind, coming into a society makes that society severely deranged and dangerous. Prof. P. V. Pistorius, professor of Greek at the Pretoria University, said in an address to the Roosterbosk Rotary Club.

"We are dealing with an unusual society in the world in general and South Africa in particular," he said.

"The Afrikaner is in the grip of fear of the White man, just as the White man is in the grip of fear of the Afrikaner."

"There is fear in the hearts of the English-speaking group because they are frightened that certain values are threatened."

"The Coloured people fear that there will be no place for them."

"The Afrikaner suffers from a self-directed fear. The ordinary normal Afrikaner is afraid of his own people more than of whom because of the impelling force of nationalism."

"For this reason many people who agree with me would be afraid to say so, because they fear their own people as their own people fear them."

Professor Pistorius said people who fear are stupid, unbalanced and even aggressive.

"Even in the best exclusive Afrikaner circles, including the Church, there is a certain aboutness."

He criticised the facts to ignore—as almost complete lack of contact between the various race groups.

"We have the ideology of the

resilient code, the ideology of group preference to the resilient group at the expense of the more important larger group and of humanity."

"It should be more important to us that we are South Africans than that we are Afrikaners, more important that we are Westermans than that we are South Africans, even more important that we are humans than that we are Westermans."

Breakdown of this attitude people were prepared to allow things to be done in the name of culture and of the nation which the individual worldviews.

"We have reached the stage that the man who breaks with his political ideology is not acceptable in Church circles that the churchman who has broken with his Church is in political circles."

The coming together of the English-speaking and the Afrikaner-speaking sections would be only a partial solution, "unless we find a pattern into which all groups can fit."

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

By JORDAN K. NGURANE

Open Letter To The Africanists

Bona of Africa,

I RETURNED about fortnight ago from a short visit to Johannesburg where, among other things, I addressed a series of meetings on both sides of the colour line. I spoke at Sophiatown and also at Alexandra. I had been warned beforehand that Alexandra was the stronghold of the Africanist school of thought and that since I would be speaking from a Liberal platform I would receive complete handling there. I had had from the students of Pretoria University.

When I got to the hall something strange was immediately: the meeting was attended by young men; the people to whom the letters belonged, at the end of my address discussion followed. I shall never forget what happened then. I found myself among young men who have spent time and energy and extremely money in various endeavours to come to real grips with the race problem. Your questions and comments were most enlightening. I wished I could have had more time to art down and discuss the problems you raised. Since this could not be done, I write this letter in endeavour to exchange a few more ideas with you on the country's race problem.

You argued that the problem facing the Africans is basically one of conquest; that since the African was ruled by conquest carried for him depends on his reversing this process. After your victory you said you would set up a democratic State where the Will of the majority would shape the course of events. In the meantime you wanted to work out your destiny as Africans. You were not hostile to the European, Indian or Coloured minorities. As a matter of fact you were willing to have the European in your free Africa—but on your own terms. I wish you could define your terms.

But this is not my main point. Why I write this letter is because I would like to ascertain precisely from you where you and I differ. Our common ground, the apartheid, grows smaller and smaller every day. It becomes imperative for you and for people who think as I do, that we should stand, tell and run together. If we do that, I am certain we can handle apartheid that on the ground in

a shorter period than five years. Our cause is just. We fight for liberty. It is rooted in first ethical foundations—we have no mass because of his race. We are bound to win—we are in the majority; world events are in our favour.

Where, then, do we differ? I started as an African Nationalist myself. To me I saw the problems of our country from the perspective of conquest. I spent the last years of my life in the fight to build up African Nationalism. In all this I kept consistently to the centre. I regarded both chauvinism and communism as evil. I believed that at the base of South Africa's race problem was a conflict of values and not the clash of colour. Because I believed this, race, colour and blood were of no importance to me. I saw men from the perspective of things they believed the things they wanted in life and not from that of race.

Consequently there was no such thing as a White problem for me. Right through the glorious days of the Youth League, I kept my friendships with all my friends on the European and Indian sides of the colour line. I kept them to this day.

In the meantime two events had happened which shook my faith in Nationalism profoundly. The first was World War II. Like most people I had not followed events in Germany with the interest I should have shown. I mastered a little German, but I wanted it all on Kant's Critique of Pure Reason—which seems a little naive that I view it as retrograde. I should have taken advantage of my little German to acquaint myself with the real values of Nazism. But this is beside the point.

When World War II came on the scene I was shocked into considering afresh the colour Nazi doctrine. I read more about it. I heard more and saw more. I met Jews and other refugees from Germany. I made friends with them. One of the latter gave me a German volume containing the words of Herold Spencer-Peck of the influence which shaped my life, then, Anton Leberle, who had mastered the German language better than I, subsequently took the book. The people who had fled from Germany told me horrifying stories of

what happened in that grim and remarkable land. A Jewish chemical engineer told me how the Nazis stripped his daughter, the former wife of a leading industrialist, and gave her five hundred electrical shocks on her private parts to resist a concentration camp. I heard Hitler Goebbels and Goering utter the most horrible things against the Jews over Radio Berlin. In those days this was one of the most powerful stations in the air in this part of the world.

All these things made a profound impression on me. I began to realise vividly that where men were bound together, not by a noble ideal, but by a worldly thing like blood, they could be victims of a more cruel captain which would destroy them, in the end. My faith in African Nationalism began to be shaken.

In 1948 Malan's gang was returned to power. This was regarded by my section of the African community as the worst disaster that could have befallen this country. Instead of the Zulu-speaking section of the African people emotional reactions which led to frightful crimes of passion, I refer to the Afrikaner riots of January 1949.

I lived through this riots. I saw absolute corruption of body, mind and soul to which drunkenness with power could reduce oppressed human beings like me. I saw, also, the elevating honour and nobility of mind which make Man the masterpiece of Creation that he is. The beautiful; the cruelty; the complete negation of reason all crushed me. The wounds have not healed—to this day. I know had been wronged; God knows we have been most grievously wronged. To this day we are being wronged. But we, who have been wronged, could not see in injustice and wickedness any hopes of salvation and still complete when others were unjust and wicked towards us. If we wanted freedom for ourselves in order to avenge ourselves on those who had made us suffer, I was quite certain in my mind that we were wrong. Freedom is desired because it enables Man to pursue the ideal of perfection to the best of his ability.

For a passing moment in history I saw my own people at their greatest strength. It was strength built on the travail of

the weak; on raped little girls, on asphyxiated women sentenced to death; on men exposed to the most revolting indignities and humiliations. It was based on all these things happening to human beings like me: to father and mother of children who smiled and cried exactly like my own daughter and son. It was the point of final culmination for African Nationalism. I turned my back on the horrible events. If this was what we were leading the country to, where we spoke of the strength and the united Will of Africa, for good or for evil, it was not to be for me. From that moment I changed my mind. I was no longer a Nationalist.

I saw salvation for myself, my children, my people of all races in a new concept of unity and understanding. The only safe basis for a better South Africa lay in being bound together by the values we all cherished together and in refusing to allow the poison of race from the Apartheid side to influence our thinking. These values were what we have grown to regard as the democratic tradition which the human race has been evolving down the centuries. In the final reckoning, they are the only hope for emergent Africa and for South Africa.

I have described my experiences because I wish, later, to return to the problems you might have to face either before we are free or when, as I am sure events are taking us that way, you are rulers of this country. I would rather you were wise and just men, guided by the desire to draw out the very best in your countrymen of all races and determined to build up here a country and a constitution which will be the finest tribute to the genius of Man, a country where no human being shall be punished for having been once a member of a particular race.

(To be continued)

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

U.S. FOCUS ON AFRICA

VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON

has urged the American Government to regard Africa as a vital area in the contest between freedom and communism. To this end he has recommended the creation of a new State Department Bureau of African Affairs to place Africa "on the same footing as the other great area groupings of the world." Similar action should be taken by the International Co-operation Administration and by the U.S. Information Agency. The U.S. should also encourage greater private investment in Africa, extend economic and technical assistance, support the great of loans by the World Bank, and stimulate still greater co-operation between American and African trade unions. Mr. Nixon added: "We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the U.S. In the national interest, as well as for the moral issues involved, we must support the necessary steps which will ensure steady progress towards the elimination of discrimination in the U.S. And we would do a far more effective job than we are presently doing in taking the true story of the program which is being made towards making its objective, so that the people of Africa have a true picture of conditions as they really are in the U.S." All these recommendations were contained in Mr. Nixon's report to President Eisenhower on his recent trip to Africa. He had already made private reports to various departments. It is known he has submitted a formal report to the State Department and Information Agency as some of their members now on duty in Africa. Two other private reports dealt with France's problems in Algeria and the problem of Arab refugees. It will be recalled that Mr. Nixon, at the height of the Suez crisis, was extremely critical of British-French intervention. He said the intervention might be a blessing to the American policy because it would cause the U.S. to stand free from the ugly shadow cast by colonialism. The same spirit runs through his report to the President, although Mr. Nixon is most complimentary in his

reference to British policy as it did to the independence of Ghana. "There is an area in the world today in which the prestige of the U.S. is more vitally high than in any country which I visited on this trip. The President is respected as the acknowledged leader of the free world. There is a most encouraging understanding of our programmes and policies. These countries know that we have no ambitions to dominate, and that the cornerstone of our foreign policy is to assist countries in resisting domination by others. They understand that the U.S. stands on principle and that this was the motivating force, for example, which led us to act as we did in the Congo Suez crisis. They approve the stand which led us to act as we did in the recent Suez crisis. They approve the stand which we took at that time and look confidently to us to act consistently with that stand in the future. The African nations understand that the American doctrine for the Middle East is dedicated to the principle of ensuring the steps of the Middle East to maintain their independence. They know that the US stands for the evolution of dependent peoples towards self-government and independence as they become able to discharge the responsibilities involved."

In discussing the wider significance of the emergence of the new nation of Ghana, Mr. Nixon declared: "The eyes of the people of Africa south of the Sahara and of Western Europe particularly, will be upon the new state to see whether the orderly transition which has taken place from dependence to independent status, and whether the restoration of class war as a basis of equality with the British Commonwealth, will continue to work successfully and thereby provide a formula of peaceful application in other cases. By the same token, internal factors will be closely following the situation to see whether any special provision themselves for exploitation in a manner which would enable them to strangle and destroy the independence which Ghana seeks to achieve."

In a significant but carefully phrased passage in his report Mr. Nixon suggests that the U.S. may be ready to undertake a real new programme involving economic development along the Nile. He writes: "The Nile is one of the world's greatest international rivers. Perhaps in no other part of the world are the economies of so many states tied in a particular waterway. The river is so located geographically that whatever projects are undertaken on it within the territorial domain of our State are bound to have their effect on the economies of other states. The U.S. must take into account the common interests of the riparian states in the development of their great river and, at such times as political conditions permit, should support a co-operative approach to its development which would accord with the common interests of all the states involved."

Mr. Hagerly, the President's press secretary, said that he had

every reason to believe that Mr. Nixon's report would be carefully studied by the appropriate departments, and would receive full consideration by the Administration itself. There therefore may yet be heard of American policy towards the Nile Valley. Mr. Nixon said that in his judgment communism is now making a determined effort to extend its authority in Africa. He believed so far that Communist leaders now regard Africa "as important in their design for world conquest as they considered China in 35 years ago." Until recently the U.S. by contrast had considered Africa to be "a remote and mysterious continent which was the special province of big game hunters, explorers, and mission-gone madmen." In place of this attitude Mr. Nixon urged the "necessity" of assigning "higher priority" to American relations with the nations and peoples of Africa.

Stress Of Indian Solidarity

DR GYAN CHAND, former Economic Adviser to the Government of India and in New Delhi, that Asian solidarity had become a supreme necessity in the face of the race among Western powers to develop thermonuclear weapons.

Dr. Gyan Chand, who was speaking at a meeting held under the auspices of the Asian Solidarity Committee to celebrate the Bandung Week, said that the atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima was not the first act of World War II but the last act of the third World War. Mr. Winston Churchill and the Western Press thought that the atom was a force which could restrain nations but this position changed when Soviet Union also developed atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. It was thought at this stage that mutual fear could act as a deterrent against a world war but the U.S. emergence as an atomic power had changed the whole pattern of thinking.

There was no longer any deterrent as more Western countries including Norway, Sweden and Portugal could come to possess the bombs. By the same token, internal factors will be closely following the situation to see whether any special provision themselves for exploitation in a manner which would enable them to strangle and destroy the independence which Chand seeks to achieve."

Asian countries, Dr. Gyan Chand said the very first atom bomb was exploded on Japan, an Asian country. In the last few years Korea, Indo-China and China had been on the brink of atomic war. Thirdly, the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO had brought the threat of atomic war into Asia itself and the report that Pakistan had atomic secret weapons was something which should cause great concern in India and other Asian countries. Asian countries were helpless in the face of atomic threats and stood to gain if the atom was used for peaceful purposes.

Dr. Gyan Chand said there was no time to lose. Asian countries should take the hydrogen bomb issue on the World Forum and agitate seriously and not rest until complete international control over atom was achieved. A world organisation like U.N. should be compelled to ban all thermonuclear experiments for war purposes.

Vineeta Bhare To Visit England

Mr. Donald Greer, friend of Mr. Vineeta Bhare, said in an address at Bombay to the headlight workers that Vineeta Bhare would be going to England and thence to other countries where he would spread the Gandhian ethos. It is understood that Mr. Greer is planning the trip.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

"Focus On Gujarati Women"

THE EDITOR, "INDIAN ORINION"

[We are publishing this letter to invite views from our readers and others, as the subject is a controversial one. We wish to make it clear that we do not in any way share the views of the writer.—Editor.]

SIR,—The Gujarati community in South Africa is one of the most backward communities socially, physically and educationally.

Our womenfolk and children are constantly sick and pests and pests are paid to do out for treatment. Our hardly made a Gujarati family in Durban where all the family is well—almanity mother, father, sister, brother, daughter, son / etc—somehow is sick why?

I will tell you—our womenfolk are among the laziest in the world—they will never lift their finger to do anything—there may be exceptions of course, if they want to go somewhere—even if the place is a block or two away they send a car—walking is seldom done—in summer you see many wearing frocks or pajamas. It is no wonder that our children are not active.

Lately too I have seen a lot of the "new" and old Gujarati wives have learnt the art of nagging. Maybe they have seen too many films. And once they start nagging, whether the husband likes it or not he reluctantly goes along with her to see an Indian picture, though the great majority of Indian pictures we see in this country are "third class trash" which we see a fine film.

The Gujarati women are amongst the greatest chatterboxes to be found anywhere we frequent till they "Renter's correspondence" as they can transmit any story or rumour faster than a telegram. Even if any rumour is just hearsay, they make it bigger and add their own thoughts to it. Most of these women have All India Radio homes—when they talk they don't need a mike—they can be heard half a mile away.

When they go visiting their sakes never end. They must

repeat the word at least a dozen times.

As far as fashion goes these may be a total number of a dozen women who can dress properly or attractively, the rest don't know how to dress at all. Some will have a blue sari and a red blouse or a green sari and a yellow blouse. If any new design sari comes out on the market and if one lady happens to buy it, the whole town of women's world will follow suit like

sheep.

When they prepare food seldom are the dishes tasty. They are content to eat dal and bhata and nothing else. Health giving foods only a few will eat, like milk, cheese, fruits, khalaga chips, kachadi, rotis, masoori etc.

It is high time that our dear "bundles of joy" took a new lease on life and start living—do yoga or breathing exercises each morning—go for long walks with children if necessary during weekends, start learning English at home, learn to drive a car, learn to swim, do harder work at home, respect elders, be of service to parents, and bring up children in the proper dignified

and respectful manner.

I know Sir that this letter will cause a lot of controversy, and eyebrows will be raised. But in the test of my knowledge A.I. that I have written a true—very true. Second criticism I will welcome. Suggestions will be more welcome to improve the lot of our womenfolk.

Another thing our women can't do and that is to be able to dress to a party. At least an hour or an hour and half start must be given to them. And the way they powder their faces, some outsiders may think that she must have just put her face in a cake flour bag.

Yours faithfully,
A Karmacharya Yous



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Woman above all other
admirers, educator humanity.
She is the truth, but
woman is the heart.

—Samuel Butler.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editor, *Manzil Gandhi*—1938-1939

As the pollen gold is
not in fire, so the faith
of friendship must be seen
in adversity.

Gird.

No. 17—Vol. LV.

Friday, 3rd May, 1957

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NKRUMAH DECLARES WAR ON APARTHEID BACKGROUND TO CONFERENCE TO WHICH S.A. IS INVITED

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of Ghana, has appointed a committee to study the proposals presented in a memorandum on South Africa submitted to him by the Rev. Michael Scott during his recent visit to Ghana as a guest for the celebrations of Ghana's independence.

In the memorandum, Michael Scott declares that "The fact must now be faced by the international community that South Africa has for ten years defied all the resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the question of Apartheid, the treatment of People of Asian Origin in South Africa and the supervisory authority of the United Nations over the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa."

"So far from making any concessions to world opinion, South Africa has steadily continued her defiance by enacting increasingly repressive apartheid legislation and measures for the absorption of South-West Africa into the Union, he declared.

Plan Of Action

This has resulted, he continued, in extended the challenge of South Africa to the "outside world" from

"the sphere of international law and politics to the sphere of religion, education and medicine. This must be reckoned with by all organisations which have the integrity of the Commonwealth and the United Nations at heart."

It is therefore necessary, continued the memorandum, that a plan of action be

devised "which will achieve what moral persuasion and ten years of debate and attempted contention in the United Nations have failed to achieve."

The initiative for the needed vigorous leadership on this issue at UN "should come from other African States."

(Continued on page 183)

GERMAN COMMUNISTS, LIKE VERWOERD, SEEK TO CONTROL CHURCH

BERLIN.

THE annual convention of the Protestant Church, which in previous years united Christians from all parts of Germany, will not be held this year, West Berlin newspapers reported.

The President of the Church Convention has announced that the 1957 Convention, originally scheduled to be held in Taurgna, in the Soviet Zone of Germany in August, had to be cancelled because of the unacceptable conditions set forth by the Communist regime in Eastern Germany. It added the shortage of time makes it impossible to prepare a convention in the Federal Republic of Germany, so that protestants this year will have no opportunity to meet on a large scale. The convention would have been the eighth postwar rally of Ger-

man protestants.

In a communique issued recently, President Theodor Tietzsch said:

"After months long efforts to negotiate with the government of the German Democratic Republic on the Church Convention, conditions, some of which would have resulted in the postponement of the Convention, were imposed on the Presidium. All requests and efforts to have these conditions revoked were abortive. Thus, the All-German Church Rally in Taurgna this year has been abandoned."

WILL STRIJDOM THROW VERWOERD OUT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO?

CAPE TOWN.

THERE are reports that a major Cabinet reshuffle is being planned and that Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd is to be transferred from the Department of Native Affairs. It seems likely that he may become Minister of Finance.

Dr. Verwoerd has become an acute embarrassment to the Nationalist Party as a result of what his own supporters term his "extremism" and "dogmatic attitude" and Nationalist Party followers throughout the Plateland are uniting against him.

It would be politically disastrous for the Nationalists simply to exclude Dr. Verwoerd from the Cabinet because that would be interpreted not merely as a personal failure for him but as a failure for the whole of Apartheid.

(Continued on page 19.)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 3RD MAY, 1957

Nkrumah, Strijdom And The Funkhole

BY turning down Dr. Nkrumah's invitation to a conference of sovereign independent states Mr. Strijdom would appear to have placed himself in the position to appear afraid to face his most important adversary in the world. Against his refusal to attend the Prime Ministers' conference in London next month the impression would be confirmed that the Union's Premier shrinks he will solve ugly problems by continuously running into his funkhole. There is very good reason to see Mr. Strijdom in this light—but to stop there is to see him only in part.

There is every reason why he should be condemned for the attitude he has taken up to the Ghanaian invitation. But before he is condemned people might do well to bear two considerations in mind. It is quite possible that with the Afrikaner intellectuals obviously in revolt, he might be giving earnest thought to an approach to the race question which might prevent what will certainly be a split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom.

Verwoerd Mess

Or he might be so bankrupt of ideas to get out of the mess in which Verwoerd has thrown him that he is lacking the capacity to look people in the face.

His behaviour during the debates on the Native Laws Amendment Bill indicates that he was so thoroughly ashamed that he did not even have the nerve to allow himself to speak much when called upon to defend his own government's policy. At one stage he vented his obvious embarrassment when confronted with a direct demand for a speech by tossing round and conversing with the Minister of Justice—right in the heart of a major debate. Against the background of this and similar events it is clear that the Prime Minister is certainly far from being a happy man. And if he thinks the funkhole is the most comforting refuge for his troubled conscience in these challenging times, we, for our part, would not be surprised.

If, however, in his concern, the Prime Minister is already cherishing of a new and more effective approach to the race problem, we would not hesitate to blame him for not accepting the Ghanaian invitation. Unfortunately there are no real indications that he is applying his mind in this direction. The Nats are not in a mood to be guided by the wishes of the non-Whites. On the contrary Minister Swart has let it be known that his department intends looking up behind prison bars 7,000 junior leaders of the African National Congress. If this is not provocation of the most unstatesmanlike

type, it is certainly so gesture which might make the African untenable to reason from the Strijdom side.

Strijdom Committed

While this is the case, it does no harm to see Mr. Strijdom's case from another angle. His government is specifically committed to the policy of making friends with the White and non-White countries of Africa. In pursuance of this policy he pointedly refrained from opposing the emergence of Ghana as a sovereign independent state. He followed this up by sending to Accra, on March 8, a special representative with a designation we regard as fairly impressive for an apartheid country. When Ghana applied for Commonwealth membership Mr. Strijdom did not stand in the way.

These tangible demonstrations of goodwill must obviously have made some impression in Ghana. More so when it is remembered that Dr. Nkrumah made certain that he was on record during the independence celebrations as having said that he hated and loathed apartheid. If he liked he could have promptly taken a very strong line against South Africa; gone to the United Nations and started the whole world talking excitedly about South Africa.

When Dr. Nkrumah reciprocated with a friendly invitation, it was because South Africa had taken the initiative to indicate that this is the language she wanted both countries to speak to each other.

Forced To Decline

But the conference Ghana proposed would obviously place South Africa in a difficult position. Among other things on the agenda were the race problem and the future of dependent territories. This forced South Africa into the position of having to decline the invitation.

The reason for this stand was given as the fact that the scope of the conference was too narrow. South Africa expressed a willingness to attend a more broad-based gathering. This argument deserves serious consideration, in its own right.

There is no doubt whatsoever that in a conference such as Dr. Nkrumah proposes South Africa would find herself in the dock. There is equally no doubt about the verdict. It is thus a strong point in Mr. Strijdom's favour that he has expressed willingness to be represented at a more broadly-based conference knowing that it would not be particularly friendly.

He is not alone in preaching race oppression in Africa and his government is not the only one which oppresses human beings for the sole reason that they are not White. If, as he realises, the time has come when apartheid must be tried in an international assembly where Black men sit, it is fair also to allow him to be tried in the presence of his peers. For the Union government to insist on a more broadly-based conference, in these circumstances, is not really unreasonable.

Keep Door Open

We do not expect Ghana to allow herself to be deflected off her course by what Strijdom has said for the

present. There is no valid reason why the coverage independent states of Africa should not merit without South Africa. But there is one thing they can do which would bring nearer realisation the ideal they have in mind: they can, at this stage, make every endeavour to keep the door in negotiation with South Africa open and lay foundations for a more broadly based conference. We think Mr. Scipione, with whom we find ourselves in violent disagreement on many things, has a good case here. He is being called into what will certainly be a political slaughter-house. As leader-part followed by the Nationalist Party it is fair that he should be made to face the impossible with as composure as possible.

We think African statesmanship has the courage to lead even the blind in the apartheid camp to a better future. Because this is the case, Dr. Nkrumah will not lose anything if he does not lose his temper; if he continues to press for a inter-African conference where not only South Africa will be represented, but the Federalists, Malagasy, Angola, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, etc. All the oppressed in these countries want to have a big say in the future of Africa.

Victory!

Above everything we have reason to believe that the tactics adopted by Ghana so far are likely to produce positive results in the long run. Shortly after Dr. Nkrumah's invitation was made public, reports circulated in the Union that Dr. Verwoerd might be removed from the Department of Native Affairs, where he would be a major obstacle to friendly relations with African states, to the finance portfolio. It is unusual for a strong political party to change minister shortly before a general election. "It would mean that Mr. Verwoerd was in the Verwoerd major obstacle in his Africa policy, on which he might have to say a last during the election. If this speculation is correct and if Verwoerd finally goes before May next year, Dr. Nkrumah will have scored an important victory merely by keeping his temper.

Nkrumah Declares War On Apartheid

(Continued from front page)

African States

"It should be made quite clear to South Africa that henceforth other African countries will not content themselves with passing resolutions and making speeches in the United Nations denouncing the injustices which are being increasingly heaped on the African people in the Union.

"Action will be taken, both individually and jointly, which will adversely affect South African trading and other relations with their territories in Africa. This could include commercial embargoes as well as commercial sanctions, including air travel, severing of aircraft proceeding to and from South Africa, etc."

Boycotts Urged

Michael Scott urged "strong representations" by Britain with vital interests in Africa and the Commonwealth "regarding the continued flooding of South Africa with gold and diamonds making enterprises whose col-

our labour system is disrupting the social organisation of the African people as far away as Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Botswana, Basutoland and Swaziland, despite the cash wages offered which depreciate the abundance of wages and labour conditions in the Union itself."

Downgrading the hitherto cheap labour of South-West Africa as exploitation, most and a mis-use of labour, he urged "women with certificates" to boycott the lamb's diet, and declared that "if Africa could set an example by boycotting South African lamb, eggs, maize meal, wine, and other products."

"As the model sphere, in moral, entertainment, the art, education, sport and education, such could be done to send a healthy posture of world opinion to the South African public," which, he insisted, included much more than the action of the white people

which supports the Government's policies.

"...also-troth of the population...it showing itself consistently opposed to this policy is the loss of boycotts, strikes and other measures forced upon them by their lack of any constitutional means of redress, representation in Parliament and the suppression of their freedom and their political and trade union organisations."

He declared that the dangers resulting from "this total stoppage of all channels of peaceful change and remedy for injustice" to not only South Africa but also neighbouring territories, are now "too great to be avoided any longer by piecemeal resolutions and lawgiving."

"The time has come for other African countries to take carefully planned and co-ordinated action both outside the United Nations and within the United Nations to induce other like-minded countries to join them in more effective measures. Such will help to unseat the South African Government of the error of its ways and assist the people opposing it."

"It will demonstrate the unwillingness of the world to wait completely for some inevitable disaster or explosion which would cause unlimited human suffering and leave Africa with a heritage of racial hatred which would take centuries to overcome."

International Court

Article 7 of the League of Nations mandates agreement with South Africa could be invoked, the memorandum continued, to resolve "any dispute between South Africa as the Mandatary and one or more of the members of the League which concerned the Mandate to her. The compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice could be brought by one or more members and South Africa would be compelled to accept the judgment of the Court even if she absented herself and took no part in the Court's proceedings. Continued defiance by South Africa of the Court could be referred to the Security Council and could result in the imposing of any of the active steps open to the United Nations including the 'collective measures' expressly referred to as sanctions."

Michael Scott then urged consideration of issuing travel documents by the UN or a "friendly State" to recognised prisoners from South-West Africa whom the (UN's) research Committee has expressed its readiness to host" but when

the South African Government has refused to grant permits to leave.

African Conference

Finally, the memorandum proposed that the Conference African Territories States suggested by Dr. Nkrumah should in addition to other matters "possible policies and lines of concerted action to deal with the problem of South Africa also the part which non-governmental organisations could play in the various fields of education, sport, culture, trade, etc. in the form of both active and positive action."

South Africa could be invited to attend such a conference "and discuss her present relations with the States of the African continent, and made aware of the full consequences of the consequences of her present policy of repression."

UN Charter Enforced

Finally, the conference could explore all the possible ways in which Africa could be helped by the UN's specialised agencies.

The memorandum concluded: "The purpose of the various actions outlined above is to enforce the principles of the United Nations Charter in face of South Africa's defiance and not to counterpose one form of coercion to another."

"Procedures must be devised which will make the Charter principles and the rule of international law effective, or confidence in peaceful methods may be undermined in that part of the continent and peace and security threatened."

Neutral Power

"With war, I believe, the first to think of science as affording a means of ruthless tyranny. I finished this point of view at the age of fifteen, and it left my imagination well-prepared for the shock of nuclear bombs. I realised then, and have remembered ever since, that science, in itself, is ethically neutral. It creates power, but for evil just as much as for good. It is to be feared, not to be feared, that we must agree if it seems to be inevitable."

Burtland Russell, talking in the BBC's General Overseas Service on "Books that Influenced Me in Youth."

Verwoerd In Bad Temper Against Churches

THE bitter debate on the church clause of the Native Laws Amendment Bill ended suddenly on April 25 by application of the clause without the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, bringing into the House of Assembly as to what really passed between him and the Dutch Reformed Churches on this subject.

Mr. Martin Steyn (U.P., Verwoerd) had asked whether the Minister used his influence to persuade the members of the Dutch Reformed Church deputations that visited him to water down their objections to the clause.

Dr. Verwoerd replied indignantly that such a suggestion was as foolish as the intelligence of the members of the deputations who were interested themselves capable of forming their own judgment.

Cautiously they had heard his views, but it was ridiculous to suggest that they would have been cowed by him to accept a situation contrary to their convictions.

To drive home this point he produced a telegram from the synods of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk the Rev. P. Dreyer, which, he claimed, gave unqualified support to the clause as now framed.

Steyn said that the Dutch Reformed Church was not capable of being influenced by himself, he continued in almost the next breath that the English-speaking churches had been cowed away by the agitation of the Press and the United Party.

When it was for them to turn, he claimed, there would have been an agitation against the clause. He hoped that when this clause did down the churches would return to their other senses.

If not, they should be warned that he would not be able to see his way clear to allowing churches which had expressed an intention of urging Africans to break the law to enter Africa for mission work.

Just before the clause was moved Dr. Smith (U.P., East London City) was pointing out to the House that the counterpart in the church clause lay in whether sub-committees which could be used to prevent clergy from entering Africa arose.

This, he said, presented the other side of the coin which was almost questioned in the heat of the debate on the clause arising there. — *Staff Writer.*

It is that Mr. Kaprielian (C.P.,

Harlem) moved the clause so suddenly and quietly that everybody was caught by surprise.

On a division the clause was passed by 65 votes to 43—Mr. Kaprielian being loudly drowned to know where the other 12

Nationalists were (the Government majority in the Assembly is 55).

Even the Nationalist Party's shield whip (Mr. P. N. de Klerk) was caught out and he only came in for the last four of eight divisions which took place. He was dressed for disaster.

A large part of the clause which enables Dr. Verwoerd to enforce racial apartheid in institutions other than churches was only added at.

The House was in fact just beginning to go into these matters seriously when the Nationalists applied the clause.

Vinoba Bhave Says Indian Elections Gave Spur To Castelism

Non-Committal On Communion In Kerala

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE said that casteism, which was being spread in India, had been given new impetus by the recent elections.

He said that they should, therefore, find a better way of conducting their elections. He held discussions with many political leaders about this and they had all agreed with him, he said.

Acharya Bhave, speaking at Cape Comorin, said that if the Communist Party, which had come to power in Kerala, turned the people with good intentions, it would be good for it as well as to the people. He wished it well.

He was replying to questions by promoters for teaching Cape Comorin on his Bhavan tour of Tamil Nadu.

He said this would give a new experience to the Communists who would know how to rule the country. It would also give the people an opportunity to have an experience of

how Communists would work when they came to power.

Asked to comment on the conversation and omission of someone by the new Ministry in Kerala, Acharya Bhave said that he had no particular opinion on it, nor did he attach any importance to it. Even criminals' minds could be changed and it was always good to give them an opportunity to do so. He said he would be glad if that was the motive behind these releases.

His opinion was that the prisoners should be handled with a view to bringing about a change of heart in them. There should, however, be no difference between political and other prisoners. He did not think that there was no place for change of heart in Marxism.

India Reverses Ban Against South Africans

THE following revised classification has been obtained concerning the entry/travel of South Africans.

(a) Persons of Indian origin having valid Passports/Travel Documents are now allowed entry without restriction.

(1) A national of the United Kingdom holding a valid U.K. Passport. Such a passport is

permitted to travel to India on transit or otherwise without having to comply with the restrictions placed on South Africans, where such passport-holder commences his journey from South Africa.

(2) A national of the United Kingdom holding a valid U.K. Passport when South Africa is included in the column "Permitted." Such a passport is

permitted to travel to India on transit or otherwise without having to comply with the restrictions placed on South Africans.

The Government of Bombay have agreed that "citizenship" is not the same as "nationality" and those U.K. citizens who are citizens of South Africa but who have not acquired South African domicile will not be treated as "prohibited immigrants" and will therefore be exempt from the Rationing Rules.

(3) A South African national of European descent holding a South African passport in direct transit to a port outside of India within the specified period of transit, viz. 72 hours. A temporary Permit for transit must be obtained at the Airport on arrival on payment of a fee of Rs. 75/-.

Such passengers will be allowed to proceed from the Airport to stay in the city during the layover period and their Passports have to be deposited with the Police. On re-issuing the Permit to the Airport Police authorities, on departure from India, their passports will be returned to them.

It is important that such transit passengers are in possession of documents dated six months before their onward transportation outside of India within the specified period of 72 hours.

3. South African nationals wishing to remain in India for a period exceeding 72 hours will require an entry permit. Application should be made to:

Office of the Commissioner for the Government of India in British East Africa, P.O. Box 2074, Nairobi Kenya Colony.

Application must be made on a special form in triplicate (obtainable from this office) and accompanied by the passport and four passport size photographs.

3. Once a permit has been issued for a South African to enter India, whether for 72 hours or longer, he will receive the same courteous treatment that is extended to nationals of all other countries.

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GANDHIJI—

The Story Of His Life

THE OBSTINATE RICH MAN

CHAPTER VIII

ONE of the most important things to consider was the question of money. A political party requires a lot of money to keep it going. The leaders must travel here and there, books and leaflets must be printed and distributed, when speeches have to be made, and so on. Gandhiji had to look for each member paying at least five shillings as a monthly subscription. He told the rich people to give as much money as they could. He himself gave twenty shillings a month. But the people were shy when it came to giving money. They

That was indeed an awkward situation. Gandhiji knew that if he let the men give only three pence, other rich people too would want to give only three, or even less. They would think: "Why should we give more than that man who is a rich?"

So Gandhiji and his friends politely refused to take any food until six pence had been given. They were dreadfully hungry and it was awful to have to sit and wait only, when a good meal was

waiting for them.

Neither side would give in and the arguing went on all night. Just as day-break the host yielded at last. Then they all ate their fill.

This incident was much talked about and it made people see that Gandhiji was not to be trifled with. After that people paid up their subscriptions more promptly.

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An European Interviews
Vinoba Bhave

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Carson

was very glad to have leaders who fought for them, but they started to think that all the work could be done without money. That is the way with many people in this world.

One day Gandhiji and some of his fellow-workers went on a tour to some out-of-the-way villages inhabited by Indians. They wanted to make sure the most ignorant people understood that all must unite in the fight against an injustice and tyranny.

Gandhiji and his friends were invited to spend the night at the house of a rich Indian who was already a member of their party. They knew that if this man gave a big sum to the Congress fund, other people living around him would want to donate too and so the cause. The Congress was now badly in need of funds to carry on its fund work, and they hoped that the rich man would give at least six pounds.

When they arrived at the rich man's house they found a guard front waiting for them. Gandhiji thought it best to get the money money over before supper, but he was greatly disappointed when he found that all the rich men intended giving were three pence instead of six. He tried to persuade him to give more, but the rich man would not listen. He was not stout, but not ashamed. He refused to give more than three pence and began offering objections to his guests.

[In Germany I had already heard about Vinoba Bhave, the "Venerable of Mahatma Gandhiji." He was described in newspapers and magazines as a kind, old gentleman, very good natured and very friendly. Now, sitting in front of him in Madurai, I had a completely different opinion about this man. When I tried to converse with him first (by way of Gandhiji) to the South of Madurai, Vinoba Bhave only read the letter in which my first pal, Elia Gandhiji, asked me to write an article on him for "Indian Opinion." Vinoba said another "How do you do?" and "What is your name?" or "Where do you come from?" He simply ignored me. Finally the police secretary said I should better say another thing. So I left without any result.

Trying twice in Madurai again, I finally succeeded in getting a short interview. Vinoba Bhave made no impression on me that he is an old, wooden, probably conservative but doubtful honest man. He is doing a great work and his great patience and character are beyond question. But you see hardly find in him a good, old grandfather or a charming personality. He looks the strictly male of Gandhiji and, I think, also the sterling presence which the Mahatma possessed. Many Indian friends confirmed my impression though there is no doubt that Vinoba Bhave is one of the most outstanding persons in India today!

Not Easy To Bear

Vinoba Bhave's face is that of a man with deep thinking, his profile is most aristocratic and his eyes are an all pervading look which is not always easy to bear.

The first question that I put to Vinoba Bhave was: "Is there not the danger that Gandhian individual initiative will be killed? For example like people don't work."

Vinoba Bhave: "After Gandhi, there will not be a collective form in that village, but every family will get a piece of land to cultivate. They will raise their bread and they will be supported by village community. So individual initiative will be there plus advantages of socialisation. We are not killing individual initiative. You will get the best. Self society-help provides you help yourself. Today even if one knows hard but see gets as help from society, but in Gandhian Society one will get such help. After Gandhi there will be no ownership of land."

The second question was "You have travelled all over India and you know India best. Do you find any chance in India?"

Vinoba Bhave: Yes. There is an enormous change. Lots of people have given land-gifts. Now people are giving Gandhian. It means, all people in a village are renouncing individual ownership. This is a change of heart. There is no power, except because of love. It is very rare

deed. What is happening in Madurai is very creditable. Our workers tell the people that you help your poor husband and share all that you have with them and there will be no poverty. Renounce your ownership. It even happens without change of heart."

Asia In World History

The third question: "What do you think of the role India and Asia will play in world history?"

Vinoba Bhave: "I want to hasten India and Asia together. India is one thing, Asia is another. India's role would be, what it was in ancient times, i.e. spreading peace, establishing the commonwealth of the whole world, sharing wisdom and words of truth alone, complete freedom for every individual, for every society and for every nation. We believe that nations do not clash with each other. By establishing this kind of society, India will influence the world."

The fourth question: "What is your opinion about the future development in Europe?"

Vinoba Bhave: "I am not interested in idle thinking of the future. I believe that small nations have as languages, which exist in Europe should go. I don't understand why Belgium and Denmark or Norway and Sweden cannot be provinces of one state. Europe should develop as a joint state with full powers not only to every nation but to every village."

The fifth question: "There is so increasing of materialism in Europe. Do you think a spiritual development possible there?"

Vinoba Bhave: "I don't think Europe is devoid of spiritual urges although there is materialism in Europe. There is no difference between an Indian's heart and an European's heart. The human mind is the same everywhere. I find European friends disgusted with materialism, so I don't think that they will go behind in spiritual development."

—Rainer Joseph.

R. VITHAL

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Group Areas Bunkum

THE Sun Information (S.I.O.) has produced a publicity brochure, lately printed back in England "The South African Indian 1956." It is bilingual (English and French) and addressed to an overseas audience, particularly in the United States where our Indian question has been under U.N.O. eyes.

Father Hademann was criticised for promoting only one side of the coin, not later by the S.I.O. Far from denying the charge, he said that such was his purpose. But the S.I.O. in this booklet purports to be telling the whole story about our Indians. In the text "To a country the Indians in South Africa have advanced from despite of want, inferiority, physical and spiritual degradation to heights of plenty, liberty and appreciation."

C. W. M. GILL

In a second article I will analyse this one-sided interpretation. Here, I will deal with those parts of the booklet which "arouse" the attention ("unconsciously on the picture presented by off the fact") that the Group Areas Act "oppresses and persecutes the Indian population."

To the S.I.O. "the fundamental fact in this legislation applies to all races." So it does. Our catch of the economy is set aside for not 70 per cent African economy. Nine months of the economy is designated "the White month" for our 30 per cent White population. Out of this amount, small pockets of Indians are set aside for "temporary African housing on 30-year lease subject to liquidation" as the consequence of multiple regulations or to arbitrary harassment at the whim of Dr. Verwoerd and the local authority. Even smaller pockets are being set aside for Indians, Coloureds, Malaysians in which they may first sit on the cushions of the terrace or beyond, far from their work or from the commuters of those who keep shops.

Then will, says the S.I.O., "Indians" said "Indians," give the Indians "in their own words" simple facilities for bettering oneself" and "in appropriate measures of economy." Briefly and briefly, the French text reads "a certain measure of economy." It also says that money will de-

pend on "a progressive advance," of which the English translation is "money forward step by step." We have heard that one before! Only the what day a Group Areas Board spokesman in Port Elizabeth explained that the job would not take place at once—"at least another five, more, six months will be passed" before Port Elizabeth is "ready." It will be at least a year" before money is paid in green, then we have "will have at least one year to wait." It is going to be postponed by stages. But I am not sure that an unbridled foreigner will be able to read off the into the phrase "progressive advance."

The S.I.O. admits in passing that "difficulties be ahead." It even mentions "refugees to those who have been." I am still Adm V G. Marquardt telling the Board at White River that it was concerned with "progressive" was the matter of the case. "If all these arguments about hardship and loss of trade are relevant and valid, then our proposal made by my Treasurer's multiplicity has my merit." And when the S.I.O. refers to "communities with the (white) population" compensation (which is to be paid under the Development Act), it would be to maintain the present of any promise to compensate for loss of custom and goodwill.

The Government's position for "only" "whenever planning is referred to a two-page diagram of a hypothetical town. TODAY, there is what area with "black spots" (surprisingly coloured red) in them are two "white shops." The Indian area at one end contains three shops. There are 22 Indian and 18 White shops scattered throughout the rest of the town, also for "White suburban." TOMORROW, the picture shows three separate black areas, which, it is explained, "there will be no Indians in the flow of suburban products or labour" (between suburban areas). The White area contains 15 shops and five Indian shops. The Indian area has suddenly appeared 28 shops and, most importantly, the Indian area contains ten shops and three Indian shops.

The text says "Indians who leave commerce will enter industry and other occupations." Will they indeed? Mr. Marquardt has often said so, when it comes the place of the unemployed be represented to enter their Indian home the world. As the Sales Conference last January Prof.

Brown and Mr. Theo. Goudert, M.P.C., supported this idea for "converting a possible (i.e. unemployed) group into a constructive (i.e. labouring) one." But the editor of "Dagbladet" and Mr. Meyer would have none of this "transition into the White economy. Our fundamental concept of apartheid is applicable only to those for whom there is a political future. This is not the case with the Indians." One cannot be understood the significance of the prophecy by Mr. W. A. Marquardt, M.P., last June "After the Group Areas Act has made itself felt, the Indians will be only too pleased to get out of South Africa."

Again, while there may be some time where TODAY and TOMORROW will be confused, the picture is not intended that way at all. Certainly no good Marquardt would Indian-owned business economy competing with White and or cheaper, non-Indian labour. The Sales Conference, who are rather more concerned that the Government intend to see Indian trade losses cut by 50 per cent. Hence the photo in the S.I.O. booklet of a greatly overworked Port Elizabeth Indian (Indians cannot get paid or premium for expansion) and the cynical caption that under the Group Areas Act "the out-there competition will cease." So it will, but not to the Indians' benefit, as English Adm trade will be severely restricted.

Only one photo in the booklet shows a poor Indian, despite the fact that 50 per cent of the Cape and Transvaal Indians earn less than £200 p.a. (£55 per head) and 50 per cent of Natal Indians earn less than £100 p.a. (£26 per head) and another 31 per cent between £100 and £200 p.a. (African incomes average £19 per head and European £30 per head). Significantly, that one photo compares the hell of "ethnic" (as) dwelling at Claremont, Durban, with the houses of Lewards, the new Indian Group Areas "a few miles out of Johannesburg" (July 22 edition). The Lewards photo are carefully angled to show one or two rich houses and avoid exposing the miles of bare wall at £70 a gift from the private company directed by the Government.

The impression of unbridled Indian numbers is similarly produced in the illustrated account of how Indians have been situated "the choice European residential suburbs" of Reservoir Hills, Durban. They are said to have bought all the houses in houses

but not, at prices between £500 and £3,000. Its deeds they have. The handful of wealthy Indians is not depicted. But are the two or three direct houses at Reservoir Hills. What is not disclosed is the completely that, owing to the restricted area open to them, Indians will pay Whites great prices for their own investment and, for the opposite reason, will realise little on their own. On that Reservoir Hills is one very small example in the general rule that non-Whites are given almost barren areas in exchange for developed townships.

"Die Burger" Admits Africans' Right To Press Demands

THE African's presence for greater rights is rightful, as well as in the long run—eventually, the Nationalist newspaper "Die Burger" stated in its leading article.

Calling for an African trade, it said there were those choices. Those rights could be given gradually, in accordance with demand, in a segregated African home—which would actually create problems for the White man.

They could be given in a common industrial, which would involve the gradual conversion of power in the African's hands.

The political progress of the African could be slowly barred until the day when the existing order was overturned by force.

The Nationalist Party shows the first answer.

The "Burger" was commenting on a letter from a correspondent who argued that Nationalist policy would result in the partition of South Africa and the creation of "Ghettos" within its present borders.

In a footnote, the newspaper's editor commented: "What does our correspondent choose—the possibility of Ghettos in South Africa, or that the whole of South Africa should become a Ghetto?"

In another letter published in the "Burger", a former professor at Pretoria University wrote that as and must be made to all disapprobation to foster of the non-Whites.

Prof. Dr. D. F. de V. Malherbe, of Kleinfontein, said that the authorities were in too much of a hurry to hand over everything on a platter and to submit the non-Whites as quickly as possible in the land of the Whites.

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK

By JORDAN K. NGURANE

Open Letter To The Africanists-II

Item of Africa.

If my last contribution I stated to have precisely where we differ. The opportunity would have to justify. You and I want a democratic society where the liberties of the individual shall be guaranteed by the constitution. I believe that to be truly democratic such a society would need to have been created partly by the White and non-White South Africans. In other words it seems to me that the forces working for change must be based on genuine democracy and not on race in any shape or form. We who are victims of race oppression demand as the same time by genuine democracy if we allow ourselves to run our future from the perspective of race. For this reason I do not see how you can have people living together peacefully in a democratic society who have not learnt the habit of working together to build that society.

You argue that the most important contribution the Liberal on the Wany side can make is our struggle at the moment to be as good as each to his people and tell them what our demands are. However, very many senior leaders of the African National Congress agree that way. Even the Congress of Democrats feel for this step. I do not in any way suggest that people who agree this way or who accept this argument are not honest. But I really don't see how people who, while professing exactly the same faith, can build together a viable society where they start by breaking their own rules and beliefs or building it. I don't see how we can build a democratic society if we, who oppose apartheid, are going to start by practising apartheid among ourselves.

To do this in the South African context necessarily racial differences and prejudices in the central capacity the constitution to work alone, to move alone the direction of the march to liberty and reach that goal alone, on their own terms to other world it seems to me that you are encouraging the racial authority groups out of working closely with you, the purpose of weakening their hegemony and thus in the end you are dividing your forces to them.

For, if you were not leading for this independence and why are you ahead of working in the chosen collaboration with those who have tactical reasons (as a demonstration against apartheid and a demonstration of goodwill) as well as to teach yourselves and the White people the habit of building your democratic society together. In effect you say you will be somewhere when you are here, in the meantime you will be going to your camp and they to theirs. And you call that working for democracy. Little me with grave doubts.

Finally, you lose a lot by separating your facts and subjecting them to differentiated high commands. If you wish for a genuine democratic revolution and not for a moral order based on the Will of the racial majority, you would realize that the Europeans who run go to his people, might from your own camp is in a very much stronger position than the man who comes from another European camp with an unproven book of unity with you. The former can truly speak with authority and needs his own personal example and experiences to prove that the ideal of a democratic society can be realized and that Black and White can live together for their mutual good.

Finally, you are not convincing when you reject assimilation or the White side and accept it on your side.

Why should you do these things when your case is so strong and so good? And when all the odds are so heavily in your favour? What you achieve at the moment is certainly to isolate yourselves and to win

the distrust of many whom you should be enjoying all possible confidence. Why place yourselves in this position as regards history when you could play a decisive role in helping South Africa and establishing here a democratic social order?

I believe you genuinely desire a democratic social order. But the methods you propose to adopt to reach it are untested and unproven, and in the end might defeat the very end you have in view. You demand a democratic society in a mixed community while you talk of Africa for the Africans as while you call yourselves Africanists. As African, by your own definition, cannot be on Africanist, as also a European. The implication your action gives is

that the the apartheid process accepted to consider it, after all, even is not the principal determinant of a people's destiny.

Here I see a shocking confusion of thought. The true demand regards the individual as an end in himself. It is not the individual from the perspective of something with a sentiment about it which is supreme above everything else we seek. The technique, on the other hand, stem from the individual from the perspective of being the individual starts to determine the end of the group. From then on you get to the point where the group can do no wrong when the group possesses a monopoly of crime. Condemning becomes the highest goal, working things and standards is the condition of their liberation's condition.

(To be continued)

Will Strijdom Throw Verwoerd Out Of Native Affairs Portfolio?

(Continued from front page)

Probably, therefore, Dr Verwoerd will have to be considered as another important Cabinet post. It is understood that he will take over the portfolio of Prisons from Mr. Maud.

It is also expected that Mr. Stephen J. Ross, Minister of Agriculture is thinking of moving from politics. This would create a vacancy.

Finally, incumbent young Hendrikus is joining Mr. Strijdom to undergo the Cabinet for that the appointment here is that the premier has no member Cabinet against one with the growing shadow of death.

Major Changes

It is pretty certain, therefore, that when the next Cabinet is

shuffled later this it will be a most one and more of the same appointment will be Mr. Strijdom's and support, thus strengthening Mr. Strijdom's grip on the Government.

Political observers are a revolt in the pending shake-up. They doubt that it is likely to replace that Mr. Strijdom is leading it necessary to "purify" the Cabinet. Mr. Strijdom must be accompanied by appointing members of the old "Muda" camp. This removal from the Cabinet would not, of course, solve his difficulties if the political climate were to change they would be an even greater worry as long as the old-line that usually strong in the Cabinet.

PEOPLE
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AT YOUR SHOES



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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

Replies To Kathiawadi Youth

the English, "INDIAN OFFENSES."

[illegible]

wife and children at home. This is no match for growing teenagers.

I will now *strife* with Mr. Bingham in everything that he says. There are a great many things that I and many like-minded people do not agree about, or, because we are the real home-builders, while our young men are indulging in their theories. Many of us do not count words, marketing, delivery—and it is we who take our children out too. Many of us are attending English classes, and many are attending sewing classes. We are trying to be, in dress as well as in mind, with the United States in fashion that we have here. And today we are proud of being modern Oriental women—but we do not see our transformation in our dear husbands. Some of us are very happy in our married lives. We have some little household satisfactions—house-keepers into the Englishland path, some sometimes, and speak our family being men, so if they are under their wives' thumb. Yes, this is what the modern young Oriental man feels, if he is not agreed with his wife too much, or if he does not wish to leave his family to go on a boat. According to them holidays are meant for their enjoyment, not to take their families on. We might, if we were in England, tell the Oriental women are the most forward-looking and business-making, and less strict against the ladies. There are a few women things in life that are not like Mr. Bingham—they are not social reformers—social reformers do not always shareable and they do not believe but they try to reform. Mr. Bingham has a twisted mind, so we wonder that we have such warped ideas of him. I am sure that all-suffering Englishland young men will join us to see

A. KATHARAKIS, V. V.

Mr.—The letter written by a Kachwadji youth distressed me very much. On a few points I don agree with him e.g. Much of us cannot drink properly, we are too much. On the other points however I try to differ with him. We do not lay. We do the housework with the help of a servant maybe. We bathe and dress the children as

subject, wash-rinse. With the servants we wash, polish and scrub floor, clean rooms, wash all the dishes etc., and if the husband feels like it he may take us for a drive or for a walk which he too unfortunately dislikes.

Most of our children are well behaved. You do get some trouble and misbehaved children. There is always a black sheep in every family.

My husband takes me to the movies once in three weeks, and he goes out every afternoon Saturday or Sunday with our two lovely daughters. I am quite happy. We do not live beyond our means, we do not squander money lavishly, like the rich and the nobles.

Our marriage life has been a very happy one, we also had our quarrels but always spoke our mind.

In conclusion, Sir, let me put the "spotlight" on our youths of today. Although married, most of these young and a few old gentlemen, prefer taking or going out with coloured or garden girls, they spend a lot of money on them, and when it comes to spending a few shillings on the female they owned, only

a number go in for weekend and weekday drinking—the pub is their home—they are more happy in pubs than in the home.

Although the wives (the great majority of them) profess affection and tender love—“my hubby's always made a lion, they prefer to let me remonstrate where sometimes I had it dirty and the place is unhygienic as to a better clean restaurant where the food though not so good, is expensive,” Mrs. H., there are some who do not. One from North Carolina, who said she knew how the “cheap food” of the old South (Italy) will hurt fits to time too that they get hold of themselves just like us. All the good men and women should remember.

The value of time; the strength of perseverance; the pleasure of working the difficulty of struggle; the worth of character; the power of kindness; the influence of example; the obligation of duty; the wisdom of economy; the virtue of patience; the secret of laughter; the joy of originating and the thrill of action is therein.

Team: **h3h3f04p**,
BRUNNEN (Munich)

World Newsreel . . .

Vacations Abroad

"Vacations Abroad", just published by Jacaranda in its ninth edition, will provide information to a great number of persons who wish to travel outside their own country. This publication appears as evidence that there is an increasing need that of informing many persons how they can enjoy a stay abroad and, at the same time, broaden their cultural horizons.

Unesco thus offers to the public and particularly to young people a stimulus among a balanced consideration for planning travels in 70 countries, though the lists are not presented as absolutely complete, and Unesco does not pretend as spokesman of all the scientific world. There is information about goals for travel and study, about study tours, camps and hostels, international work camps and vacation camps.

Dates, places and subjects of study, and information about fees for registration and participation, are given as precisely as possible. Where the information has not been provided in time by some organization, the builder gives a summary of their aims and activities and the address

where the information can be obtained

"Vacations Abroad" can save those who can read English, Spanish or French. An Indian State the organizations sponsoring vacation activities on the Smithsonian — UNESCO.

No Holiday Fee

Secretary
-Mary Swaine, who is Secretary of the Africa Bureau was a familiar figure at Michael Scott's Press Conference in London. I on a visit to South Africa. It was a holiday, apparently, for she was acting as temporary secretary to the Tribunal Trial Defense Fund which was desperately in need of financial help.

Keywords

Kerala, the Indian State which has elected a Communist Government "is by far the best educated and most liberal, and... most Christiantang part" of India says James Connors in the News Chronicle.

Youth Festival

From all corners of the globe 20,000 young people aged 18-25 will in Moscow live the sixth World Youth Festival.

Yach and Student Festival to be held from July 28 to August 11.

Electric Machines Installed in Indian Parliament

Automatic vote recording equipment has been installed in both Houses of the Indian Parliament so that members are able to cast their votes from their seats without going into the lobby.

The process from the time of ringing the division bell to declaration of results takes not more than four minutes, as against the previous average time of about 20 minutes. There will be substantial saving in the expenses as the time spent in recording votes in divisions need no cost about 1,200 rupees. The cost now is about Rs. 120.

The apparatus can be used for an ordinary division as well as secret voting and for finding whether a sufficient number of members are present in the chamber for a quorum.

Each seat is fitted with three push buttons—green for 'Ayes',

and for 'Noes' and black for 'Abstains'. The result of voting is flashed on two boards installed on the ceiling of the speaker's and the diplomats gallery.

Sudanese Trade Delegation To India

A Sudanese Trade Delegation has ended its tour of India after talks with officials of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. It has told Indian representatives that trade between the two countries can be expanded considerably if trading interests increased their contacts.

The delegates thought it would be useful to exhibit Indian goods in Sudan. An Indian trade exhibition is proposed to be held in Khartoum.

Happy People

"It is impossible not to respond to the friendliness of the Ghanians. They have a gay and untried way of expressing themselves. To go in a dance hall and see them dancing the 'logbibi' is to let one's mind out of the weight of today's troubles into an episodic atmosphere where everyone is happy."

Wendell West speaking in the BBC's "London Calling Aids" programme "Ladies-Gentlemen Ghana."

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Vol. I

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

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By Krishnaswami

Adapted and edited by Edward B. Gung

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હંમેશા કરતાં વધારે જાણના દરખાસો આપવાના આનંદની લાગણી વધારે દેખાય છે. દુરમનને આપવાની સારામાં સારી વસ્તુ તે સમા વાન, ખીજને માટે પ્રેમ, તમારા ભાવગ્રસ્તો માટે સાચો સહ, પિતા માટે મજા અને માન, માતા વહીવારના બાજુ શો તેજઃ આચરણ, તમારે પોતાને માટે આદર, અને બધા મહુમ્મય માટે દયા અને ધર્મશા.

— ત્યારે —

તમારા વહાલા પ્રિયજન માટે શું ?

તેમના બધા માટે તેમજની આફતમાં મદદમાર થાય તેવી

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયાની જીન્ડગીના વીમાની પોલીસી

એ એક ખરેખર સાચી બેઠ છે.

કમ્પે ઈન્ડિયા આ તમારા નફાઓને તમા આનંદ આપે કોઈ એ અને બધા તમારી કોઈ બી આનંદ આપે કોઈ બી.

વીમા ભાગલની રાખી સહાયક ભાગલની પાસેથી મેળવે.

— બી —

ન્યુ ઈન્ડિયા ઈન્સ્યુરન્સ કુ. લી.

મુખ્ય મથક

રસ્તમજ (પી.ટી.) લીમીટેડ

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

શ્રીમતી તહેમી સોરાબજી રસ્તમજ

નવાનના આનંદ થાય છે કે તેમના

નેશનલ મ્યુચ્યુઅલ લાઈફ એસોસીએશન એન્ડ એક્સ્ટ્રેસ્યેરીયા લીમીટેડ

સ્થાપના ૧૮૬૦ વિક્ટોરીયા એસ્ટ્રોડીયા

— ની —

પ્રતિનિધી નિમાયા છે

નેશનલ મ્યુચ્યુઅલના હાજીનો વિચાર એ ખરી જાણવડી છે.

વધુ વિગત માટે લખો આ મળી :

૧૦૬ મેન્સફીલ્ડ રોડ, — ડરબન.

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા થીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખા દિવસ વેલટેરીયન બોલન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીમાં માટે જમણની સંગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાદે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને લોજીંગની સગવડ

કાચબી બોર્ડીંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ ગુરૂપ વર્ગનિજ લેવામાં આવશે. બોર્ડીંગમાં નહીં અને આર્થિક દબલ્ડ ફર્નીચર સાથેનામાં આવેલું છે. કેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળે મળે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે કેટલી લેવડીની ચોખ્ખી લેકેટી, અને કાંઈ તેમજ પાણીની દાંબ, ખરેક, પિસ્તા, અને ચણેલી, બિયેરે સખીએ ઝીંચે.

ધરતું આંધિલું અથાણું અને સાચી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગ્રાઈન્ડથી શિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

*Of all the earthly joys
that which reaches furthest
into heaven, is the hearing
of a truly living heart.*
—W. H. Beecher.

INDIAN
15th 1957
OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1953
Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1950

*One of the Godlike
things of this world is the
veratation done in human
worth by the hearts of men.*
—Carlyle.

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Friday, 10th May, 1957

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NEHRU TELLS ASIAN JURISTS OF DUTIES FACING AFRICAN & ASIAN COUNTRIES

ADRESSING the Asian Legal Consultative Committee Mr Nehru asked the jurists of Asia whether any nation had a right in international law or moral law to poison the earth's atmosphere through test explosions of nuclear weapons.

Mr Nehru also suggested to jurists that they could usefully consider whether modern versions of old "holy alliances" and concepts of cold war were in keeping with international law whose purpose after all should be to settle problems and disputes by methods other than war.

He reiterated his conviction that only through "Panchsheel" (five principles of co-existence) could the nations of the world establish healthy international relationships. He emphasised that international law had developed so far against the background of the old concept of a European family of nations which had in the last century or two dominated Asia and Africa. Therefore, it had really not had an international character. Now that many countries of Asia and Africa had become free, that concept of international law needed to be varied or made broader.

International Law Concept

"I suppose that applies to political and economic aspects. Politics or economics of countries of Asia and

Africa were largely governed from the European concept of metropolitan Powers. Naturally, we do not accept that political concept now, and even in regard to economic theory our countries are beginning to think on our own lines."

The United Nations, Mr. Nehru said, was supposed to be an international organisation (inclusive of all independent nations of the world. "There is a tendency to consider the United Nations as something less than that," he said.

Mr. Nehru added that nations of Asia and Africa did not want in any sense to function separately from the rest of the world. Nevertheless, it was a fact that in many matters, including matters concerned with international law, Asian and African countries did not come into the picture at all in the past.

"I do not know very much about international law," Mr. Nehru said, "but I have a vague recollection that connected with this idea of international law at various times in Europe were concepts like 'holy

alliance' in Europe—certain number of countries for various reasons binding themselves together against other countries or other forces which did not fit in with their thinking. That, of course, comes up against the very concept of internationalism.

"Today we see certain tendencies and something more than tendencies of a revival of holy alliances, though they are not called by that name, in a certain

group or groups of nations functioning more or less on the basis of the 19th-century holy alliances, considering themselves more or less the centre of the world in which other countries should fit.

"There may have some justification from some points of view, but it does put other countries in an odd and embarrassing position—either one joins the 'holy alliance' which is backed by military power
(Continued on page 25)

GHANA WANTED TO GIVE APARTHEIDERS BLUE EYE

ACCRA.

THE refusal of the South African Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, to attend the London Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in person has caused great disappointment in Ghana official circles.

A Ghana Government spokesman said: "We had planned to start the battle to free our brothers in South Africa at the conference."

He said that the Ghana Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, might make a policy statement at the London conference on the apartheid issue, and added that Dr. Nkrumah would have liked Mr. Strijdom to be present.

The spokesman said Dr. Nkrumah might also have liked to have had informal discussions with the South African Prime Minister about the controversial apartheid question.

Meanwhile, some Ghana officials are advocating a "direct propaganda and a moral battle" with South Africa to show "our resentment" of the South African racial segregation policies. *Ghana Associated Press.*

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 10TH MAY, 1957

Apartheiders On The Run

IT was announced from Capetown last week that a number of mixed organisations in the Cape which felt threatened by the Native Laws Amendment Bill had decided to form themselves into a front to protect themselves against efforts to destroy the good work they are doing. This is an heartening sign of the times. Pietermaritzburg followed this with a decision to set up a committee to ensure that those threatened by the new decrees were assured of the support of all who oppose Verwoerdism. These are very important developments and give us cause to feel that the future no longer belongs to the Nationalist Party, but to the men and women on both sides of the colour line who love liberty.

In the final reckoning the only force which now remains to rid South Africa of the scourge of apartheid is the united will of the White and non-White democrats. If these stand together in good times and bad, if these defend together each and every one of their side attacked by the men of apartheid, nothing that the Nationalists can muster has any chance of standing in the way of the forces on the side of democracy.

Past Zenith

The only language apartheid, now past the zenith of its power, can understand, is the irrefutable pressure by both Black and White democrats in opposition to apartheid's wickedness.

But in assessing this opposition people must be clear in their minds about one or two things. The response of the English-speaking to the face of the Union Jack and the progressive repudiation of the compact by which certain rights were guaranteed to them as Europeans suggests that a good many of them seem in mood to surrender to apartheid (because it promises them White superiority of some sort) rather than join forces with the non-Europeans in the fight against race oppression. As a result of this there is the greatest need for clarity on the two-fold character of the struggle. Opposition organised can be a movement of moral protest or of political protest.

Moral Protest

A movement of political protest alone would not draw to its banner very many men and women who, otherwise, would be ready to take a firm stand against apartheid. To ensure maximum reinforcement, then, it is of the greatest importance that emphasis should be on the need to create a front of moral protest. This would not only be tactically wise; it would be realistic. The Native Laws Amendment Bill creates a situation where it can be said that we have legislation which is devoid of moral content. When a law goes to these

extremes the citizen is no longer morally bound to obey it; it becomes his duty to himself and his fellowmen to obey his conscience. Dr. Verwoerd has brought a very large number of people on both sides of the colour line to this point.

It is the duty of those at the head of the fight against race oppression, then, to ensure that in the front which is now taking form and which will have to come into being quickly, people must be quite clear in their minds that they are no longer engaged in just a political fight—but that they are defending moral values without which no society can exist in the long run.

Nazi Arrogance

The Nazis too have arrogated to themselves the sole and exclusive right to be the keepers of everybody else's conscience. This arrogance is utterly revolting to any decent man and woman. It cannot be allowed to last one minute longer, if we can help it. Fortunately for us, the time has now come when we must rid our country of it once and for all time. And there is no power anywhere on the horizon which can destroy this arrogance more effectively and more decisively than the united power of the democrats from both sides of the colour line.

The real significance of the Capetown and Pietermaritzburg resolutions, then, lies in the prospect they hold out of being an idea which might, with co-ordination, develop into a nation-wide movement of moral protest and dedication to whatever the fight for human decency and liberty demand.

In other words apartheid's arrogance has at last set in motion a series of events which are provoking from the threatened a response which will surely destroy apartheid. Men who love justice everywhere must do all in their power to help apartheid to destroy itself to reinforce this trend.

On The Run

The men of apartheid are on the run. They know they are past the highest point of their strength and influence. The Africans of Alexandra Township defied Schoeman to do what he liked if he thought he could frighten them into discontinuing the boycott on his own terms. They won. The Nationalist camp is beginning to split; they are quarrelling among themselves. Theo Wessenaar, precisely one of the men responsible for putting South Africa in the mess to which she finds herself today, is forming a new political party to oppose his erstwhile comrades in folly. A growing section of Afrikaner intellectual opinion is openly in revolt against Verwoerdism. The inventing world no longer sends funds to this company. All in all, apartheid has meant ruin for most people. The Prime Minister knows it; so does Verwoerd and the gang of men and women who thought they could dictate terms for all in this country for the longest time possible. Now is the time when their whole conspiracy against democracy must come to a speedy end. The power to do that lies in the hands of men and women on both sides of the colour line who passed the Capetown and Pietermaritzburg resolutions. Let other cities follow suit. Victory is beginning to be in sight.

GANDHIJI—

The Story Of His Life

THE GREEN PAMPHLET

CHAPTER IX

THE reason why Gandhiji gave so much of his time and strength to the Indians in South Africa was this: he felt great pity and love for all unfortunate people everywhere, and a burning desire to help them. Every year this desire grew greater in him, until he used to say that he longed to wipe away every tear from every eye!

He had now become famous in South Africa as a saviour of his wonderful work for the Indian people there. Even his enemies felt a great respect for him because of his honesty and unselfishness. All the Indians loved him dearly and called him 'Gandhiji' or 'Bhambhai Gandhi.'

By

Mrs. Gertrude Morrey-Carson

All this time, Karambhai and her two little sons had been patiently waiting Gandhiji's return home. It was three years since he had left his little family and he felt that he could stay no longer.

His Indian friends in Africa begged him not to stay away from home long, and he knew that they could not do so. He decided to go and bring his family back to South Africa and to settle there permanently. At three years he had prepared his work as a barrister, so, all things considered, South Africa seemed the best place for him to be a parent as a barrister.

As soon as he got back to India, Gandhiji began writing a pamphlet, or little booklet, about the way Indians were treated in South Africa. He wanted the whole world to know about it, so he might be stopped as soon as possible. Because the cover of this little book was green, everyone called it 'The Green Pamphlet.' It had been careful not to write any harsh or angry words in it, so he never worried or hurt anybody, no matter how badly they had treated him. His only wish the absolute truth in quiet, dignified language. But now he must get back to South Africa that he was showing the whole world of South Africa and saying to our country about them. This made the whole people in South Africa simply furious.

Meanwhile Gandhiji wanted to send copies of his Green Pamphlet all over India and he wanted the work to be done as soon as possible. This was not easy, as there were 10,000 copies to be sent. It was a very big job to put such a small paper in a paper, and it was with the necessary stamps on it. Gandhiji could not afford to pay people to do this work, either. So he asked all the children of the neighbourhood to help him in this work. They gladly promised to help whenever they were free from school, and in this way the work was finished in a short time. Gandhiji rewarded the children by giving them used postage stamps which he had collected. This work of sending off the Green Pamphlet was very important, so you see that even young children can be very useful to their country if they work.

Just at this time there was an outbreak of plague in Bombay and people were afraid that it might spread to Raypur. Gandhiji, after his services to the move to do any work which could help

in preventing the spread of plague. He was made head of a committee which was to see that the people kept their houses clean to avoid contagion.

The members of the committee had to inspect all the houses in the town, one by one, and instruct people how to behave whenever they found a dirty house.

It was a great surprise to find that the houses of the very poor, particularly the so-called "Untouchables," were far cleaner than many houses of the rich. The rich people, too, were often very proud and would not listen when they were told they must be clean. They seemed to think that because they were richer than others they must, also be wiser and did not need to be taught anything at all. With such proud and foolish people Gandhiji was always patient but firm. He never minded how rich they were. If their houses were dirty he told them so, without any fear, because it was his duty to do so.

Example: Reported by members of the committee.

Land Gift Movement In India

By Karambhai Ramgobin

VINODA believes that where some one land and others are landless, there can be no peace. To prove their claim of ownership some may produce legal documents but it gives no real and good support for their right to the land of people and constantly keep them divided. Because all land is owned by GOD it must be socially owned, so the present day dissatisfaction and strife would disappear and an era of love and happiness will take its place.

It is Vinoda's conviction that if land-owning people do not put with it a proper atmosphere for land reform legislation is not created then the only alternative will be a bloody revolution. His attempt is to prevent such a violent development. His mission is to create a good and proper atmosphere for peaceful reforms. His household revolution could be conveniently understood as a

change in people's hearts, to create a change in their lives and the change of the social structure. If these changes are to be brought by the presence of force then Vinoda has declared that he will be no part of the revolution.

Indian Need

In India the fundamental and most acute problem is that of providing employment to the millions of poverty stricken people. Because the country is principally agricultural and about seventy percent of the population live in the rural areas, the Indian Government is grappling seriously with the problem of landless labourer that numbers approximately 45 crores.

To solve the problem of unemployment large areas of land have got to be taken away from the landlords to be distributed to the landless agricultural labourers. But there is a financial block. In

terms of the Indian constitution private property acquired for public utility and use must be paid for or it is necessary to pay a reasonable compensation something like a rehabilitation allowance. To pay for land acquired for the purpose the financial commitment will undoubtedly run into crores of rupees. It is necessary to bear in mind that this new Indian law paper cannot afford to pay. As a direct result of this act back it is more than obvious that, "Why doesn't the Indian Government amend the constitution and procure the land for the landless millions, since that has decided to be a Socialist State with the major industries being slowly nationalised? Unfortunately at this juncture (between independence and now) an action like the above would have caused a scandal for opposition and business.

The solution to this complicated problem was got with the advent of the Bhambhai Vaghe in the summer of 1951. In Telangana, a village area Hyderabad, during one of Vinoda's lecture-prayer prayer tours about forty Bhambhai families begged him to arrange for at least fifty acres of land so that they could own a livelihood. Without any hope or expectation he asked his audience, "Is there any person here who would donate the land?" To the astonishment of all one person rose and volunteered that he would donate one hundred acres to be distributed among the poor Bhambhai families.

Rapid Growth

This movement for land donation did not only gain momentum in Telangana but in other parts of India also. Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are the leading provinces where Bhambhai has gained the greatest degree of appreciation. After only six years it has grown into an all-India movement of National significance. Today today landless and semi-landless Indians have achieved one of the greatest socio-economic revolutions.

Though hard and slow struggle threatens to obstruct the world, Vinoda's Bhambhai movement came in the people of India as a permanent ray of hope and a new belief. Now everywhere it is said that by using love and good will, in this predominantly materialistic world, Vinoda had collected twelve lakhs (1,200,000) acres of land by the end of 1953, and the final target, by the end of this year, to be achieved is five crore acres, i.e. approximately one sixth of the total arable land in India.

The Indian Mutiny 1857

THE Indian Mutiny is usually dated from May 16, 1857, the day on which one cavalry and one infantry regiments of Indian troops broke open the Meerut jail to release some earlier prisoners, barred their officers' homes, killed a number of British officers and marched off to Delhi. But there were at least three major causes of mutiny in the Bengal Army before that year, at Dumbur on January 25, at Barrackpore on March 28 and at Meerut on May 5, after the last of which 85 cavalry squadrons were sent out in long trains of imprisonment. The prisoners were paraded at a parade on Saturday May 9 and provoked the deserting wing that day.

C. W. M. GELL

It is not, therefore, possible to assign any one date as May-Day Nor is it possible to attribute the Mutiny to any one cause. In fact India's own reluctance to make much of the mutiny is due less to the unfavourable predictions of strategists, as some experts aver, than to accurately assess what is to be celebrated. The date difficulty has been got round by making the Independence Day, August 15. But there are few reputable scholars or students of any substantial body of Indian opinion who really want to commemorate what occurred as "the first war of independence." Only in a very limited sense was it anything like that. Nor was it wholly a mutiny (i.e. a rising of troops against their oath of allegiance, their officers and their discipline), though it was largely so. Considerable civilian elements joined and complicated the picture.

It was predominantly an insurrection of the old, feudal India—the India of Moghul monarchs, traditional and orthodox Hinduism (even downright obscurantism) and discredited or dispossessed princes and landlords—against the forces of the future. Among these were rule, westernisation, evenness, the paving of the whole sub-continent under one paramount power, the threat to caste and tradition, implicit in such intervention as railways, overland routes for Indian troops, all played their parts. But the Indians of rank were themselves as little at ease in their robes as their commoners were hardly ever co-ordinated. Some sought to restore the aged

titular emperor, Bahadur Shah II, to his Moghul throne. Others strove for the restoration of the Mughlauli confederacy under a restored pasha. And since the former of these emblems was clearly the symbol of Muslim dominance and the pasha stood the legalist only of some Hindus, there was added a religious or communal cleavage, even among those who sought to remove the old order.

Thus in his brilliant book of 508 pages, skewering the incoming tide of Western dominance and its rich over four centuries (*Portraits of India and Western Dominance* (Allen & Unwin)), Sardar K. M. Panikkar denounces barely a paragraph in the Great Rebellion, a better cause though the old one is so well established he is forced to say. It was, he wrote, "a desperate attempt led by the former ruling classes, who found themselves dispossessed and bereft of power. It was the last gasp of an old and dying order, and though it evoked the loyalty of the poor and called forth the enthusiasm of the masses over a wide area, it had not the discipline, organisation or strength to hold up and sustain a State which could at that time have taken over from the British. It was, in fact, foretaste for modern India that it failed."

For the Mutiny stood for the revival of *hopes* as much diluted

by progressive Indians of 1857 as it was to be acceptable to Mr. Nehru today. The British Indian Association, one of the reformers of the Indian Congress, passed a resolution of disgust and horror at the rebellion, asserting that it would meet with "no sympathy, co-operation or recognition from the bulk of the civil population." That great Indian patriot, Dadabhai Naoroji, stated that "the causes (of the Mutiny) were the misrule and mismanagement of the British people's own authorities; the people of India not only had no share in it but were actually made at the fall of the monarchy to rise and support them."

Two-thirds of India—Bengal, Meerut, Madras, Allahabad's Bombay where that very great service of India was still governor, perhaps India south of the silver Mahadevi, Sind, Rajputana—were untouched, despite some ferment of unrest. The area actively affected was confined to the Punjab (recently secured), the United Provinces (then North-West provinces, comprising the upper Ganges-Jamuna basin between Delhi and Poonah and north-central India (Sargol Maharastra). This was no national uprising, though here and there in the affected regions, the rebels acquired more than a local significance.

(To be continued)

the political climate in the United Kingdom.

"Several factors have combined to delay the announcement of an appointment in Ghana, and it was only to be expected that such a delay would come again about Ghana's looking in other directions than the United Kingdom especially if they thought there was any danger of a government general being appointed who did not, in their eyes, possess the necessary prestige," concluded "The Times."

"In the event, it is the mass that counts, and if the Colonial Service can produce a better man than Parliament should be appointed."

Asians Support African Demands in Kenya Legislature

THE Asian unofficial members of the Kenya Legislative Council have made a joint statement calling on the Government to take immediate steps to deal with the demand of the new African members for increased representation which they made on March 21 on the eve of the new session of the Council.

The statement signed by Mr. J. M. Natarath, G.O., Mr. A. J. Vaidya and Dr. S. G. Sharma declares the new African Members' unconditional support to the Government in African representation.

Furthermore, "in order to remove all doubts," the Asian Members "expressly declare that their support is dependent upon such increased representation not being accompanied by, or being conditional upon, any increase in African or European."

The statement is also signed by Mr. N. S. Mangat, G.O., who is acting independently of the Asian group, Mr. by K. S. Dhillon and Mr. S. D. Dhillon. But Mr. Natarath said later that the statement had the full support of all the Asian members except Mr. Mangat.

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Ghana Thinking Of Asian Governor-General?

THE Ghana Government is reported to be considering the possibility of a Singapore succeeding as the Governor-General of the new African Dominion, "The Times" (London) said in an editorial.

The Independent newspaper stated: "Ghana Indians have always been interested in Ceylon as a prototype non-European democracy. They have, moreover, never been wholly satisfied with the policy of a Governor-General being sent out from Britain."

The paper said that at one time they appreciated that this arrangement was premature.

They had been a delay in naming a successor. One reason for the delay in Ghana was partly of Ghana's ruling, The Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, after spending some time and money in constructing an

elaborate residence for himself, had suddenly decided to move into Christchurch Castle, the traditional seat of the Governor of the Gold Coast.

"The desire to live in this picturesque, if somewhat damp, medieval fortress may be counted one of the attractions of office and, even if it is not, the feeling that it was not so suddenly asked to move again may put off prospective candidates," said the editorial.

"The qualifications required include a national personal authority, patience, long acquaintance of the political game, and up-to-date knowledge of

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE.

Open Letter To The Africanists—3

I BELIEVE you wish to see established a social order where liberty shall be the birth-right of all, regardless of race. I am sure you do not want to see set up over their fellowmen, hatred and anti-human creatures with a militant urge to do harm to their countrymen of a different colour.

If, then, this is your correct goal, why do you start by sowing the wrong way? I work for a society—where merit and not race or colour shall be the yardstick by which to measure the value of a citizen in society. I shall hate the Africanist as much as I hate the White tyrant. I shall fight him with the same degree of determination I have shown in the fight against the White tyrant. I work for a society where it will be a crime to preach or encourage race consciousness. I shall work for a State where we shall be bound together by our common love of our homeland; by our common pride in the things it shall stand for; by our common belief that the rich, full, prosperity and happiness of one shall be the rich, full, prosperity and happiness of all regardless of race or colour.

Although belonging to the most cruelly oppressed of the racial groups and therefore the most backward, quite frankly, I am not afraid of anybody; of any racial group. I am a human being, with as infinite a capacity to achieve as members of the human race everywhere down the ages. All I want is the opportunity to work my way to achievement without anybody standing in my way because I am Black. The White man who recognizes my right to go where I may, to go in my friend and ally, The African who says that I must distrust any fellowman just because he happens to be an Indian, a Coloured or a Kaffir, is my enemy; he is the enemy of human decency.

I believe I can reach this goal only if I work with the Indian, the Coloured, the Kaffir and all human beings who recognize my humanity—to build together a world where the things we believe together; where the notions of liberty and justice be shared together, shall hold sway.

You think you can reach this goal by rejecting, in your behaviour, the values you say

you uphold. I am sure on calm reflection you will see that you are not convincing.

The very notion of identifying yourselves with a particular racial group—in this case being an Africanist—is a negation of the democratic evaluation of the individual's worth in society.

To sum up, then, you create the impression that you are democrats. I say quite with no desire to give offence. I can't find a better word to reconcile your methods with the noble goals you have set yourselves. One thing I am certain about is that you admire democracy's virtues. I am a democrat. Where we differ, then, is in the methods we both propose to use. I say that if you want a democratic social order, then all who believe in democracy must stand together, regardless of race, against the political beasts. You suggest that there is a difference between a Black democrat and a White democrat; that both should fight separately against the same foe. If there is no difference, why separate them?

Why separate them, even in the face of the brutal assaults from the apartheid side on everything you hold precious? You really washen yourselves and betray your ideals if you do this. I implore you to reconsider your position.

The Black and White enemies of apartheid have the potential to destroy this wicked doctrine. But this is only a potential. As long as they themselves are influenced by racialist considerations, they will take an unnecessarily long time to rid South Africa of the whole rotten thing. The longer apartheid's destruction is delayed the more justice it will make the life of the nation.

The second point I wish to raise here refers to civic equality. In 1952 our fathers met in Bloemfontein and agreed that selection for South Africa lay in our being accepted as equals in a free society. To reinforce their demand for effective participation in the government of the land they brought us together and said we were no longer going to be Kaffirs, Basuto or Zulus; we were going to be Africans. They laid before White South Africa and before the world our demand for equality.

Since 1952 we have been arguing the case for equality. Today we have people on the White side who are the justice of our case and who are prepared to abandon privilege, cross the colour line and show everybody else that they have accepted our demand for recognition at their speech. The most courageous of them have taken of clear stand on the political plane—in the Liberal Party. I am not here pleading the case of the Liberal Party. I am merely valuing to a concrete situation. But what leaves me unshaken is to

find that very many on the African side who have fought for civic equality today run away from welcoming their own converts.

Officially, the African National Congress continues to view the Liberals with suspicion and to keep the Congress of Democrats in what an Afrikaner African will called a peripheral. The Africanists, too, perpetuate this tradition of abhorrence. I cannot understand what is really behind it. Please tell me.

You have asked to be recognized as equals; when people come forward to accept you as equals, you run away from them, you tell them to go back to their own people? What is your real intention then?

Nats No Longer Regard English As Political Factor To Reckon With

Cape Town

OBSERVERS here regard the Government's abolition of "God Save the Queen" as final evidence that the Nationalists have abandoned all hope of capturing an appreciable share of the English-speaking vote and are now concentrating on boosting the faltering morale of their Afrikaner supporters.

The Government has this session shown a ruthless disregard for the feelings of the English-speaking sections. It has contemptuously forced on this session without prior notice or consultation the abolition of the Union Jack, a church apostatized law aimed primarily at the English churches and now the rejection of "God Save Queen."

It has ridden rough-shod over all protest, claiming that English-speaking South Africans are not really so disturbed over these evils as their parliamentary spokesmen and newspaper proclaim.

Observers believe that the Nationalists realized after they had passed the Statute Act that they had finally alienated too over the overwhelming majority of English-speaking South Africans, whose feeling for the principles of parliamentary government go deep.

Since then they have dropped all attempts to win English-speaking votes although they still occasionally pay lip service to the "unity" ideal. In-

stead, the Nationalists are now pandering to extremist Afrikaner sentiment.

Distractions

Observers say these manoeuvres too as a post-election attempt to distract attention from the crisis of apartheid, from the worsening of relations between Black and White, from the administrative ineptness of the Government and from Mr. Naudé's personal authority budget.

The authors here seem to have been misled at this particular moment, too, to divert attention from the drastic law which the Government has just forced through Parliament to place virtually all contact between White and non-White as the pleasure of the Minister of Native Affairs and from the embarrassment which the Government suffered from the church apostatized aspects of that law.

Observers believe, too, that the Nationalists' "wetting off" of the English-speaking vote will lead to an identification of the republicanism campaign.

Nationalist members of parliament were saying last week that the flag and national anthem moves had taken the country much closer to a republic.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

THE National Union of Journalists' conference at Harrogate has agreed without discussion to send a protest to South Africa against a ban placed on a Johannesburg reporter. The conference passed a resolution "viewing with concern" the resolution placed upon Mr. Michael Harman, correspondent of the Cape Town Weekly "Star" who has been barred by the South African Minister of Justice from attending meetings for two years. It urged the N.U.J. to send a protest to the appropriate authorities and a note of the resolution to headed trade unions in South Africa.

The first session of the first Ghana Parliament started its business on Tuesday, April 23. High on the agenda was the Ghana Nationality and Citizenship Bill, laying down provisions for acquiring Ghana citizenship by birth, descent, registration or naturalisation. The Bill is expected to get smooth passage but a storm is likely over a motion by the Minister of the Interior Mr. Ake Adjei, asking the house to "express its disapproval of the Government to deal with a recent outbreak of lawlessness in parts of the Trans Volta region." The Opposition has sent a delegation into the troubled area to investigate allegations of hostility by the authorities against important natives before this first session will determine whether the Government, led by the late General and Judge, The Agyemaa, has any grounds to be put to rest.

The Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, said his Government would not tolerate the activities of certain religious bodies. He cited Jehovah's Witnesses who, he said, excluded themselves from voting and ignored activities pertaining to affairs of the State.

The parliamentary party of the Northern Nigeria People's Congress meeting at Kaduna, has entrusted its delegates to next month's constitutional conference in London to seek adequate safeguards for the North when Nigeria becomes independent.

The Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Edeh, told the first session of the National Assembly that the Government must should construct a public highway into the municipal council of Accra and Kumasi. He said that the Government's composition of the Asom Council was "only a shadow of things to come," and called for the immediate independence of the Asom Council. The Asom Council was suspended following allegations that it had not collected the taxes or submitted audited accounts and had advanced loans to councillors. The Local Government Minister, Mr. Atta, told Parliament that Asom councillors owed £3,174 in the second at the time of the resignation. Mr. Edeh pointed out that the majority of the members were members of the Convention People's Party—the Government Party. He said that

they had abused the trust placed in them by voters, and declared that the Government was "stealing its own home first before it tackled the others."

Dr. Akinola, Premier of Eastern Nigeria, said that the people of Nigeria would resist to any move at their disposal to achieve independence in 1959 if Britain failed them. The Premier, who was on his way to attend the Nigeria constitutional conference in London, was speaking in provision on board ship at Lagos, Ghana. He said also that the peoples of the three regions in Nigeria had agreed that Britain must transfer power to Nigeria and that independence should be proclaimed on January 1st or April 1st 1959. According to Dr. Akinola, in spite of political differences in Nigeria, the country is now united fundamentally in her struggle for self-government. He was welcomed at Lagos on behalf of the Ghana people by Cabinet Ministers and other M.P.s.

India Helps Exporters To Cover Risks Of Trade

The Indian Government has decided to set up an insurance corporation to cover exporters against certain kinds of risks.

The corporation will be state-owned and may be changed into a statutory body after a few years.

The risks which may be covered are: damage of goods while in transit; import and export control risks; loss, robbery, war and civil war and any other risk arising abroad from factors outside the exporter's control.

The Government hopes to give an impetus to India's export trade by giving these facilities.

Political Democracy Comes To Ethiopia

Ethiopia is expected to go to poll for the first time in its history during May to elect members to the Lower House of the Parliament.

The new constitution providing for election of members was promulgated by the Emperor Haile Selassie at the time of the Silver Jubilee celebrations in November 1955. The appointment of members remains the prerogative of the Emperor.

Candidates must at least be 25 years old and Ethiopian nationals by birth. There is a property qualification: each candidate must possess immovable property to the value of at least 1000 dollars and about 1500 or movable property to the value of at least 2,000 dollars.

There are no organized parties in Ethiopia nor is there any evidence that an election campaign has begun.

Asian Women's Role In Public Life

The participation of Asian women in public life will be discussed by representatives of more than 20 nations in Asia and the Far East at a seminar to be held in Bangkok, Thailand, from August 5 to 17 this year. Plans for the meeting were outlined recently in New York, at a session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

Two of the main papers to be presented at the seminar will be on the civic rights and responsibilities of Asian women, and on their participation in government at all levels. Religious and social attitudes will also be discussed, and representatives will report on the activities of women's organizations in the different countries. The seminar forms part of the U.N.'s programme of advisory services on human rights.

NOTICE

Under the auspices of the Inside Calcutta Group an afternoon public Meeting will be held at the Puriya Restaurant on Sunday, 12th May, 1957, commencing at 3 p.m.

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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

In Defence Of Gujarati Women

THE EDITOR, "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR,—In your issue of the 20th April, I read an article under the title "Facts on Gujarati Women". As a Gujarati I am extremely perturbed that the writer has chosen to make a vicious attack on the Gujarati community in South Africa and their women.

From his very first paragraph, one notices the antagonistic attitude of the writer towards the Gujarati community which he considers to be most backward, socially, physically and educationally. I will concede that the Gujarati community may be backward in a certain degree in adapting itself to the world-wide society of South Africa, in so far as social and educational fields are concerned that we must remember, that up to date no scientific sociological survey of the Gujarati community has been carried out in South Africa. Therefore in the absence of scientific data, the conclusions arrived at by "A Kathiawadi Youth" are merely generalisations with little or no fundamental value at all. I hope, Sir, that new "Kathiawadi Youth" has become aware that to generalise is dangerous and to pass judgement is even more dangerous, the God Himself does not pass judgement until the last day.

With reference to physical weakness, sickness, and expenditure resulting therefrom, he wants us to believe that it is due to the laziness of our men and women. What nonsense! I am of the opinion that the more they be taxed to—

(1) The Gujarati community will achieve in an orthodox caste system, e.g. Lehmene, Vimes, Koth, etc. As a result such persons consider a marriage of his members outside his circle as shameful. Consequently there has been no intermarriage of vigorous blood and such families have therefore produced the type of physically weak individuals.

(2) The sociologists of this country regarding Indian tribes (material wealth with all its inherent evils) by means of all the modern means available. This follows the natural law of tribulation. Let it be emphasized, let it be understood, that I do not at all grade any Gujarati acquiring wealth and becoming unconsciously secured, by means of inheritance, standards of fair deal, and business houses. It is clear that in a capitalist society it is necessary for any community to be

necessarily strong.

As far as I know, the Gujarati women are very hardworking. If the writer has any imagination at all, then he must feel amazed by the number of offices served by a woman in a Gujarati house from dawn to dusk. Our learned friend would do well to change the comparison with a Gujarati woman only for a day, to give him an idea of the hard work done by our women. It may be true that some Gujarati women may be in the habit of gossiping but it is a positive mistake to blame women to other communities as well. Then the writer goes on to find fault with Gujarati women, who are in the habit of gossiping or rather chatting. Does not "Kathiawadi Youth" know that gossiping is a general characteristic of women in general? It is not only confined to Gujarati women. Why should we grade our females on account of this? They have their own interests and occupations in life just as men. The writer only finds fault with our women for the bad lines of their veils, but he forgets that our youth are equally guilty to a certain degree. It is mostly due to the influence of environment, and the habit will disappear gradually with education and time and adaptation to environment.

When "Kathiawadi Youth" ventured to comment on such difficult subjects as "fashion" and "decor" among Gujarati women, he did not realize that he was branding on dangerous ground. I am sure that he is not aware of the fact that fashion varies in different communities. What may appear to be so normal fashion may appear abnormal to members of other communities. Whatever fashionable features "Kathiawadi Youth" has noticed in a dress Gujarati women are simply an adaptation of something that was worn in the past. Every feature of our modern attire is merely an adaptation of the old. To substantiate my views and for the benefit of the "Kathiawadi Youth" I quote Leonardo da Vinci—

"You do it if you prefer but you do not know what you do not rightly understand."

Some of the best and most beautiful Gujarati women were those who were simple in the fashion of their dresses. Does not Kathiawadi Youth know that the most beautiful Gujarati women to have been in South

Africa, was the late Kasturba? Yes, she was beautiful, not because of her elaborate but because she possessed the sterling virtues—truth, courage, duty, devotion, loyalty, perseverance and courage. It is for our women and men to emulate her. Vice brothers do not make her black nor do his girls make her white woman. Fashion was not only common among our women. Does not the writer hear of the civilizational women following like sheep, fashion created by Parisian saloons? Why then blame our women for following a particular fashion in dress?

After a while it is concerned those Gujarati women, who catch a red blouse with a blue neck, know some about colour than the white. Blue and red are opposite colours or contrasting colours and when juxtaposed they mix up in the eye as rich purple colour from a distance. If I had about a few ladies who will wear a green neck and a yellow blouse. These ladies too are purified in the choice of their clothes.

I have known Gujarati women who are experts of preparing some of the best, sometimes and appetizing dishes for my table. I do not know where the "Kathiawadi Youth" gets his idea of the inability of our women concerning the preparation of food. This is another generalization of the writer. According to his paragraph No. 1, I understand that that and this are not health-promoting food.

Does he not know that rice is the staple food of the teeming millions of people of the Hindustan lands and on them without which most dinner tables are not complete? May I also remind him that rice contains starch, a carbohydrate, containing stored energy or economy for slow combustion of life.

I will agree with a Kathiawadi Youth that our women should learn not only English but Afrikaans as well, provided that they be duly educated in their own beautiful Gujarati. I want to congratulate "A Kathiawadi Wife" and Miss. Bhabhi Gopal for their courage in defending their act against the caustic attack by a "Kathiawadi Youth," and also for braving to the forefront these grave sociological problems facing the Gujarati community in South Africa. "A Kathiawadi Youth" has not offered a single rational answer. Lastly, for the benefit of the editor of the Gujarati women, I quote an old Chinese saying: "Talk does not cook rice."

Yours faithfully,

VARUNJI JATA.

(There has been a quote of letter recently from Gujarati women regarding the views expressed by a "Kathiawadi Wife" and by Miss. Bhabhi Gopal. The correspondence is now becoming extended, and we regret that we cannot publish any more letters appearing in a serial form. Regarding the views of "Kathiawadi Youth" will, however, be published.—Ed. I.O.)

Nehru Tells Asian Jurists Of Duties Facing African And Asian Countries

(Continued from front page)

and efficiency and economic co-operation, or was it outside the pale of international law is a moot."

Mr. Nehru said he was not criticizing Western scholars, but it was quite possible and conceivable that their approach might not bear in mind some aspects which would be obvious to the Asian scholar and jurist. From this point of view also the necessity for progress of the law became obvious.

He felt that in many matters jurists of Asia and Africa could contribute to clear thinking. For instance, the word "sovereignty" or "autonomy" was sometimes used as a term of abuse. New necessity was apparent of brilliancy, which was defined as "sagging regular and recognized war." Some of the greatest judges, Mr. Nehru said, had been those who had not only interpreted law but who had "adapted" it to changing conditions without doing violence to it, because the world changes, social conditions change, international relations change, and it would be absurd

for a problem of the middle of the 20th century being considered by men ten-hundred years of the 18th century or 19th century when conditions were radically different.

"These problems arise more especially today, when men thinking persons are greatly troubled by the course of events in the world which leads towards in the conflict and possibly great disaster."

"There is another aspect of this which troubles many of us—how do these severe developments can be faced in with any conception of international law or moral law developments which threaten the very existence of the human race in the future, which tend to poison the atmosphere in a way which may have terrible genetic and other results. It is justifiable by any conception of international law or moral law? I do not know whether jurists consider moral law but, anyway, I suppose they have it in mind even in considering the letter of the law, whatever it might be, or consequences of international law."

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INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 17TH MAY, 1957

Another Boycott Coming?

THE African National Congress's head office has issued a directive to its branches to intensify activity and complete preparations for the launching of the Pound-a-day campaign. While we are in sympathy with the African people's demand for a living wage, it seems to us, in point of time, that there is more muddled thinking than practical realism in the decision to open battle on a new front at this stage.

At Bloemfontein last year the African community addressed an appeal to White South Africa to reconsider its thinking on the race problem and to see in a front of White and non-White democrats the only force in this country which could bring apartheid and its rejection of human values, crashing to the ground. Like most reasonable people the African National Congress applauded this decision and promised to back its implementation. That was the realistic as well as statesman-like thing to do.

Few people were surprised when the Government replied to this by coming before Parliament with the Native Laws Amendment Bill. They are frightened men tormented by a very guilty conscience. They know they are wrong; they know they are losing—but they will fight to the last ditch to preserve what they hold.

At the same time some of the reactions from the European side to the Bloemfontein appeal were most cheering. Some promptly pledged their fullest support to all attempts to create the front called for by the Bloemfontein conference. Others expressed interest which could have later been transformed into active support.

Since then the Native Laws Amendment Bill has accelerated the process whereby this acceptance of the Bloemfontein challenge took specific form. At Cape-town a meeting of private organisations bound itself to disobey the law and to support all those who were made to suffer as a result of not complying with Verwoerd's wishes. Another meeting, held in the Maritzburg city hall, undertook to support the victims of the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

These events have only one meaning. People on the European side realise now that White and non-White interests tally in the point of joint opposition to apartheid and common defence for its victims. If this is not a solid step forward in implementing the Bloemfontein decision if this is not a solid basis on which to build effective opposition to apartheid, then we cannot imagine what else can be in a society like our own.

Because these developments are a positive response to a call which Congress, as one of the main participants in the Bloemfontein conference, itself made, we expected the ANC to be consistent; to reinforce the extremely welcome trend events are taking; to ensure that similar decisions are taken by people in all parts of the country on both sides of the colour line.

Instead, what do we see? While African opinion concentrates on the Native Laws Amendment Bill and there are signs that this measure has the potential to be the straw that might break apartheid's back, the ANC is all solemnly opens battle on a front where the African, by the very nature of the circumstances, will fight alone. Sooner or later the African must declare war against the low wages paid to him. But we doubt very much if the present is the best time to do this.

To ask him to do this at the moment will have the effect of diverting his attention into channels where he will fight to advance purely secular interests when the most important issue at stake now is that all should stand together in one irresistible front against apartheid. Viewed in this light, the decision to intensify the campaign is bad and tactically dangerous.

European opinion is splitting very badly on the Native Laws Amendment Bill. It is in the interests of justice, morality and human decency that this should be the case. We would have expected the ANC to encourage this trend by telling the Africans to stand firmly by the side of those Europeans who feel that they cannot obey the latest Verwoerd decree. For the ANC to tell the Africans to fight on another front at this moment is to betray the very struggle the ANC fights to advance.

It is difficult to imagine how a responsible body can stab itself in the back when victory is already in sight. But perhaps Congress is no longer real master of its own house.

Lazarus On Passive Resistance

(Contributed)

AT a public meeting held at the Phoenix Restaurant under the auspices of the Students Cultural Group Mr. Lazarus, Principal of Sand College analysed Mahatma Gandhi's Experiment of Passive Resistance in South Africa.

He explained that the spiritual force behind the technique of Passive Resistance must deter people from resorting to violence in any form. No matter how humiliating and cumbersome the circumstances, retaliation in any form must never cross the minds of Resisters. With this spirit, Mahatma Gandhi's leadership has resulted that of any leader in any aspect, politics, social reform or religion.

Commenting on the experiment of Passive Resistance during the Daffodil Campaign in 1953, Mr. Lazarus stated that, "Passive Resistance would definitely work if everyone sincerity and honesty is displayed by those who lead the people, but he did not tell right of the fact, that in the days of Mahatma Gandhi's experiment in South Africa simplicity of life prevailed, which facilitated the success of Passive Resistance but today, with a more sophisticated, complicated and fast life, the success of Passive Resistance was rather dubious. Under the circumstances if Passive Resistance is properly executed, disastrous results and a concerted effort made by all, African, Indian and European, there is no doubt that it would be a success."

Mrs. Veenika Mathan moved the vote of thanks.

"S.A. Must Find New Way Into Future"

PARLIAMENTARY methods were no longer realistic or effective in South Africa and they would not stop Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd, said Mr. Patrick Duncan, national organizer of the Liberal Party, in Durban.

He told 300 people in St. Stephen's Hall hall of whom were non-whites—that everywhere in South Africa there was a feeling of impending crisis. The country had to find a new and bloodless way into the future. The way out of the cul-de-sac into which South Africa had got was going to be painful but "we finally have to get out of it."

The greatest event of the 25th century was the ending of the subjection of millions.

The early conquests of empires such as Mexico and South America made up a "terrible, senseless, painful story." People wanted to look on Britain and Canada as heroes. They were simply "super states."

"The process we now see is a reaction from this—a very just reaction. The process of reversing a flood is complete in Asia and, except for a few foreign possessions, it is almost complete in Africa."

Many speakers, even Nationalists, had concluded that Africans must exercise their rights. The present view of "dominion" was not going to last.

"The fundamental plan is to itself an admission that this state of affairs cannot go on."

Line Of Action

The Liberals refused that, as a Party, it was impossible for them to be voted into power. Their hope was to build up a membership of all races until they had a large body of people committed to comradeship so that it could act as the force pointed by the Alexander bar beyond but on a bigger scale.

"In our problems we cannot afford a bloody way. We have to live together and we cannot do that if there has been violence and bloodshed. We have to find a new and bloodless way into the future."

The Liberal sought:

To end the colour bar which was a poison spreading the misery.

To give the vote to all adults.

To have racial unity by all people to lead and learn.

Mr. Duncan said he saw no danger in the continuation of the vote to all adults. "When the races accept each other the vote will be used very responsibly. This country is not and never has

been a white or black men's country. It belongs to all of us and this belief can best be served by people coming together in a body such as the Liberal Party.

Dr. Verwoerd

Earlier Mr. E. P. H. Carron, M.P.C., said a big mistake had

been made in regarding Dr. Verwoerd as a problem. Dr. Verwoerd was not a problem—he was as sure as 300 years of white dominion. The white man had progressed logically to a stage "where we got Verwoerd."

Behind Dr. Verwoerd there was a lot of other Verwoerds all willing to take their men and even prepared to cut Verwoerd Verwoerd.

Mr. Carron and the latent power of the majority group in the country was going to be exercised very soon and "the danger was that this power is going to be exercised without help from us at all."

Colour Bar Might Collapse On Some Gold Mines

THE Government will shortly face the unpleasant choice of sterilizing 38 million a year in foreign currency in the form of gold produced by original mines—or to allow African mine workers to do most of the work at present reserved exclusively for Whites.

A situation fraught with weighty political and economic possibilities is developing in regard to chain Witwatersrand gold mines, and it promises to become a serious test for the Government's rigid policy of industrial apartheid.

Developments are being watched with keen interest by both employers and employees in the gold mining industry, for what happens in the 17 mines now in the "whitelist" stage will set the pattern for the mining industry in the future.

The 17 mines produce gold worth about 38 million a year and employ more than 10,000 European mine workers and

100,000 Africans.

The Industrial Mine Workers' Union, making the implications for its members in particular and the country as a whole if these mines were to close down because of unworkable apartheid, has urged the Minister of Mines, Dr. Van Riebeeck, to institute an impartial and independent inquiry into the position of the mines.

But the most interesting aspect of the situation is that economists and other influential people are a more realistic division of labour between White and non-White mine workers as probably the best method of lowering the production costs of these mines.

America To Aid Libyan Economic Development

THE U.S. has agreed in principle to take immediate steps to provide economic assistance to Libya on six developmental projects.

The announcement was made in a joint communique from the Government of Libya and U.S. special ambassador Mr. James P. Richards who stopped off at Libya enroute back to Washington. He was in Libya previously from March 17 to 20, when it was announced that Libya and the United States would work together for successful application of the American Doctrine. It is recognition of the fact that the "aggressive intentions of international communism offered the greatest present threat to national independence and the peace and security of the world commu-

ity."

In accordance with that statement made on March 20, Mr. Richards now has completed studies of economic activities which would contribute to Libya's needs.

The State Department announced that Mr. Richards has agreed in principle that the U.S. Government will immediately undertake the necessary procedural and legal steps to initiate the six projects in such fields as transportation, education, electrical power development, oil-consumption, and domestic water supplies.

Minister Says Some Anglicans Support Him On Church Bill

DR. H. P. VERWOERD, the Minister of Native Affairs, said at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Edendale constituency that he had received letters from Anglicans "abandon me" (South African) saying that they agreed with his policy.

The Minister was referring to the "church clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

He therefore had no quarrel with the church as such, but only with certain Anglicans "churchmen," the Minister said.

"It is not our policy to interfere with the church, the 'church clause' is only there to prevent Africans mixing with Europeans at church services in such a way that they are a nuisance and cause offence. The question of mixed services is not affected otherwise."

Certain groups, among whom were Communists, had recently launched a campaign to hold mixed parties, dances and other meetings on an unprecedented scale in direct defiance of the Government's policy. Steps had therefore to be taken to prevent this.

Memon Says India Does Not Wish To Be Military Power

(Continued from front page)

regarded as a sign of weakness, he said, adding that the Indian people would defend themselves to the best of their ability in the event of aggression.

Mr. Memon spoke of the dangers inherent in the testing and use of nuclear weapons. If anyone survived a nuclear war, he or she would be a different person, he said. There could be little doubt that humanity and civilization as we had known them would perish in the event of a nuclear conflagration. He emphasized that India must raise her food production if she was to feed her growing population without becoming dependent on other nations. India's population had increased by 40 million during the last 10 years, he said.

GANDHIJI—The Story Of His Life

ATTACKED BY A MOB

CHAPTER X

BEFORE returning to South Africa as he had promised, Gandhiji got in touch with all the important men of the Congress party in India, like Sir Pheroz-shah Mehta, Lokamanya Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. They listened with great sympathy to his narrative about the bad treatment of Indians in South Africa and encouraged him to speak about it on platforms at public meetings in Bombay, Poona and Ahmed. People in India already knew much about Gandhiji's work for Indians in South Africa and they greeted him everywhere with great enthusiasm. He had already become a national hero.

By Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

As he had already decided to go, Gandhiji took his wife and their two little sons, eight and four, with him on his return to South Africa.

During the voyage the ship was caught in a terrible storm. It seemed as if the ship might sink at any minute. In their distress and fear the passengers forgot all differences of religion and faith together in prayer—Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Christians. One and all called on God, the Father of Mankind in this danger they felt themselves all to be brothers.

At last the storm ended and the sky grew clear. Everyone felt happy and relieved, and the ship arrived safely in the port of Durban.

You will remember that the white people in South Africa had received false news saying that while in India Gandhiji had advised them and told him about them, and that this news had made them very angry. When they heard that he was back again they at first believed to some degree on the ship is land. Their attitude was that the passengers might have brought plague germs with them from India. Only after many days was anyone allowed to leave the ship.

As soon as Gandhiji set foot on dry land he was recognised by a band of European boys who began to throw stones and rotten eggs at him. One of them sneezed off his turban, while others began to beat and kick him. All this was because they believed he had criticised them unjustly while in India.

He might have been killed if it had not been for a brave English lady, Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the Police Superintendent, who was passing by at that moment. She saved him by running into the crowd and pushing him away from the boys. There was also Karsubhai and her little son, who might have been injured had the boys been struck. Neither did he want to bring any trouble on his head from Mr. Rameshram.



MAHATMA GANDHI and KASTURBA when they came to South Africa in 1896.

As soon as he kept that Gandhiji was safely out of the way, Mr. Alexander laughingly told the crowd that their victim had escaped and that they had better go home. Some of the people were very angry at this. Others could not help laughing at the sight Mr. Alexander had played on them. Some would not believe the story and insisted on entering the house to see for themselves. Mr. Alexander showed one in short to come as well as that there was only the Rameshram family and Karsubhai with her little boys. Then the crowd went away.

Many people in South Africa were greatly shocked at the behaviour of the mob led by the Indians, violent young men. The Government was willing to arrest them if Gandhiji would prefer them out, but he refused. He had finally made up his mind never to hurt anyone, no matter what they did done to him. He explained to the Government that he did not blame the South African young men at all. They had been made to believe that Gandhiji was their enemy and that he had spoken badly about them the day

For this they had wanted to be avenged on him. He felt that when the truth came to be known, the young men would be sorry. This noble behaviour of Gandhiji made such an impression on the European people of South Africa that a large number of them felt deeply informed at what had happened. The newspapers declared that Gandhiji had done nothing wrong and that the crowd had been entirely to blame. From this we can see that of God wills that we shall triumph as surely power can overcome us, however great it may be. This truth can be found again and again in the life of Gandhiji. He was always weak and gentle in his nature.

When they tried to march him he fought back only with absolute truthfulness and love. Yet these weapons achieved more than fire or sword could have done. They freed his country from foreign rule and earned his enemies' respect and friendship.

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE.

Open Letter To The Africanists—IV

IN the first part of this letter I asked where we differed and pointed out that I had written to discover if we cannot agree. I asked that your goals were those of men who want a free society. I was disappointed, however, by the methods you sought to adopt to reach these goals. I pointed out to you how I myself had started the way you had done and how the tragedy which I feared myself no longer able to control or avert confronted me with a crisis which made me see in a society like ours a positive strength.

I was not doing this with any intention to hold the mirror before you. I know you are able young men, keenly devoted to the cause of freedom. Very many of you have made important sacrifices in the fight for freedom. I have no doubt in my mind that if you are called upon to make greater sacrifices, you will always match the hour. It is because I know you are such a magnificent band of young men and women that I want to appeal to you to share with me the experiences through which I went in the belief that if you do this, you might realize with me that South Africa's problems are inseparable of unilateral solution.

At the very outset, let nobody mistake what I say here. I do not say you will be defeated. The numbers are on your side. In the long run, you are ultimately powerful and in the position to direct events your way. It is because you are so strong, that I appeal to you to be guided by reason; it is because I seek to see you guided by ideals on which you will build the society that I ask you not to fall into the error of your comrades the apartheidists. Nothing that Vorster or Rensburg or any Natsboerist will ever do will stop your march to freedom. The Natsboerists know that they are on the run. Hear what they have to say against the African Parliament, see how many have they sent to oppose the African and "keep him in his place." And when they have done all that you march with your feet at Alexandra and make their Natsboerists and their Swarts and their Thembas all look in panic and defeatism. Such is your power. And, day by day you build it. I would rather you built it to establish a

society of just men. I know how passionately you love justice between you and I come of a race that has been torn in justice and survived against the odds. That sense of justice to achieve made love of it seemed selfish. If you are strong and you want to be just men, please practice justice now, in your relations with your fellowmen of all races, teach yourselves the art of living and acting like just men in your dealings with the other people. You cannot do that if you start by calling yourselves Africanists or any exclusive name.

Allow me to tell you the human tragedies which move me are the truth in different light. I pointed how I realized that African Nationalism as such would one day get out of control and wreak havoc on all men, regardless of race. In this country, I find an joy in seeing any human being suffer unnecessarily. Certainly, whenever I can help I do not want to see myself the cause of suffering to my fellowmen.

In the second letter, I raised some of the difficulties which your attitude must. My attitude in these letters is to have them as a basis of discussion - in the hope that can day we who oppose tyranny might all find ourselves standing side by side in one decisive march against apartheid. I am willing to see the truth in clearer light myself and I trust you will receive these letters in the same spirit.

In this, the last statement, I want to consider some of the ways out. Firstly, the real problem which we face in this country is not one of race. It is one of power. The question to be settled at this juncture should remain solely in the hands of the White minority on power to African hands to be shared equitably by all who have made South Africa their home. This, to me, is the crux of the whole race question.

The men of apartheid and all White supremacists say that power must remain exclusively in White hands. You say this is an endgame; you say you are going to take it, by what ever effective method and vent it exclusively in yourselves. When you have done that, you promise to be just to the racial minorities. Here you feel easily in the error of your enemies.

For my part I think the only just and lasting solution is to have power shared equitably by all who have made this country their home, regardless of race or colour. But equity is something fairly plain. If we want to be just we must act in any way before in ways which will make people doubt our real motives.

If I am right in seeing in power shared equitably the only solution which can work in this country, it is in accord

with moral ideals. It is based on free choice. In a multi-racial society you need to make all people feel that survival for one group means survival for all. You need to make them feel that they belong together. I am convinced in my thoughts by the fact that this approach has worked on other lands and that would opinion is going this way, too.

The confidence of humanity is such, today, that tyranny and the tyrants are on the way out. Over and above all I think my way is better because it is good against being used to destroy the minorities.

(To be continued)

Land Gift Movement In India-2

By Mawala Ramgobin

Ideal Of Love

IT is my belief with Vinoba that India will be able to evolve, confident with her ideals, a new type of civilization, based purely on love. The people have begun donating lands on their own free will, readily and generously. The whole atmosphere in India is undergoing a change and she might well show the world the way to a new era of freedom, love and happiness. These aspirations are embodied in Bhambha Yagna (Lands Gift Movement).

When Vinoba took up the task of Bhambha he knew it was a difficult one, but he attributes all to the Power (God) that has inspired him to start the mission. Having begun it in all humility and security he has faith that He will lead him and will be assisted by all those who believe in Sarvodaya (Welfare of all).

Though Vinoba dedicates his mission to the will of God he does not lose sight of the fact that at the present time it will take approximately five hundred years to complete the work of Bhambha, hence he calls upon all in India to start the cause a hundredfold faster for in a critical period like the present, in the history of Indian freedom, he fears that the whole fabric of Gandhi's constructive work is in danger of being destroyed. If it succeeds soon it will have all round success. Khadi (means a revolution in the acceptance of a new way of life in a deeper sense), Rastriya work and every other con-

structive work will also advance.

Physical Labour

Vinoba plunged himself into this strenuous task for eliminating the high and low from Indian society and to enable everybody to take to physical labour. He believes that it is highly fundamental that those who possess land should not till it themselves and those who cultivate it should possess it and to do so. Those who cannot plough get it ploughed by others, while those who can plough have to do so as labourers. Since they have no right in the yield produced by them they work half-heartedly. Moreover the labourer is paid in coin and they do not even get sufficient food.

"Why should this be tolerated? Is it just to stop this false system?" Vinoba questions And how justifiably.

Vinoba Shrivastava is a strong believer in the decentralization of money and industry. He backs his ideology of decentralization in the scheme of God by adopting the first step of distributing land to the landless and then in establishing village industries. He also said every one of the soil has a right on mother earth is not his own. The Vedas proclaim it. His best analogy so far is "My brother can prevent his another brother from serving his mother." He even dares to say that whenever demands land men have it. There is no doubt with the rights so far, that if the people in India especially those who believe in Gandhi's ideology, work diligently and sincerely with Vinoba India will then become the light-house for the world.

(To be continued)

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A Glimpse At Gujarati Women

—SUSHILA GANDHI

THE April 15th issue of "Indian Opinion" carried a criticism of Gujarati women by Ishwar Ramjee, of Bharu Road, Calcutta. This article raised quite an uproar in our community, and as a Gujarati woman, I wish to thank Mr. Ramjee for throwing this challenge and awakening our women. They have shown without doubt that we have the spirit and courage to be no answer back if necessary. I am also grateful to those women who have so bravely answered Mr. Ramjee.

Taking into consideration the views expressed by both sides, and facts that somewhere, in our community, there is a bit of, and material life is not as it should be, with the result that both partners in marriage are dissatisfied with one another. With careful study one discovers that almost 25 per cent of our marriages are not quite happy even. What is the reason for this?

Here again, both parties have blamed the other for this. Mr. Ramjee's first complaint against our women is that, our children and our women are always in ill-health. To this, I would like to add that we men also fall in the same category, though I do not wish to make this as an excuse. The reason is our diet. What was good for our forefathers is not good for us today, because of the changed atmosphere, the changed ways of life etc. We are apt to indulge in highly seasoned and spicy foods. We also do not have sufficient exercise. I admit that women work around the house but this is not sufficient and our men get even less exercise. The result of all this is that our bodies are very apt to become. Try to find a solution I had myself considered "A Kathmandu Wife's" answer. Is it not true that nearly all our men, with the exception of a few except in the business side of their lives with little or no time for their families. And the women have to carry the burden of all the other responsibilities—marriage in them is not a partnership. How can our marriages last in this way? It is essential that men devote their time to their families, but they should find time to devote to their house life. A happy marriage is complementary, a give and take of thought, a burden shared. But in how many homes would we find this? This shows the lack of education on both

sides. Both parties go into marriage with little or no knowledge of what marriage means.

If women want to change it is essential that they realize that they are important individuals in society. Many men and women today are apt to be afraid of "what people might say" and this is a great obstacle to progress.

Mr. Ramjee wishes that women would learn how to do more work. I would suggest that young men like him should first teach their wives to handle their share of life so that they may overcome good weather and stormy weather.

If men look at their women only as utilities and servants, how can they ever hope to achieve any understanding?

Many of our men do not recognize women as individuals or as people who should be respected. This is another reason why our homes are not happy. Women are not made to feel important in their homes, though they play the most important part. Our men are supposed to be the leaders and masters in our homes—so each they must have being responsibility and make the necessary sacrifice. There is give and take in life—I men regard their wives as partners in life—they must be proud of the privileges in give and take, on both sides. What our young men call nagging men really be the demands of love if taken that way.

Mr. Ramjee has commented on the compulsion of our women. I feel that he has done so, by taking into account a few women and no more.

Some of the other allegations are also in the same vein. For example the talk about fashion. Men today are just as bad in their limited sphere.

Developing is done by men too but on a big scale. I agree that if both sides talk this problem and spend more time on other things it would be the good of all, and most of all to society.

Finally I would like to say that I personally know a number of well educated young women who, instead of leaving after marriage, have led their own lives. When it was the husband, it is responsible for this. This is why one has to be very careful when choosing a marriage partner—it must be someone who is going the same way,

so that both can work side by side for the same ultimate goal. It is useless laying the blame for things that have gone wrong at each other's door. We must learn to see our faults and try to get rid of them, so that we can make the best of what life and fate have allotted to us.

This dispute is fruit for deep thought for all of us. As Mrs. Bhaski Ghose says, it should not be necessary for our men to

And pleasure elsewhere and if they insist in doing so, then they are not qualified to criticize the women. Men may be more advanced in some directions, whereas women are just as advanced in others. So both sides need the help of each other to get along in life. To achieve all this and to establish petty workmen and appreciate the goodness in each other, love is the guiding and the necessary factor.

Nigerian Leaders Agree

FACED with the forthcoming Nigerian constitutional conference in London, Chief Awolowo, Dr. Adeniji, and the Rector of Ogburn, President of the three colleges of Nigeria, met privately in Government House, Lagos, to discuss the future of their country. Without leaving a formal statement in press terms they let it be known that they had reached complete agreement about federal independence.

It thus seems likely that Nigeria will follow Ghana into

independence in 1959. It seems inevitable whether in the meantime any of the regions will obtain regional independence and the retention of the regions to the Federation as a whole is still of vital importance.

Many people in Nigeria hold that strong regional development is standing in the way of national unity; they would prefer to see the regions break into smaller States. There is general hope that the national leaders will see their way to greater co-operation.

Indian And U.S. Educators Join Unesco Mission In Liberia

TWO educators from India and from the United States arrived last month to Liberia where they will work with Unesco teams assisting the Government in its educational programme.

Professor S. K. Majumdar, an Indian chemist, educator and diplomat, has joined the Unesco team at the University of Liberia in Monrovia. His assignment will be to teach chemistry and to develop a laboratory which has just been installed in the new science building of the University. Professors of mathematics, physics and biology have also been sent to the University by Unesco under the technical assistance programme.

Mr. John D. Henry, an American educator whose international career has already taken him to Puerto Rico and Singapore, will work at the national fundamental education centre set up by the Liberian Government and Unesco at Klay, 25 miles north of Monrovia. He will teach English to students who, on completing their course, will open schools throughout the country. The teaching of English is important since it is

the *Nogbo* form of Liberia, where some 25 original languages are spoken.

Hard African Women Harassed By Passers

THE last arriving African women to carry permits authorizing their being in an office area for more than 72 hours is being subjected in Johannesburg for the first time.

In Johannesburg, Mariendale and Newlands—areas under the jurisdiction of the Native Recruitment Board—as well as in European suburbs of the city, police have been asking women to produce their permits.

African women are seriously disturbed by this development and have organised to send a deputation to protest to the authorities.

The chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council, Mr. H. Miller, M.P.C., declined to comment on the police action other than to give an assurance that an argument had gone from the council to the police to enforce the law.

London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

London

AT the second general meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society in London recently, Dr. H. Crawford Walton, President of the Methodist Conference, told the meeting of its importance to the Central Africa Federation should be delayed. He added that during a visit to Rhodesia nothing was heard about apartheid, but not even its limits. "It would greatly doubt, he continued, whether, if Rhodesia becomes independent and self-governing, Africans would receive the position in the state to which we believe they should be entitled."

Kampala

A motion supporting self-government for Uganda next year and complete independence by 1961 was overwhelmingly defeated in the Legislative Council. Mr. C. B. Harcourt, the Chief Secretary, said Britain's policy was the development of Uganda towards self-government, but this could not be achieved quickly. Most speakers in the resumed debate opposed the motion as inappropriate, although they all supported the principle of self-government. The motion was presented by Mr. V. Banamu, a representative from Buganda

Dar-es-Salaam

Mr. Edward Tundege, Governor of Tanganyika, announced here that a new ministerial system would be introduced this year to replace the present membership system in the territory's Legislature—except. The re-designation of official members as Ministers was not just a change of name. "It is an indication that from now on they will be expected to contribute to the making of policy, the expression of that policy to the public, and the responsible task of seeing that policy carried out faithfully throughout the territory." The Government also announced that it proposed to appoint six unofficial (i.e. drawn from members of the non-Governmental branches) Ministers to perform Ministerial duties of the province of executive and administrative responsibilities for Government departments. Certain individuals, selected on a

case-by-case basis, would be invited every year to accept the appointments. "The special significance should be attached to any official balance which may emerge from those selected and prepared to serve as Ministerial Ministers in the various provinces in the development of the Ministerial system," Sir Edward said. The Governor, who was speaking at the opening of a new Budget session of the Council, went on to say that there was an intention whatever of introducing universal suffrage in Tanganyika, not even considering it, at an early date. It was quite unrealistic to suggest that present conditions were ripe for its introduction. The next step in the territory's constitutional development, he said, was the introduction of a franchise franchise in 1958, the year of the first election. A franchise bill, coming before the Council shortly, incorporated the recommendations of the franchise committee, which had been approved by the Secretary of State. "Some people try to pretend that the qualifications franchise will weigh heavily on the African population. In fact, a preliminary survey shows that 10 out of 100 are considered to be members of the number of Africans who will qualify for a vote across the number of Asian and European electors taken together." Before a final decision was made as to the qualifications to which the franchise would be applied in the 1958 elections, the Government would make further investigations taking into account whether Africans were in the minority in any constituency. As soon as the new legislature

Accra

The Minister of Trade and Labour, Mr. Botchwey, announced to Parliament that the Government had decided to liquidate the Ghana Purchasing Co. and replace it with an organisation set up by the United Farmers Council. The Ghana Purchasing Company, buying agent for the Ghana Marketing Board, which controls prices paid to cocoa growers, was investigated in May last year after allegations of irregularity, by a committee of inquiry headed by Mr. Justice Jibson, of the Nigerian Supreme Court. The matter was later referred to a committee of inquiry which reported that the Ghanaian Government had not conducted irregularities in the company, which had been controlled by the Convention People's Party. The Government later took progress, approved on September 17, providing that a responsible Minister should not appoint members of members of statutory boards in future and give the boards orders on the performance of their duties. In his statement recently Mr. Botchwey said that members would recall that at the last meeting of the old Legislative Assembly the House approved various bills empowering Ministers to exercise direct control over the boards and corporations for which they were responsible. The next one, "Since the House gave approval to these amendments I have had occasion to issue several instructions concerning the activities of the Ghana Purchasing Company, in spite of these instructions the affairs of the company continue to be unsatisfactory." Mr. Botchwey said that the Government had therefore decided that the Company should go into liquidation, and he had given instructions for this to be effected. He added that steps were being taken to safeguard stocks of cash and cocoa held by the company. The Minister also said that the liquidation of the company would have a gap in the country's buying arrangements. The United Ghana Farmers' Council intended to fill this by setting up an organisation to buy cocoa, which "will be independent and will buy cocoa for the Marketing Board like any other Government buying agent in the country."

Four Africans, was asked and not European have 3 as appointed minister in the Tanganyika Administration.

U.S. Help For "Tramway" Supports

A nationwide appeal, headed by John Guehrer, author, and the Very Reverend James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, was launched in the U.S. recently to aid the South African Church of the Holy Trinity. Mr. Guehrer pointed out that "my men, women or child, black or white, who advocates democracy based on equality of rights may be harassed, according to South African law, a Government or a trustee."

The South African Defense Fund, with an initial goal of \$100,000 in the U.S. and Canada, is being administered by the American Committee on Africa, Inc. The fund was created at the request of outstanding South African who applied Apartheid. The funds are expected to last for a year or more. The money will "help provide those under arrest with the best possible legal defense," and "help meet the criminal needs faced by their families."



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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ઘીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો ફ્રિજ વેલ્ટેરીઝન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

લગ્ન પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે ખાટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને હોલંગની સગવડ

કામથી બોર્ડિંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિવાહીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને પણ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વગરિય લેવામાં આવશે. બોરડાઓમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક હમ્લેટ ફર્નીચર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળી માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અંગે દેશી સેવરશની સોપરી સેકેટી, અને કામી તેમજ શાણુની તાલ, 'ચારેક', 'પરંજ', અને ચારેલી, વિશેષ સખીએ હોય.

ધરતું અથિલું અથાલું અને સાસી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈવાર હોય છે.

ગ્રાઉન્ડથી સિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Moulvi Ghulam 1948-1956

*His heart was as great
as the world, but there was
no room in it to hold the
memory of a wrong.*
—Ezra Taft

*We fight with party
passions not the evil of
the hour, but the evil of
the hour.*
—Thomas a Kempis

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Friday, 24th May, 1957

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NEHRU ON PROBLEMS FACING AFRICA

THE Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said that he had no doubt that the countries of Africa would emerge in freedom as some of them had already done.

In a message of good wishes to the Fifth Annual Conference of the African Students Association (India) held at Kharagpur, Mr. Nehru said that as free countries, they would have to face different sets of problems than they did today and these problems would be difficult. It was of great importance, therefore, that young Africans should train themselves now to be able to shoulder these burdens and responsibilities of freedom later.

"It is from this point of view that I have particularly welcomed the coming of African students to India for various kinds of training," he added.

The following is the text of the message: "I send my good wishes to the Conference of the African Students Association of India, which is going to be held at Kharagpur. It has been a great pleasure to me to welcome in India a number of students from Africa for higher education. Africa today is going through the travail of a new birth. This is both a painful and an exhilarating experience. Every individual and every country has to pay the price of freedom and growth. I have no doubt that the countries of Africa will emerge in freedom, as some have already done. As free countries, they will have to face a different set of problems than they have to do today; and these problems will be difficult. It is of great importance, therefore, that young Africans should

train themselves now so as to be able to shoulder these burdens and responsibilities of freedom later. It is from this point of view that I have particularly welcomed the coming of African Students to India for various kinds of training.

Many Difficulties

They will receive this in our various institutions of higher training. But, there is something which is not easily taught in books or lectures, and yet which is very important for those who aim high and who may have to shoulder great responsibilities. I do not know how far India will help them to acquire this strengthening of the moral fibre, intellectual integrity and a vision which looks ahead beyond the difficulties of the moment. We ourselves, in India, are facing many difficulties, and our young men and women are often a little frustrated or in doubt. In this age of transition and change, when all of us have been pulled out of the old ways and

have not yet found a new equilibrium, these doubts are not surprising. Yet, unless we find some anchor within ourselves, we cannot achieve great things.

In India today, much is being done. But, I imagine that, perhaps, something of

the greatest interest to our African friends will be the community development movement here. I am glad to know that at the Conference in Kharagpur, the subject of the community development is going to be specially discussed.

LIBERAL LEADERS QUOTED AT TREASON TRIALS

"3.35 p.m.: Alan Paxon arrives in our N.P.N. 1982." These were part of the notes made at Riverside Durban by Detective Sergeant P. C. Swasepool, of the Security Branch, Durban who gave evidence at the Treason Inquiry, Deff Hall, Johannesburg, in connection with a meeting held by the Natal Vigilance Committee.

Sergeant Swasepool was among the Crown witnesses from Durban who referred to the presence of members of the Liberal Party at various meetings held in Natal and attended by the Security Police.

Giving evidence of a raid carried out by the Police on 15th August, 1954 on an Indian School at Peasants on the North Coast, Sergeant Swasepool said that among those present at the meeting were Professor Leo Kuper, Miss Violet Jund and Advocate I. Waterbaler.

An Unknown European Female

Detective Sergeant P. Zulu referred to the presence of an "unknown European female"

seen female" (recorded in his notes as "Mrs. F" in his notes) at a meeting held at the Banjo Social Centre on 16th May, 1956 to protest against passes for women. He said that this person represented the Liberal Party and was recorded by him as having said as follows:

"I have brought this message to you from my organisation with regard to this pass question and other oppressive legislation. It has come in our notice that African women who come to cities to seek work to support their children are to suffer in the hands of the police

(Continued on page 2, 1)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 24TH MAY, 1957

Split-Personality Opposition To Apartheid

ACCORDING to Press reports a hundred White nationalists met at Isopso last week and brought into being an organisation they styled the Natal Torch and Voters Association to "organise Natal voters, loyal to the Act of Union, solidly behind their Christian civic responsibility to all loyalist members of the Natal family under the Crown." Committee would be set up to constitute a "democratic authority capable of calling a regional convention representative of all the areas and races."

Speaking at this meeting, Col. C. W. Wood, apparently one of its brighter lights, stated that it was time the South Africans "came together on a policy of absolute resistance to the present Government until Afrikaner and Briton could work and live together on a go-go basis...."

Incredible Confusion

There is clearly solid determination behind all this to rid the Union of the evil of apartheid. Unfortunately for this country, it is a determination which springs from an incredible confusion of noble sentiments with simple unrealistic and outright bigotry.

Because the issues at stake are so vital for people on both sides of the colour line it is the duty of all to see that straight thinking is introduced into the confused picture painted above. The policy of absolute resistance to apartheid is magnificent and noble; it now remains the only condition of survival for democracy and the decent conduct of public affairs.

No Combination

Its absoluteness, however, depends on certain conditions which the Association seems in need to ignore. One of these is that there is not a single force and no combination of forces on the White side with the potential to destroy apartheid at the moment. The "Natal voters, loyal to the Act of Union" together with "all loyalist members of the Natal family" are an incredibly small minority even in the province itself. For them to imagine that they can break apartheid's back is a form of blindness to reality which can be taken seriously only in a country like South Africa.

But to state, in all seriousness, that "all...races would be involved in a regional convention where the Africans, the Coloured and the Indian would dutifully help the "Afrikaner and Briton (to) work and live together on a go-go basis" has about it a touch of innocent naivete which makes Strydom's tampering of the Union Jack in mud hardly surprising.

No Breadcrumbs

The plain facts which must be faced are that the non-European wants no breadcrumbs from the Afrikaner-Briton table; that he was not a party to the Act of Union and that numerically he has the potential to crush apartheid singlehanded, if forced by people like the Association under discussion, to that extreme. If he were free to influence events in the direction of his own choice he would prefer a broad front of all anti-apartheid forces, regardless of race, colour or creed. For him resistance can be absolute only if it takes this form.

Mention of "civic responsibility to all loyalist members of the Natal family under the Crown" has undertone of a form of racial bigotry which the Indian, the African and the Coloured dread with the horror they have felt apartheid.

We repeat: The idea of an all-in front, uniting all races and pledged to crush apartheid to set up a democratic society and to uphold the Commonwealth constitution is as magnificent as it is product of straight thinking. On the other hand talk of Natal voters, loyalty to the Act of Union, loyalists, has in it features of split-personality thinking on the race problem which, at best, can only have the effect of undermining non-European confidence in the real aims of the Association.

Naked Deception On Bantu Education

THE government has changed its tactics in boosting Bantu Education. The new line is to hold it forth as better than what the European child gets. This is designed more for overseas consumption than for the local White supremacist. People listen better in America and Europe if you talk in terms to emphasise the paramountcy of African interests in Africa. With Welensky boasting of £26,000,000 for the Federation while our two 'Apartheid geniuses' of all kinds limp home with a miserly £1,000,000 in the form of foreign capital, Louw, Verwoerd and Strydom feel it is time they spoke to the 'West' in language it understands.

We should not be unduly worried by this piece of governmental deception. People in the West know what goes into making a good educational system. They know that syllabi by themselves don't tell the whole story. The soundness of a system today is determined, not only, by the amount of knowledge it pumps into a child's head but also by the extent to which it develops his faculties; adapts him to the needs of fruitful living and the degree of efficiency it is able to procure from the teachers.

Verwoerd ignores that talk of the syllabus alone, is enough bait. Let him please himself. The more he does it the more he exposes the absolute wickedness of apartheid. Who, in their senses, can believe a man supremacist when he says he gives to the African, child an education which will give him superior ability to what his own child will get from 'White education'?

(Continued on next page)

Liberal Leaders Quoted At Treason Trial

(Continued from front page)

Motor Car Licence

"I may mention that I have one piece to carry, that is my driver's licence. Had I been an African I would be carrying more than one pass. It would be a bad thing to put a woman in jail, children not told their mother is in jail. If women have to be jailed therefore, say jail has no work to do, for all jails are there for wrongdoers. So I and my fellow say that my organisation is with you in this struggle."

Alan Paton's Speech

Sgt. P. G. Swagard read out the notes he had made of a speech delivered by Mr. Alan Paton at the Tugela Jail in Grahamstown, Rhodesia, Durban on November, 1956 at a meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Vigilance Committee.

Mr. Paton was regarded as having said that the Group Areas Act was one of the most evil pieces of legislation ever passed and that his organisation was opposed to it.

Unity With Whites

"It is because I am a Christian," Mr. Paton was alleged to have said, "that I am standing here before you fighting the Group Areas Act. I say there must be unity with the white people also. They are going to suffer spiritual loss for what is going on in this country today."

"I am concerned about the future of the children standing here today. The Technical Sub-Committee of the Group Areas Act has recommended that all those areas where we are working today are going to be European areas."

Evil Purpose

"The purpose of the Group Areas Act is an evil purpose. The Government first appointed a commission before the passing of the Group Areas Act. Their report said that there appears to be an ever growing demand for the repatriation of the Indians."

"If one day some of us have to appear before a higher tribunal for our sins on this earth, then the members of this particular committee will certainly have a lot to answer for... We are not fighting the Group Areas Act; we are fighting the whole idea that you can make out special treatment to expose on account of his colour."

Mr. HIB's Speech

Mr. C. E. Hill was also reported as having addressed the meeting and as having said: "The Group Areas Act will have the effect of making the Indian, African and Coloured people economically."

Professor Leo Kuper

Professor Leo Kuper was, according to Sergeant Swagard, one of the speakers at the meeting called at the Kaja Memorial Hall, Durban on 14th August, 1954, to protest against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Speeches made at the meeting were taken down by a short hand expert, a Mr. Marshall, who has

not yet been called by the Crown. Head Constable W. B. Truett said that he attended a meeting at the Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, Durban, at which Professor Leo Kuper was one of the speakers. According to the notes he made, Professor Kuper, later said, said: "We of the Liberal Party object on principle to the Western Areas Removal Scheme. We object to people being compelled to be removed. We say that people should not be used as pawns to be removed against their will."

We Object

"We object to the taking away of established rights. The people of Western Areas have lived there for many years. Some own property there and some hold rights. Therefore we say anybody should be compelled to leave his property."

"We also say that the policy of apartheid is wrong. According

to this policy the Africans should have no rights in the cities. This we say is wrong."

Apartheid 'Sacred'

"The Government regard apartheid as something sacred. Orders must be carried out or else the full force of the Government is brought to bear on those who refuse to carry out these orders. Public meetings are banned so that no criticism could be levelled against the Government's actions. These are marks towards a totalitarian trend. This is the trend we object to."

"I also do not believe Rev. T. Muddleston said the words attributed to him by the Minister of Justice."

"The Liberal Party therefore objects to the destruction of sacred communities; the taking away of existing rights; the policy of apartheid which drives people the right of place in cities."

GANDHII— The Story Of His Life

LOVE OF SERVICE

CHAPTER XI

GANDHII now took up his old life again. He was busier than ever. In addition to his work as a successful barrister, there was much to be done for his countrymen. The Government had begun making new laws to make life difficult for Indians and to prevent them from prospering, and Gandhiji had to struggle more than ever before.

There was also the education of his little boys to see about. As there were no Indian schools in South Africa, and he did not want his children to go to a European school and forget their mother tongue, he decided to teach them himself. He always talked to his little boys in Gujarati and he gave them their lessons in Gujarati, too. Though all this meant much extra work for the busy young father, he undertook it gladly.

One day a poor leper came to Gandhiji's door, begging for food. Most people would have driven him away as leprosy, but Gandhiji could be not wicked to anybody, least of all to a poor leper. He gave the man food, bandaged his terrible wounds and took him to the house for a rest before sending him to the hospital. This kindness came from

the great love of the man that had always been in his heart ever since he was a little boy. He had never lost his longing to be a doctor, either. But since that was impossible now, without long years of further study, he wanted at least to do some service for the

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

such, however small. So he began to go daily to a free hospital kept by a Christian Missionary. There he offered his services for two hours a day, preparing and giving out medicines in the dispensary.

Most of the patients were very poor Indian labourers and Gandhiji was very happy to have the further chance of serving his own people.

As days passed, two more little boys were born to Karmcho. The first two sons had been named Manil (sweetheart of Hari) and Manil (sweetheart of Hari). There are the kind of names that come naturally to parents' minds when they think of their darling children. But now Gandhiji's whole mind was filled with the thought that his duty in this world is to serve others. This made him very careful in choosing

the names of his last two sons. He knew that names are very important to our lives. A name whose name has a beautiful or holy meaning will surely feel obliged to live up to it. So Gandhiji called his third son Ramdas, or the servant of Ram, and the fourth son, Devdas, or the servant of God.

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(To be continued)

Naked Deception On Bantu Education

(Continued from previous page)

And, what is significant, the experts the Department of Native Affairs quotes as praising the system are conveniently anonymous. Let Verwoerd carry on. The more he does it, the more people will be convinced that Bantu Education prepares the African child for slavery. We have always suspected that the Minister of Native Affairs was not as clever as the Naidobes thought he was.

Press Reporter Did Work For Police

JOHANNESBURG.

THE Crown has decided to lead the evidence of the expert witnesses at the Treason Inquiry. At the request of the defence the hearing will be adjourned to the 25th May and will be resumed on 24th June, when the reports will be cross-examined by defence counsel.

Evidence at the Drill Hall is being led on speeches made by Congress leaders in Natal, some of them dated with individuals who are not among the 156 facing the Treason charge. Members of the Security Branch of the Police from Durban have been giving evidence.

Broader evidence given by members of the Security Branch from Natal, evidence was also given by Mr. J. L. Langage, a press reporter, of a meeting held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban on 12th June, 1956. Under cross-examination he said that at that time he made the notes he was on the staff of the "Natal Daily News" and that he had sent a copy of the report to the Security Branch of the Police.

Captain Lamprecht

Mr. Langage said that he had taken the notes at the request of Captain Lamprecht, the head of the Security Branch in Durban and that he had received payments from the police for his work. The employees had not been informed by him of this fact, but he said that his employees knew that he did not get their share but according to people other than his employers. He had been a part-time short hand writer at the Express Courier and the Regional Observer, and was now employed by the "Pretoria News," also a paper belonging to the Afrikan group.

Among the speeches recorded by Mr. Langage evidence is also being made the speeches of Dr. M. H. Mouta, Dr. W. C. M. Meyer, Ernst Shalizi and Robert Rosta.

Non-Violence

Many of the Natal speeches emphasized the policy of non-violence and racial harmony and two copies were sent to several other newspapers in connection with that they had rapidly turned them at Congress meetings.

Dr. Mouta's Speech

One of the longest speeches recorded from Natal was also given by Dr. M. H. Mouta discussing with the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter.

Talk was one of the speeches recorded evidence by Mr. Langage and was alleged to have been delivered at the Bantu Social Centre Durban on 12th June, 1956.

According to Mr. Langage Dr. Mouta said that the Freedom Charter would determine race and for all the rights and privileges not only of people belonging to any one colour, but people belonging to every race, colour and creed in South Africa.

The Vote

Dr. Mouta was reported to have said that it did not require much evidence in order to be able to show to the people that every day they—whether it was poverty or hunger, starvation or quarters all decent or housing—flowed from one Act, the South Africa Act, which viciously made the pro-European people of South Africa ignorant by virtue of the fact that they were denied the vote in the land of their birth.

"There are today in South Africa," Dr. Mouta was reported as having said, "a number of people, white and non-white who claim to be friends of the liberation movement, who claim to be friends of the Congress, but nevertheless are apt to advance theories of contempt as the question of the vote. There are some people who say they like non-Europeanism and are not ready, not ripe, not sufficiently mature to enjoy franchise, unqualified franchise, in South Africa."

Not Friends

"I want to warn you that these people cannot be considered as friends of our movement. We must see them in the light in which they take their stand. So far, as I am concerned I have no doubts whatsoever that every genuine friend of the struggle of the non-European will stand on the platform for the demand of the complete and unqualified franchise."

Dr. Mouta paid tribute to the work of the Congress of Democrats, of Father Muthalema, Cassius Calico and the Rev. Michael Scott and related to

facts and figures from the Union Year Book showing the disabilities under which the non-European people of the Union suffered. "We had a most barbarous, a most ruthless kind of exploitation that is to be feared anywhere in the world."

The Change

Dr. Mouta according to Mr. Langage added: "Now the all important question arises: 'Who is going to change the state of affairs?' Well, I must say that this is not a condition that is unique in South Africa itself. The people of Asia and throughout the world suffered under similar conditions only a century or two years ago. But three days so far as India, as far as Pakistan, Burma, China and a number of other countries, not including the Gold Coast is concerned those things are things of the past now."

"And who was it that brought this change about in those particular countries? The people themselves. That is the answer and I want every single person in this hall to be convinced as this point, wherever we don't get any further than where we are. We must be convinced that the power

of disrupting the status quo, the power to change the type of society, lies within ourselves."

Sacrifice

Dr. Mouta was reported as having said that no people in the history of the world had attained their freedom without sacrifice and the people of South Africa were no exception. He referred to the Bandung Conference and said that the non-European people were not alone in their struggle.

The Freedom Charter gave the lie to the contention that the non-European people desired to establish a Black Republic in South Africa.

The Secret Hindustani Movement Association Of South Africa

Special Notice

Please note that the Annual General Meeting of the above Association will be held on Friday, 31st May, 1957 at 145 Prince Edward Street, Durban—at 10 a.m. sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Agenda:

1. Minutes.
2. Treasurer's Report.
3. To read and confirm Constitution.
4. Election of Trustees.
5. Election of Officers.
6. General.

Mess. President: G. Mehta.
Mess. Secretary: N. Bhagwan.



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The Indian Mutiny 1857—III

THAT this thought could ever be entertained shows how far the mutual trust between British and Indian had deteriorated since the great days, scarcely a generation earlier, of Blaine, Elphinstone, Metcalf. By the 1840s there had been a hardening of the religious attitudes among both civil and military. The war and tolerant attitude of the "golden age" had been replaced by antagonistic fervour and deep distrust, fed by devotion to an Old Testament deity whose might was right. The Laurence, Nicholson and their famous colleagues were often led in to say so, but they lacked the intellectual readiness and broad humanity of their predecessors. They were the curtain of their

prejudices of punishment during the suppression and wholesale political revenge when it was all over. There was the heroic Rani of Jhansi who, though she fought without quarter and against few, was eventually killed (as few male Indian leaders were) fighting at the head of her troops in a man's attire. Today she has become India's Joan of Arc.

On the Indian side men were more desperate than the Nana Sahib, adopted son of the last legitimate Maratha prince. He was responsible for the two appalling and atrociously treacherous massacres at Cawpore—first of the metropolitan garrison and many of the women, despite a pledge of safe conduct, then of the remaining women and children just before the British column arrived. But in the final estimation correct, particularly for the second of these crimes, there is an estimate of how much opportunistic passion may be. For the more responsible for the second massacre were not metropolitan agents, who refused to fly through the windows on the prisoners they were guarding, having learned at the rally but hours before who were then sent in with bullets.

True, neither was policy of an offence punishable with death. And there were instances where immediate enforcement of the penalty on a small number, as in parts of the Punjab and north-west frontier, saved further deterioration of the situation and even greater reverses later. But at Cawpore the captured men were being humiliated and punished primarily not for mutiny, of which most were guilty, but for murdering the women and children, of which most were innocent. Nor can any argument about money to seek retributive justice for the indiscriminate slaughter of the civil population, which at Delhi and all too many other places inspired the re-sumption of British control.

Again, much of this was caused by unfounded rumours. Most careful subsequent inquiry has only revealed one actual case of average (as distinct from murder) against British women. But stories of rape and mutilation were widely believed. They led even the good and with John Nicholson to "propose a Bill for the burning off, imprisonment or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simply hanging the perpetrators of such atrocities is unbecoming." And the result is all too easy

cases applied over from summary execution into indiscriminate massacre of both women and children. In this both British and Indian troops from elsewhere participated. "The troops every man outside the walls of Delhi was looked upon as a rebel worthy of death," wrote Roberts. At Calcutta, far from active rebellion, double stories had to be posted to keep British soldiers from going out at night into the streets to "avenge" the murders in Oudh and Rohilkhand. In Bombay, nearly as far from the actual scene, troops were with difficulty prevented from being hanged the mutineers they disembarked and killing every Indian man in sight.

It is not, perhaps, a frame of mind that should especially surprise those of us who considered

the carpet-bombing of Germany and the atom bombing of Japan. But it is profoundly shocking nevertheless. As Woodruff writes: "Fear of a stronger people whom they did not understand had turned in the agents to hatred, panic and murder. Deep hatred in English hearts has been gloved a shy spark, never revealed or admitted, fear of a people far more numerous than we had feared up to an uncomfortable time when the desperate and the feared rose treacherously and laid hands on English women. There were exceptions. A few merciless sympathy on both sides became the general rule." Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the Mutiny is that it did, in fact, despite all this, leave so few shivering scars. In that surely rather than in the atrocities both sides committed, lies something of the real nature of the British and Indian peoples.

(Continued)

By
C. W. M. GELL

rightness and the superiority of their own brand of Christianity. Then, while a part, cause of the Mutiny for it entered equally among the military officers, helped them to resist it violently and partly, at least, accounted for the feminine vengeance they exacted. At the same time the greater numbers of English women joining households in India still further widened the deep social rifts of an earlier age, represented the ridiculous petty snobishness of the Victorian middle-class drawing-room on a society already so stratified, and made Englishmen much more touchy about "honour" to their women folk and vindictive in avenging them. Absence and social conservatism have been among the most consistent contributors in the collapse of the British Empire.

In the horror that followed during the actual Mutiny there was still much to admire on both sides, Indian heroism, generosity as ladies as commanders or commanders that counted not the cost and when paid in full agony, immeasurable and better written perhaps only the giving of water to a British refugee woman or some woman to stand for status or decency against the prevailing passions, to wait on a fair trial for proven offences (instead of out-of-hand criminalisation). There was the Viceroy, Lord Canning, who was widely reviled as "Cromwell Canning" by the British for "weakness" in refusing to sanction (though he often could not prevent) illegal

No Super-State

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU said that India was opposed to later-entrance countries being taken up at the Commonwealth Conference, for the Commonwealth this would be converted into some sort of a "super state."

Shri Nehru was replying to the Raza Sahib in questions about the statement of South African citizens of Indian origin.

Replying to Shri Navab Singh Chaudhary, who had asked about the criticism of people of Indian descent from Johannesburg, the Prime Minister said that these broad questions had been specially raised in the U.N. and resolutions had been passed sympathising with the present aims by India and Pakistan.

But there have been no effect on the South African Government. Already another resolution had been passed asking the South African Government to discuss this question with the Governments of India and Pakistan.

So far as the Government of India is concerned—and he believed the Government of Pakistan too—it had expressed its willingness to have these talks. The U.N. Secretary General had been informed accordingly, but no date for the talks had been fixed.

Asked whether this question will be taken up in the forth-

coming Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, Shri Nehru said: "These questions have not been taken up there, and we have not been advised that they should be taken up. In fact, we have not approved of the idea of questions relating to later-entrance countries being taken up in the Commonwealth Conference. We do not want to convert it into some sort of a super-state considering these problems."

Answering further questions, Shri Nehru said that the problem in South Africa was one of treatment of people who were South African citizens but of Indian origin. The South African Government was pursuing a deliberate policy of apartheid and people not of European descent were treated as below normal citizenship.

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Native Laws Amendment

Bill, Group Areas Act,

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

★ ★ ★

Nairobi

MR. TOM MBOYA, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, said here that Africans did not want a British military base in Kenya. They did not want their country to be another football field of international politics. Mr. Leonard Siré, the Colonial Secretary, was addressing the British public and the world when he said there had been no objection to the project.

London

One of the main issues to be discussed at a conference which opened in London on May 23 of the Prime Minister of the three regions of Nigeria will be independence while the Commonwealth in 1957. Dr. Achebe, Prime Minister of the Western Region, said this when he arrived at Liverpool to attend the Conference. He said that general problems would also be discussed, adding: "It has been agreed that we shall ask the Government to appoint a Royal Commission, as expert, to go into the whole lot of various allowances and make his recommendations so that all regions will benefit from the Federal Exchequer." With Dr. Achebe were the Minister of Transport for the Federation, Molay Tafua Bakari, and the President of the Western House of Chiefs, the Adenle Adesina Ibi, Olu of Ife.

The Premier of the Western Region, still in London on Friday, and the Premier of the Southern Region arrived at Liverpool on May 26.

Mr. C. J. M. Albert, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, arrived back in London after a lengthy tour of Ghana. "The people of Ghana have a great deal of vigor and imagination," he said at the airport. "Now they require a period of consolidation to secure a stable future."

The Minister's speech was as follows:—

The governing party in Sierra Leone has been increasingly voted back into power at the colony's first election in a broad franchise. With some constitutional delay still to vote, the Sierra Leone People's Party has already a clear majority in the new

House of Representatives; and in all apparent, the National Council of Sierra Leone, has virtually disappeared. This course is more notable in that the six years during which the SLPP has been in office have been troubled ones. The riots which arose from the Freetown strikes in 1955 reflected rather on the effort than on the political element in the Administration. But the disorders in the Freetown in 1955-56 were clearly shown to have been stimulated by the misapplication of several influential chiefs, one of whom was a Minister and another a member of the Legislature, both SLPP members. Clearly the Government did not attempt to shut its eyes to the clearly indicated on their resignation from office. Besides this Ghana has been perpetually troubled over Ghana's diamond trading, which has threatened to convert one of the territory's strongest assets into a crippling one. Nevertheless, Dr. Mboya the Chief Minister, and his colleagues have conducted affairs with good sense and moderation, and have been duly rewarded, especially in the Colony (the original area of settlement around Freetown), formerly the stronghold of the Opposition. Reconsideration took place in the past year on the speed of future progress towards independence, and perhaps it is a good sign that the SLPP's position here was rather more modest than those of the rivals. Here, its programme of "Independence by 1962" is sufficient enough for a territory with a population of under two million people and only moderate economic resources.

London

The possibility of a whole of south islands through Kenya and is now being explored by Mr. St. John O'Connell, of the International Youth Hostel Association. He believes that Kenya, which has large areas of country suitable for walking, could become Central Africa's tourist country. The Kenya Youth Hostels will be introduced and it is hoped that they will draw their members from the population of Southern Rhodesia, particularly from the Copper Belt, and the Students of the Salisbury University College.

Freetown

Government representatives will shortly have talks with Colonial Secretary on Sierra Leone's latest form of Executive, it was announced here by Dr. M. A. Margai, Chief Minister.

to the old Government. Dr. Margai's party, the Sierra Leone People's Party, which won the recent elections by securing at least 25 of the 28 seats, has called for an all-African Cabinet. The old Government had four African ministers.

African Suspicious Of Promises By Nats.

THE African people were grateful to the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E. F. Vorster, and the Government for what they had done to advance African self-help and self-government in the Transkei Territory, but they could not regard any of the Government plans or promises without a certain feeling of suspicion, and Chief Victor Peto, President of Chief of Western Transkei and one of the senior chiefs of the Transkei, at the opening of the first session of the Transkei Territory authority.

This was because the African people had no real say in all the plans which these plans concerned—the Union Parliament, said Chief Peto. No matter how bright and promising any of these plans might be, the fact that the people concerned had not been given a say in their formulation was bound to cause certain feelings of distrust.

Chief Peto appealed to the Minister to consider the question of adequate representation of African interests in the Union Parliament. He also appealed to the Minister to assure that there was adequate consultation at all times between the Government and the African people over any matter affecting the African people.

Two Groups Of People

He particularly emphasized the need for full consultation when any matter affecting the Transkei Territory was being considered and the importance of the Government remembering that there were two groups of people. Such were indispensable to each other and would continue to be so for many years to come and it would be most regrettable if any sense of division were allowed to arise between them.

"When the Nats were established the basic idea was that the Africans would gradually take over control of their own affairs in their territories. But under previous governments progress was so slow that dissatisfaction was captured by many people.

Nurses Differ On Nursing Apartheid

THERE was a big majority of African and Coloured nurses at a meeting of the Worcester-based branch of the Nursing Association in Johannesburg recently to discuss the racial division of the Nursing Act Amendment Bill.

What, at the end of the afternoon, the meeting could not agree on the wording of resolutions of the Bill, it was decided to adjourn and hold the meeting again in a month.

Mr. E. S. Smit, the chairman, outlined the clauses of the Bill, which distinguishes between European and non-European nurses.

Miss M. E. MacDuff said she could not see anything in the so-called racial division which would be detrimental to the nursing profession.

It gave the non-European nurses an opportunity of advancing through their own hospitals.

Miss D. D. D. said the Non-European Executive Group of the association was strongly opposed to the Bill, which, if it became law would lower the status of the nursing profession to a white.

It might mean that South Africa would be refused admission to international nursing bodies.

Mr. G. L. R. van Niekerk, secretary of the Afrikaans Nursing Association, said this body welcomed the Bill wholeheartedly because it established the principle of racial segregation between white and black.

Dr. D. J. G. said the Bill struck at the fundamental ethics of the nursing profession.

Land Gift Movement In India

By Mawlat Ramgobin

(Continued from last week)

SARVODAYA workers are in the villages offering land to the landless. Though these houses of land inquirers from the villages who are the most zealous while persons entitled to receive the gifts, priority is given to Harijans and other backward communities. Once a token is bestowed lead to these people who are not accepted in other communities and are in a position to cultivate the land. Under these conditions a pile of bullocks, seeds etc. are given to the recipients. The Sarvodaya workers are accompanied by various officials who complete the work of registration and other legal formalities. Among the few other conditions to which the greatest must comply is if a cooperative society is established in the village the grantees will have to join it.

The efficient form of government is maintained to carry out the work of the Ministry. Vaidya says to it that (1) Gift deeds are prepared in duplicate and are both signed and attested by witnesses.

(2) The forms, deeds etc. are to be kept in the regional language and is Hindi, the national language of India.

(3) The committee are not to accept donations in the form of money but instead request the donor to purchase land with the money and donate it to the Yagna.

(4) Land must be distributed only when a gift deed is signed by him.

(5) If there is any surplus land then the committee may give the land to people who have done but not sufficient to share it.

(6) Minutes must be retained by all Sarvodaya workers, or lack after the gift has been distributed. The donor may even sue courts for the grantees is expected to be handed to the Bhokan committee after the expense that is incurred for the process.

With the above instructions Vaidya began in all the villages way the work for social reconstruction. He believes in doing exactly what Gandhi would have done after independence. If what he wishes is done then he cannot be wrong. The people who will have a real taste of freedom that they have now enjoy by the order that each house is built in a place on the land that is given to them in the Indian people.

Until the poor man is asked they will never be able to taste the real freedom secured enjoying it. The poor should be the best change of every man who has the welfare of the greatest number of suffering people at heart. The Church, the Harijan uplift work, village industries, welfare work, the scheme of National Education and all the various forms of constructive activity which Gandhi put forward were as devoted as to touch those, the lower strata of society and bring (merit) to them.

Today there is as much inactivity in the world that the situation is pregnant with immense dangers or immeasurable rewards. Unfortunately we seem to be acting on a volcano which may erupt at any moment. The forces that are working in the world today must be taken into account, if we are not to be swept away by these currents then it is our duty to analyze and consider the motives and ideas which are in conflict with each other. Before we take any step these things have to be considered, for if we lack the correct view of things speech and action become blind.

It is commendable that Vaidya has drawn the attention of all men in the world to the impending fearful reality and the shadow of disaster that threatens the world. His mission of Bhokan, which combines peace, love and good will as its only qualifications in the best solution to the multifarious problems confronting the world today. It is my prayer that the movement gains momentum day by day in every part of the world. If it doesn't then I am afraid civilization will crumble under the weight and reign of industrial compulsion, the right to make maximum profits at the expense of others and the exploitation of advantages gained as the differences between rich and men they grow in geometric progression. There are all doubts at not only people like Vaidya but even Christ and yet, for the occasion of such exalted places, institutions equal in respectability to cathedrals and churches are established under the authority and protection of the state. I have been able to find no other man like Vaidya who has given men like Acharya Vaidya Ram.

DR. YUSUF HAMMAD DADOO, former President of the South African Indian Congress, has been named with a housing order, prohibiting him from attending any gathering "in any place within the Union of South Africa or the territory of South-West Africa" for a further period of five years.

The housing order, issued under the provision of the Suppression of Communism Act, was signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart at Cape Town on the 25th day of April, 1937 and was served on Dr. Dadoo at his residence by members of the Security Branch of the South African Police.

In terms of a previous banning order Dr. Dadoo is indefinitely prohibited from taking part in the activities of the South African Indian Congress and a number of other organizations.

The new law imposed on Dr. Dadoo has been strongly condemned by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress. "We protest against this banning just as we have done in the case of all the banning orders that have been issued," says Dr. Naicker and adds "All South Africans who love democracy must unitedly condemn the increasing use of the Suppression of Communism Act and the Banning Amendment."

Act, by the Minister of Justice to refuse freedom of speech in the Union."

Akramud Goes To Christchurch Castle

THE Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, today moved into Christchurch Castle at Accra. He has taken it over from the Governor-General to use as his own residence and State House.

The future Governor-General will be given the State House which was built last year.

As Dr. Nkrumah took over the castle, Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister without Portfolio, issued statements, replying to British Press criticisms and declaring the transfer of residence "a wise move."

Mr. Baako said: "It is obvious from the comments of such papers as the 'Daily Express,' which has never supported our struggle for independence, and of 'The Economist,' they would have wished our country to be a glorified colonial territory."

"We are not prepared for that sort of thing. Ghana has taken a decision and we refuse of withdrawing from British papers will make no change any more."

The Minister added that Ghana had a "mutable past" for the Governor-General, "and should we have the pleasure of the Queen visiting this country, she would most warmly welcomed."

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

NEHRU-KISHI TALKS

NUCLEAR tests and the general East Asian situation are likely to figure on the exchange of views between Mr. Nehru and the Japanese Prime Minister, Kishi, during the latter's visit to New Delhi on May 25. The two Prime Ministers will be meeting for the first time.

As the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to this country takes place soon after the Pakistan President's visit to Tokyo, it is possible that Mr. Kishi may like to have India's views on Kashmir at first hand.

Besides this, other matters of common interest including Indo Japanese economic relations may also be discussed.

India Has No Information

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told the New Sabha that he had no information as to when the Security Council would consider the Jaising Report on Kashmir.

He also told members that there was no question of the report being discussed at the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. "We do not discuss such matters there."

Mr. Nehru was replying to a question on the Jaising report which was the subject of several interpellations by Mr. S. M. Das and six others when the new Lok Sabha met for its first session.

Falk Report Denied

Answering another question Mr. Nehru described as "completely wrong" reports in the Pakistani Press that the Government of India had refused permission to Mr. Jaising to visit Kashmir.

He said that the Government had, on the contrary, told Mr. Jaising that it would be "happy" if he visited Kashmir.

Mr. Nehru said Mr. Jaising had made it clear that he was here "only to visit Kashmir" and Delhi and talk to the two Governments. While in Kashmir, Mr. Jaising had stated that he did not propose to visit any part of Kashmir.

Asked by Mr. Radhakrishnan whether as a law under the Kashmir statehood would be allowed to continue, Mr. Nehru replied, "I am afraid there is no answer to that."

Mr. Krishna Menon, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian Minister of Defense,

will arrive in New York to work the end of this month in readiness for further Security Council debates on the Kashmir problem. It was learned in New York.

Indian sources said that Mr. Menon's arrival had tentatively been arranged for May 28.

Pakistan sources had no information about the plans of their Foreign Minister, Mr. Feroz Khan Noon, to travel to New York, but they said he would probably leave Karachi

soon after the early June Baghdad Pact meeting there.

Prices Increased To Meet Cost Of Second Five Year Plan

The Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, presented the nation with a heavy bill towards the cost of the second plan in the form of Rs. 92 crore of additional taxation during the current year.

The tax structure has been meant to provide incentives to work and save, while an excise tax on wealth and an expenditure tax have been proposed for the first time. The latter will be actually levied only from next year.

The new tax proposals may affect the common man suffering as they do higher excises duties on a whole range of

goods, including tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, kerosene, matches, paper, petrol and vegetable oils. A levy on railway fares and higher rates for post cards, telegrams and parcels have also been proposed.

The hope, however, is that part or all of these increases will cut into existing profit margins in the case of the recent cloth strike and will not necessarily be passed on to the consumer, who is expected to share some resistance to higher prices.

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BISHOPS IN ENGLAND CONDEMN "HERESY OF APARTHEID"

THE Church of England is taking official action for the first time against the policies of the South African Government concerning religious and academic freedom. This is the significance of the resolutions which the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury have adopted and which will go before the Lower House of the Convocations.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, said he was sure that by saying something in public the Church would be complying with the wishes of that "great and glorious Christian leader" Dr. Clayton, the late Archbishop of Capetown.

The resolutions declare support for the churches in South Africa which are op-

posing the Native Laws Amendment Bill.

A resolution on similar lines will be presented in the convocation of York, the other regional ruling body of the Church of England.

Inferior Education

During discussion in the House of Bishops, the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Robert Mortimer, criticised state-

ments "designed to give Africans an inferior and restricted education." He said freedom of education was essential for development of the human personality and life itself.

The Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. R. W. Stoddard, said he was glad the

Church was now able to break its silence about South Africa.

The Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, said relations between races in South Africa were worsening and one day might be beyond control.

(Continued on page 233)

AFRICAN ATTACKS S.A. POLICY ON GHANA

SOUTH AFRICA'S policy towards Ghana was criticised by Dr. W. F. Nkrumah at a recent meeting of the Pretoria Joint Council of Europeans and non-Europeans.

Dr. Nkrumah, who attended the Ghana independence celebrations, said South Africa had missed an opportunity in history in not sending top level representation to the celebrations. The United States had sent the Vice-President, Mr. Richard Nixon, who, some people thought, had "stolen the show."

South Africa was boycotting the conference called by Ghana and, furthermore, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hendrik Verwoerd, was not attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah would be present for the first time.

"If we do not look out, Ghana will take over our place as the leading nation of Africa," he said.

The Union was the most advanced nation in Africa, but its policies were the most backward, Dr. Nkrumah might one day lead Africa.

British colonial policy was often criticised but the foundations laid often provided a basis for sound democratic development.

The Federation was moving in the right direction, the Union in the wrong one.

Ghana's joining the Commonwealth had added strength to the Commonwealth.

The South African Government was blind in its policy towards Ghana. What had happened in Ghana would affect the rest of the world.—Saps.

BLACK SASH CALLS FOR MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE

A MULTI-RACIAL conference on a basis of consultation and co-operation between the various sections of the community is to be called by the Black Sash, if possible. This is the context of a resolution passed by the conference in Pietermaritzburg.

The resolution read: "That this conference resolves that the Black Sash should make all possible efforts to assist in the organisation of a multi-racial conference at which the establishment of human rights in South Africa may be discussed on a basis of consultation between all her peoples."

Earlier, the Black Sash

had passed a resolution condemning the policy of enforced apartheid, with its twin aspects of compulsory separation and white domination. "This policy is only possible by the use of repressive laws which remove fundamental rights and freedom, and therefore is in conflict with the highest ideal of Western civilisation."

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 31ST MAY, 1957

Specialists And The Treason Trials

THE Press recently reported General Rademeyer, as having said that the Security Police were specialists whose job was to combat communism and to be on the look-out for anything which might subvert the authority of the State.

It is the duty of the Police, in any well-run State, to keep a sharp eye on influences and forces which might destroy peace and orderly government. This is an all-time highly specialised branch of Police activity and General Rademeyer assures the country that he has under him highly-trained men, that is as things should be.

But when we contrast his statement with what is going on in the treason trials, we find it profoundly disturbing. We do not think his intention was to mislead public opinion. But if the sort of ignorance, nonsense, some of which has been read to the Court in Johannesburg, is indicative of what General Rademeyer includes in the category of work by specialists, then, quite clearly, he owes the public an explanation of what he means, precisely.

Some of the statements attributed to the suspects and which have been read to the Court by Security Police specialists on both sides of the colour line read so much like childish gibberish and are often hardly intelligible to the men who wrote them.

This would be bad enough in an ordinary trial involving smaller possibilities. But where people are to face trial on allegations of some of the most serious and gravest crimes, like treason, conspiracy and sedition and where the penalty might very well be the death sentence, it is of the greatest importance, in the interests of justice, to ensure that the evidence is at least intelligible.

We are specifically not casting here a reflection on General Rademeyer. We are criticising the whole system whereby the Department of Justice entrusts the security of the State also to semi-literate on both sides of the colour line who do not even seem to know when the law is violated and when it is complied with. We protest in the strongest terms possible against this playing about with the lives, freedom and security of the citizens and hold the Minister of Justice responsible. Without being aware of it, the Department of Justice is throwing the law into disrepute here.

If the security of the State is guarded, also by men whose unintelligible evidence has been made public in the treason trials, all we can say is: Heaven protect us from our protectors!

A Matter Of Honour

A MOVE is afoot in Johannesburg to get employers of unskilled African labour to raise wages generally by 5 shillings per week. In addition, pressure is being put on the government to get a new determination for unskilled Africans on the way.

This is as things should be. When the Mayor of Johannesburg appealed to the Africans to discontinue the boycott of buses, he pleaded, among other things, a wage determination for the Rand and made it plain that he was sure the government would back him. If the move to press the government for such a determination is a carrying-out of his promise, it is only proper that reasonable men should welcome the attempt. It is a matter of honour.

Clarity On The Struggle

IN this country, where injustice often hits blindly in any direction, the danger is always real that people might tend to lose their sense of perspective. Some might see in the power of the Nationalist justification for extreme pessimism while others might see in the queues going on in the Nationalist camp signs that the African Nationalist front has crumbled.

Either attitude is dangerous. Either, in the final reckoning, reinforces the government—the first by its weakness, the second by its rashness. In the present, complicated situation, the correct attitude to take up is to go about inspired by a strong sense of realism, ready to see both light and darkness and relate them intelligently to the forces, on both sides of the ideological fight.

When that is done, the citizen will know when to rejoice and when to feel that he has suffered defeat. For, the battle against race oppression is being waged now with frightful fury. The issue is in the balance. We are a very long way from the final battle which shall decide it. But let us be clear about one thing in our minds, we fight to win, no matter what the odds are.

Grahamstown Says 'Group Areas Do Grave Injustice'

THE whole-hearted support of the citizens of Grahamstown against the application of the Group Areas Act was warmly applauded. The following resolution, proposed by the Rev. C. Moore, of the Commemorative Methodist Church, was passed unanimously:

Grahamstown has a long tradition of healthy race relations and we believe that harmony between the 'racial' groups is threatened only by the prospects of the enforced application of the Group Areas Act.

For generations a small Indian, Malay and Chinese population has been engaged in trade in this town and constitutes a

respectable and law abiding sections of the community. Their removal from their present homes and places of business to separate group areas would involve a grave injustice to them and an injury to the community at large.

The proposal to create a buffer zone at the expense of the freehold property owners in the Wingo village would involve the deliberate destruction of valuable private and public property. This area contains some of the best African housing in Grahamstown and no adequate compensation could be provided for the loss of long established freehold rights.

Continuing with the rights of the Coloureds, the resolution includes a clause objecting to the unnecessary expense involved.

"In a town already burdened by a high proportion of derelict property, we object to the application of a plan which must add substantially to the difficulties of municipal administration and finance at a time when the City Council is finding it increasingly difficult to provide essential services and amenities."

Amongst other speakers was Mr. B. D. Ramjee of Fort Elizabeth.

Scottish Church To Help Christian Council

Edinburgh.

THE General Assembly of the Church of Scotland agreed unanimously in Edinburgh that they could not admit the right of the South African Government to deprive anybody from public worship on racial grounds.

"If the time comes when the Christian Council in South Africa have to say to the State, 'We must obey God rather than man,' we must render such assistance, spiritual and practical, as may be required," said the Rev. J. K. Kent, of Glasgow, who presided at the committee report.

Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade and a member of the British Cabinet, sat in the gallery of the Lord High Commissioner as the Queen's representative listening to the discussion raised by the church's Foreign Missions Committee on the religious situation in South Africa.

"Grave Concerns"

The Rev. Mr. Kent said that if the Native Lands Amendment Bill were made law, a situation would be created in South Africa which would be of grave concern to the Christian community.

"It would mean that men of different races would be prohibited, at the will of the Minister of Native Affairs, from worshipping and taking the sacraments together in the so-called White areas, and from coming together in the administration of the courts of the church," he said.

"Of course, provision is made for special permission being granted by the Minister of Native Affairs or his representative."

State Power

"But what does that mean? It means that freedom to assemble in public worship, or to

receive the sacraments, or to attend to the business of the church, is not a natural right, but is in the power of the State authority to give."

The Christian Council in South Africa had decided that, if the Bill became law in its present form, it would impose on the Christian community a demand which must be disobeyed.

"We must clearly and unambiguously identify ourselves with the statement which the Christian Council has issued," Mr. Kent declared.—*Tele-Nation*

Convention On Citizenship Of Women

India has become the 25th country to sign the convention on nationality of married women designed to eliminate legal confusion about citizenship of wives.

Mr. Arunrah Kulk, India's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, signed the convention at a hotel ceremony in the office of the U.N. Legal Counsel, Mr. Constantin Stereopoulou.

Mr. Fenner Brockway On Apartheid

COMMENTING on the changing pattern of the Commonwealth following emergence of the new non-White dominions, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., in an article in "Peace News" on May 17, referred to South Africa and wrote:

"South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth is an anathema. I have not been among those who have urged expulsion of the Union Government on the ground of 'apartheid' because it seemed a little hypocritical to do so whilst so much racial discrimination and segregation remain in British territories. We practice racial segregation in Kenya, and the Rhodesias have both segregation and discrimination. I feel forced to the day when the Commonwealth would not tolerate any kind of colour bar among its member States; but at present Britain has to remove the burden from its own eyes."

Not A Democracy

"There is one other South African feature, however, which is incompatible with human rights which are commonly associated with the Commonwealth. It is the only member State which is not a democracy."

Except for 'emergency' measures in Pakistan, all other measures are based on equal citizenship of every man and woman. In South Africa a minority of Whites monopolize political power, leaving Africans, Asians, and those of mixed race politically outcast and voiceless. Surely the day must come when a condition of membership of the Commonwealth should be full political as well as racial equality."

Turning to the Central African Federation, Mr. Brockway wrote: "In Central Africa six million Africans have six representatives in the Federal Parliament; 900,000 Whites have 25 representatives. Colour bar is practiced in Southern Rhodesia almost as rigidly as in South Africa, and to a large degree in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, which rightly regards itself as an emerging State, wishes to leave the Federation. On what ground, then, constitutional, democratic, libertarian or egalitarian can Sir Roy Welensky be regarded as a proper person to be present at a Commonwealth Conference? He is a repudiation of all the human values which we so often claim to be characteristic of the Commonwealth."

Bishops In England Condemn "Heresy Of Apartheid"

(Continued from front page)

The Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. J. L. Wilson, suggested that the protest had come a little late, but now clergy and people should understand its consequences and the theological heresy of apartheid.

The Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. U. A. Rens, said close watch must be kept for any racial intolerance "on our own doorstep."

At the end of the debate the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher said the Church had beenestrained, but its silence had not been complete. The late Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett, had joined him in making clear statements that the principle underlying apartheid was unchristian.

Dr. Fisher added: "That was deliberately omitted on our part, for we had been given to understand by the bishops in South Africa that if we had said more it would have embittered them and increased their difficulties."

He declared that the late Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. Cleyton, between the writing of his now withdrawn letter to the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Strijdom, and his fatal collapse, had written a personal note to him—Dr. Fisher—explaining his action.

Dr. Fisher said: "I interpreted this as a call for my sympathy and prayer. I am sure that we are complying with the wishes of that great and glowing Christian leader if we say something in public now."

U.S. Prayer Pilgrimage For Freedom

It is desperate the Negro people in America are petitioning to God rather than pursuing Congress-Parliament to issues two-fold and increase gifts in still rights. More than 25,000 Negroes and whites participated in a prayer pilgrimage for freedom in Washington on May 17th, the their anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The pilgrimage was jointly called by A. Philip Randolph, only Negro vice president of the United America labor movement, Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People (NAACP), and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The pilgrimage was a new coalition of Negro leadership with labor and the church siding with the NAACP which has been under severe attack in the South and itself may have come to the end of the road in its emphasis on legal action to end segregation and discrimination.

The pilgrims have been consistently underplayed by the American press. It made more, however, when a young Negro preacher, Vernon Johns, Jr., began walking the 225 miles from New York to Washington while he was received warmly by a secretary of the government of Maryland, he also met with severe discrimination in that state too. Determined to see through, he said that "if the people in Mississippi could walk for a whole year, I can easily walk for five days."

Communist Endorsement

The pilgrimage also made news when it received a violent endorsement by the communist "Daily Worker." This is a kind of shock, which probably the communists wanted to stimulate to any prayer-centered movement. The leaders said they never invited the communists to support the pilgrimage and did not want their participation. Trying to head off reactions, they said the pilgrimage would begin and end with the three-hour prayer service, fearing that any communist contingent might irresponsibly picket the White House or Congress. Later A. Philip Randolph, longtime anti-communist, told that "Communism has a genuine interest in the solution of problems of racial discrimination, but only such as are the issue as to whether the Negroes policy of the Soviet

Union." In the end, several top Negro communists did come to Washington, but they never reached the platform—or pulpit. The communists have noticeably kept many Negroes from participating, which is a commentary on America these weeks after McCarthy died.

Quite apart from the communists, many pilgrims arriving in Washington debated whether they were using their time and money wisely by conducting their effort

By HOMER A. JACK

to pray or whether they should see what Congress and the President. The California contingent, numbering about 100 persons who came 4,000 miles in one chartered plane, had a midnight caucus on this issue. Some said that the goals of their pilgrimage would be affected by political activity. One said that when we pray for political results it is political and not spiritual. A pilgrimage official said that even President Eisenhower was not invited, since "they had given up on both President and Congress and were appealing to a higher, if a non-elected, power! When it was suggested that they pray with their consciences, it was said that they should pray for congressmen rather than with them. In the end the California group decided to limit their action this time in Washington to prayers. They were, however, very pragmatic and said that if prayers didn't work they would re-examine their strategy.

White Churches

Early on May 17th, thousands of Negroes and some whites from 39 states converged on Washington. Many churches offered hospitality and breakfast, but only two predominantly white churches. By noon 25,000 persons had come to the base of the Lincoln Memorial—America's finest monument. Less than one percent of the crowd was white. A good cross-section of Negro leadership was present, some participating officially and others just in attendance, including two well-known Negro revolutionaries, Stokely Carmichael and Henry Reeb, Jr.

The prayer meeting itself lasted for three and one quarter hours. Thirty persons spoke or sang, including one white. Since it was a religious meeting, an applause was prohibited but hand-

clap waving was allowed. Lawmakers were not invited, but two Negro congressmen spoke. Congressman Adam C. Powell from Harlem made the biggest hit when he placed in the large square of Abraham Lincoln at his back and said that "Negroes are getting more money from a dead Republican than from the Democrats or the Republicans." He called for a "black force" in the area of civil rights in America, non-partisan and non-racial, but led by the clergy. He said his programme would be "massive only based on positive existence," meaning in the South work on wages, economic boycott, mass school strikes, sit-downs, and picket lines.

Courageous Leadership

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave the final speech. He called for aggressive leadership by President and Congress. He asked for new commitment by white southern liberals. He asked for more, courage and intelligent leadership from the Negro community. He said that in a colored people in Asia, Africa, and America give power, they must not become victimized with a philosophy of "black supremacy."

What effect will the prayer pilgrimages have? Participants returned home with some discouragement because the press minimized the numbers present and the whole story. Yet they returned home buoyant after participating in a great spiritual adventure. It showed the unity of the Negro people and emphasized the new leadership in the Negro community, with the church and labor forming a new alliance. It pointed up the need for the NAACP to make a decision whether it will incorporate the Gandhi method. It underlined the almost universal dissatisfaction by Negroes of both political parties. The pilgrimage came only two days after the opening of Billy Graham's pilgrimage in New York City against sin. But why did Graham have to turn his entire South and his prime use of segregation to point the finger of sin in New York City? The pilgrims came just the day after 4,500 Africans marched from their shanty towns to the Johannesburg City Hall carrying banner reading, "We Are Gaining Impact." American Negroes are getting impatient, rich, but most Americans whom are still trying to sleep the last.

American Religious Leader In S. Africa

Pretoria.

DR. BLUMER G. HAUSER, one of America's foremost religious educators and Dean of Princeton Theological Seminary arrived recently at Jan Smith Airport for a two-day visit in the Union. He will lecture to the Union's theological community under the sponsorship of the United States Government's Exchange of Persons Programme.

His South Africa programme has been arranged by a Committee of the Federal Council of Churches in co-operation with the office of the Cultural Attache of the American Embassy and during the next two months he will visit universities, mission stations and churches.

Born in America's mid-west in the State of Iowa, Dr. Hauser was educated at Lehigh College, Swales University and Princeton Theological Seminary. From 1924 to 1937 he served as

Dean of churches in Frempart Union and Indianapolis, Indiana. He has lectured at the University of Pretoria, the Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon and the Lutheran Seminary at Durban, Natal. He is the author of "Let The Church Be The Church", "Change Ye This Day", "Catechism in American—A Crisis and Theological Trends."

India Starts More Women Legislators

During the recent elections in India, twenty seven women were elected to the Lok Sabha, the Lower House of India's Parliament, as compared with twenty-two at the last election. Women members of the various State Assemblies now number 195 as against 80 previously.

African Nationalism Analysed

EVEN in the most hallowed corners of South Africa the truth is slowly dawning that African nationalism is no temporary fad in its own right. It has been so far here as the first attempt to study it in its historical and sociological perspective. Thomas Hodgkin's little book "is an important first step on the subject. Even though he excluded South Africa from his study, as "a sovereign state which contains no colonial problems within itself" much of what he says throws light on events here.

This article only picks a few threads from his pattern. But most reasonably well read people

By
C. W. H. GELL

will recognise the universal applicability of Mr. Hodgkin's discussion of the growing awareness of African solidarity across political frontiers, the revolution wrought by air travel in Africa, the gulf between theory and practice in colonial administration, the decisive importance of the new urban population, overcrowding, labour instability and migration, the growth of capital and the unceasing "colonialist" hegemony of pre-European Africa and of the counter-myth of a Renaissance "golden age" of slavery, equality and fraternity—both venerable in their claims; though the liberator (so put) of effective Communist activity, but the pretence of laissez-faire (urban expansion, land hunger, extension of economic differentiation in class proximity, denial of constitutional channels for political activity by military, police and legislative repression, the tendency to monopolise all forms of political and economic activity in "communist" space which it could create.

Of all Mr. Hodgkin's points the most attractive is probably his treatment of religious and spiritualism from European history. Being English, he particularly cites examples from early 19th century Britain. But as Africans credit, as it were already, beginning to do, they very much agree with the fact that one can even say: "For the fact is that Africa is not marching along a well beaten road that all our forefathers have trod long before. They are expected now to be history and even culture, not by

two thousand years, but by a few decades. And since there is a historical law of accelerated responses leading to accelerated progress, they will reach the goal in proportionately shorter time than our ancestors—perhaps. Exactly what that goal must not be but largely depends on our attitude in the meantime towards their aspirations.

Mr. Hodgkin points out that the concepts of spiritual and humanism are regarded throughout the continent as the most powerful force opposing capitalism and as the central idea in its most highly developed form. So far here the African Nationalists travelled in only two generations from their own anti-capitalism that they are now, in European terms, the Bourgeois of Africa—the archetype of the minor revolt in all its fully and inflexibly. But, of course, Africans have glimpsed better things and their economic progress is increasingly improving African history, but especially the history of the Bourgeois, proves that social revolution came, not in the least, but where the masses have been persuaded which these ideas they carry them.

Another link with the 19th century Europe is the concept of "participation". Whatever may be its precise meaning, it evidently involves the representation of interest and groups, and individuals, as the basis of government. This theory derives insight from Burke, who sought stability by a heavy leading in favour of stability, property etc. as "a natural reason" against the "servile masses" in Africa terms this obviously implies, and is seen to imply leading which also implies against the black majority. Conversely, on the West African scene, the traditional African democratic theory has been established, based on the Bourgeoisie imposing that though we do it individually as to religion, property and social work, then differences are politically neutral, and one can even say in one way or the other get on easily.

But Hodgkin gives figures for the tremendous subordination of Africa in the last decade and suggests it is the result in Christian terms a comparison even more valid for South Africa where there are more industrial than predominantly commercial towns like Dakar and Lagos. The demoralisation of 90 per cent of

Africa, when considered in its entirety, is the most serious of the 19th century English novel during the three of their Industrial Revolution—the shacks, queues for labour and water, low skills, unemployment, rapid labour turnover, drink, gambling, prostitution, violent crime and delinquency. Denial of a new "Renaissance", the rich and the poor, here live, as in England of the 1840's, the gap between is a gap of two worlds, as far apart in spirit and culture as apparently to have no common ground. In Africa, as in Europe, the rich would pass most of their lives without seeing how the poor lived. But in Africa the correlation between being Black and poor, being White and rich, is sufficiently clear (and as permanent as permanent) to stimulate a sense of African capitalism, which identifies the class of the poor against the rich with the class of the Black against the White.

Mr. Hodgkin would agree that Dr. Vorster is, as his own unscientific assumption, correct in trying to force the latest spirit in Church. Throughout Africa the lowering of the colour bar by the Church, even where it is more theoretical than practical, helps within the moral basis of segregation. But the middle class for deeper still.

It is somewhat less clear that the Africanisation in its physical location identified itself with the Old Testament saga of the children of Israel, as represented but always are surrounded by enemies and wandering in a wilderness. Clearly the same identification is widely made by Africans, seeing the colonial British, French, Belgian, Afrikaners as Egyptians, Philistines or Romans. The early Christian doctrine is especially appropriate—the conflict between a ruling force and a subject people, between tyrannical and arbitrary power on the one side, and a moral idea in which the tyrannical triumph of the idea is ultimately necessary. And it is, in fact, as the facts, that the very act of suppression of Africans as a basis of appeal and protest against another hierarchy derives its moral force from the Protestant domination with their individual interpretation of the Bible, then from the Catholicism with their naturalistic interpretation. An African Nationalist polemic is opposing Catholic imperialism staffs opposing themselves of others?

Another spiritual "baptism" is the veneration of the white dominance in the tendency to technicalism, imperialism, imperialism to some under authority.

which system "where religion is the only field in which competition is possible." Hence the vast number of Separatist Churches in South Africa. And again the historical parallel—white Methodist during the British Industrial Revolution or, in the case of the more radical and apocalyptic Zionist-type movements, with Governments favouring the civil authorities did in the century of Judaism in 17th century England.

So Mr. Hodgkin draws an analogy to the situation that "there is almost no meeting point for the mass struggle at work," which is already true of South Africa and from which Dr. Vorster is about to eliminate the "element." The growing economic principle of white capitalism in Pan-Africanism, "the appropriate principle of freedom's capitalism." It measures a system which is "logically totalitarian" in that it attempts to control and regulate the totality of its workers' lives. They live in "controlled" conditions, as evidenced in "controlled" schools, are treated in "controlled" hospitals, wear "controlled" dress, go to "controlled" churches, read "controlled" literature. Work councils, managed from above are prevented to trade unions, which "directly business economy." In the last 19th century conditions, individual or team discipline (and bureaucracy) are the appropriate method of dealing with "agitators," and large numbers of unemployed or casual labour make the method economically feasible, as the recent Post Office dock strike illustrates.

But "totalitarian" capitalism and Pan-Africanism, passed quite quickly from the European scene. And Mr. Hodgkin shows that they will pass even more quickly from the African, as Africans find suitable methods of applying the pressure of their numbers and economic and technological.

The Second Hindu Mahasabha Announcement of South Africa Special Notice

From the notice that the Annual General Meeting of the above Association will be held on Friday, 11th May, 1957, at 145 Prince Edward Street, Durban, at 10 a.m. sharp. All members are cordially requested to attend.

Agenda
1. Minutes. 2. Treasurer's Report. 3. To read and discuss Contributions. 4. Election of Trustees. 5. Election of Officers. 6. General.
Hon. President: G. Naidu.
Hon. Secretary: M. Bhagwan.

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones ?

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GANDHIJI—

The Story Of His Life

CAPABLE IN ALL THINGS

CHAPTER XII

IN spite of all his professional and political work, Gandhiji always found time to take interest in all the little details of home life. In every little domestic trouble he found a practical way out. He disliked a helpless attitude in difficulties and wanted to make himself and his family as self-reliant as possible. When the washman began to be conspicuous in delivering the clean clothes, Gandhiji started to wash the clothes himself. He did not do the work untidily. He brought a book about washing and studied it. In this way he learnt to wash

at all, at the last moment, the staff was found to be badly crowded. There was no time to send it to the laundry, so Gandhiji offered to iron it himself. Gokhale declined very much if a barrister and a politician could also be a good ironer, but Gandhiji assured him that he need not worry. The work turned out to be done very well and was Gokhale's praise.

Having made himself into a good laundry man, Gandhiji did not see why he should not do without the services of the barber, too. The idea came to him when an English barber in Pretoria refused to cut his hair for him because he was an Indian. At first Gandhiji felt wounded by the man's rudeness. Then he considered the other side of the case, as he always did when hurt by others. The barber was not to be blamed, he decided. If he should begin cutting the hair of Indians all his European customers

might stop coming to his shop, and the poor man would be ruined.

Who was to be blamed then? In a way, certainly. But they were not the only people guilty of such pride. Did not the Hindus in India refuse to allow their barbers to cut the hair of the poor Untouchables? So all the world over proud and powerful people had the same ideas and used in the same cruel and stupid manner. The thing to be attacked, therefore, was neither European nor Indian. It was pure selfish, foolish pride, which can be found in every corner of the world.

Thoughts like these prevented Gandhiji from getting sad or angry with the barber. Instead, he bought a pair of hair-clippers and clipped his hair himself.

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(To be continued)

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corres

and even as well as any washerman. He also showed Kasturba how to do this work. This took up a lot of his time but he found it very interesting, too. Soon, he was going to go about in his homely starched and ironed clothes, for they were stiffer and sterner than those done by the washerman.

Once when Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the Servants of India Society, was on a visit to South Africa, he showed Gandhiji a hat scarf that had been given to him by the great Indian politician, Mahatma Ghandi. Gokhale turned this scarf as if it had been a precious relic, and only wore it on great occasions. He had meant to wear it at the great dinner which the Indians of Johannesburg were giving in his honor. Unfortunately

Professor Murray Gives Evidence

THE word "deceit" is the President Charter must be interpreted in the Communist sense, said Professor Andrew Murray, giving evidence at the Transvaal Inquiry in Johannesburg.

For two days this expert witness called by the Crown dealt extensively with Communist Philosophy, quoting Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-Tung. He expressed opinion as a member of cabinet before the Court, identifying them and alleging they were Communist. Some were "not and not Communist" others were "straight-from-the-shoulder-Communists" etc.

He said that use of such words as "oppression," "affliction," "barbarism," "democracy" etc. were Communistic in certain context.

Dealing with the philosophy of Communism he said Communism believed in violent revolution and the overthrow of Capitalist State.

Asked for his opinion of a pamphlet, "South Africa's Way

Forward" by Miss Keane, Professor Murray said: "It is quite clear that the writer is thoroughly acquainted with Communist literature and accepts Communist doctrine."

A.N.C. Constitution

The witness also dealt with the Constitution of the A.N.C. expounding the viewpoint that "there were Communist tendencies running right through it." He also analyzed a speech of Chief Lubutu and a number of speeches delivered at the Congress of the People held at Klerksburg. The Charter and together with these speeches contained "at least some serious tendency to be interpreted in Communist terms." No document of the Transvaal or Natal Indian Congress were dealt with by Professor Murray.

A Rhodes Scholar

Professor Murray is Afrikaans-speaking but he gave his evidence in English. He has been Professor of Ethics and Politics at the University of Cape Town

since 1933. Prior to that he was a lecturer in Philosophy and Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is an M.A., a graduate of the Scottish University.

After his evidence the Court continued to deal with evidence of speeches held in the Eastern Cape. The Court adjourned on the 29th of May and will resume on June 24.

Helen Keller Appeals For Blind Aid

Lucerne.

HELEN KELLER, famed US author and teacher, whose own life has proved that blindness need not be a "barrier" to useful life, has pleaded for an expansion of facilities throughout the world for educating the blind.

Miss Keller, who has been blind and deaf since she was 19 months old, made her appeal before the recent 6-day session of nearly 8,000 children from 72 countries attending the 46th annual convention of Rotary International.

Now, nearly 77, Miss Keller has spent her whole life seeking to aid fellow handicapped persons. Her books have been translated into 50 languages. "In my travels around the world," she told the rotarians, "I have been cheered by the steady progress being made to provide means of education for blind children in lands where once they were the objects of pitying."

Instruction

"Yet if every blind child is to enjoy his God-given rights to achieve usefulness through instruction many, many schools must be constructed and thousands of devoted teachers selected and specially trained." She said boys' questions of teaching aids, books and materials must be provided.

And when of the adult blind? Around the world, she continued, there dwell in ignorance millions of individuals, strong in body and motivated by a deep desire to exercise their talents to the well-being of mankind.

R. VITHAL

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MAN

God made man,
He did not say, be black, be white,
He did not say that in his sight,
There was a difference.

God made man
In His own image, it is said,
He did not say yellow or red,
There was no difference.

So pray man,
How can you be in your ignorance,
And in your blind ignorance,
Say, there's a difference!

A. A. J.

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MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

50-11

(Introduction by Dr. Alejandro Portes)

The book deals with the last phase of Abraham Lincoln's great emotional stress. It says heartbreakingly and accurately that most emotional distress came in the year 1855 up to the completion of his *Gettysburg Address*. The writer, an authoritative chronicler and biographer of Lincoln's life and philosophy, depicts with great deftness, subtlety and economy how Lincoln's death at Ford and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and following, were just in their severity time and place, he united through suffering the broken of darkness and degree of sorrow and anguish life and death of the Nation was purified higher than before.

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

A Book Worth Reading

ONE of the most distressing features of the South African situation at the moment is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to know the exact truth about the relations between Black and White as about the many circumstances which indicate which way events are moving.

The Nylundian Government is wholly to blame for this state of affairs. For all practical purposes it has prevented by law the free discussion of national affairs in public, instituted a system of informing adopted only a Police Note and does all in its power to prevent the free flow of ideas between the peoples of South Africa.

By

JORDAN K. NGURANE

The main idea behind all this is to prevent the truth becoming known to many people about the harm apartheid has done to the life of the nation on the one hand and, on the other, to frustrate constructive reactions for positive action. When the rulers regard themselves as masters (Gibberish, says the *Woman* must have life) and not the servants of the people, this sort of thing happens. The truth is ruthlessly suppressed.

Professor Kuper

In his book, "Twelve Experiments in South Africa," (published by Jonathan Cape, London and available from all bookshops in South Africa) Professor Leo Kuper has broken through the official censorship of the press and founded attention on an aspect which was a decisive turning point in the history of relations between Black and White.

The study, it must be said at the very outset, is not written with political motives. Professor Kuper, who is head of the sociology department at the University of Natal, merely reports on historical phenomena seen from the viewpoint of a trained scientific observer. He was in the African room to non-violent resistance the impact of violence of the conflict between European violence, as indicated by the armed might of the State, to recognize the African's right to full citizenship and the latter's determination to occupy his rightful place in the life of the nation.

In assessing the nature of this Apartheidism it serves his own main purpose of the book—point to resistance, in some and possibly how it was not; give

constructive reasons to try the other means and failures and has ended up with a general assessment of its significance for the future of relations between Black and White.

Questions Raised

The result is a study which raises, either directly or by implication, a number of very important points for people on both sides of the colour line.

For example, Professor Kuper believes in some Gandhi's belief "in the efficacy of extreme suffering as a universal means of conversion" where the ruler is a "collectivity" and responds to the subordinates as a collectivity.

African Nylundianism therefore believes that the *IPW* of the *Afrikaner* is a decisive reality in the South African situation. They ignore, of course, the fact that it is producing the very counterpart on the Black side—the *IPW* of the *African*. These two *IPW*s, these two "collectivities" responses are irreconcilable in the absolute sense. They confront South Africa with a situation where the one is backed by immeasurable power while the other comes with irresistible force. To demonstrate on both sides of the colour line this is precisely the point where tragedy becomes stark and real in the race situation—in the standard Black tradition. Colour truths is projected, here, as the only way out.

By resorting to positive resistance, in these circumstances, the race of colour does more than merely retreat from intractable issues in the face of overwhelming odds—the withdrawal is ground from which he can either backed by morality and human decency.

The victim of collective aggression takes up this position because he feels that life while being attacked and that survival for him depends on his detaching himself with his whole being. If positive resistance in the "collective" circumstances of this feeling, it seems to me that the disposition of steps on either side weighs the odds heavily in favour of non-violent resistance as a means of survival. I am inclined

to believe, moreover, that the personal discipline which the individual has to subject himself to before he takes the decision to defend with his whole being are such as not to be affected much by cultural attitudes and traditions. If this analysis is correct, it explains why the various African groups—in particular the *Baso*, readily took to positive resistance and adhered to its disciplines.

Potential

Professor Kuper is not likely to gauge resistance's potential as "a link between White and non-White." The point raised by implication, here, is that one of the most fatal weaknesses in the South African situation is that the peoples of the Union have not agreed on objectives. Without this agreement there cannot be such a thing as national policy. In a multi-racial society this does not only militate against national authority, it threatens future viability of the State. A policy designed to advance the purely racial interests of the dominant group at any given time is regarded as national policy, while force and coercion are used freely on *disobedient* groups to ensure compliance. The perpetually unending tensions generated by this situation can be ended only by a link between White and non-White based on values cherished in common.

Professor Kuper seems of opinion that the *Afrikaner*, in the final reckoning, holds the key to the future of South Africa. For this reason the thoughts and aspirations which gave form to the resistance movement deserve very close studying—if it is to be what vial the *Afrikaner* is a reliable harbinger of the democratic tradition Professor Kuper has put together the speeches and statements of policy by representative leaders of the resistance movement and placed them in a way which enables the reader to know precisely what the *Afrikaner* wants and what he is up to. Of course, he notes with characteristic impartiality, the contradictions and inconsistencies on both sides of the ideological line.

The inclusion, in the appendix, of a number of documents which shed more light on the resistance movement makes the book particularly valuable to the student of South African affairs.

Self Assessment

All this adds up to make "Twelve Experiments in South Africa" a sober, authoritative and readable statement of the

racial situation at a given point; something without which an intelligent appreciation of the race problems, in its present complexity, is not possible. I recommend it strongly to readers in this country and abroad.

India To Publish Books Cheaply

IN its effort to bring good literature moderately priced to the common people, the Indian Government has set up an organization called the National Book Trust.

The former Finance Minister, Mr. Chakrasen Dhanoo is chairman of the board of trustees, which has as members such distinguished figures as Dr. A. L. Modali, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, Mr. Mulkajji Aasud, the author, Dr. Sahib Hossain, the educationist, Professor M. Hossain of Aligarh University and Mr. D. G. Tondkar, the biographer of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Trust will publish, more particularly the classical literature of India, translations of standard books in Indian languages, translations from foreign languages, translations of Indian paintings, sculptures and other art treasures and standard works of Indian authors.

Standard books in education, science, statistics and other fields of knowledge will also be published by the trust. It may also publish books in foreign languages.

The trust is to be an autonomous body created and supported by funds placed at its disposal by the Government.

Fellowship Of Reconciliation

Dear Friend,

As our Secretary Ann Harris is going to England for 6 months at the end of June, she wishes members to know that she is engaging now, and only who will volunteer or suggest someone to take on the office of Secretary in her place.

Members are also asked what they think FOR should do in the present situation, in view of "The Native Laws Amendment Act."

How often they wish to meet and what type of activities they want to have.

What is the best time of the day and day of the week for meetings for them.

D.R.H. 17 ANN HARRIS,
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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

London

SOME 150 members of Congress of the University of London, which met recently at the Senate House, passed a resolution: "That this House desires the Standing Committee to examine and report on what steps can be taken to give prominence to students under a disability by reason of race in South Africa to enable them to study at this university or at a university college in special relationship with the University of London."

Nairobi

Ten thousand arrows, many with barbed fish head points, have been confiscated from Maasai tribesmen in the Laikipia area of Kenya's "White Highlands" after the discovery of a plot involving a local witch doctor. The witch doctor, Arop Muregi, thinking that the Kenyan Government would force Britain to withdraw from Kenya, hoped to organize Maasai squatters, numbering about a thousand, and to send European militia which would be led after the British had gone. The squatters were then to defend themselves against other tribes intending to do the same. Arop Muregi was arrested on a Kenyan farm by the general householder after a hunt lasting several weeks. He is believed to be apprehensive over the death of his father, who was killed in the Maasai rebellion against the British in 1925. The situation is now quiet.

Accra

Defections among the Ga tribe against Dr. Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party came into the open when leaders of the party were booed and pushed about as they addressed a public meeting in Accra. When Ghana achieved independence, a strong tribal organisation which calls itself the "Ga Youth Crusaders" has sprung up here and has been angrily demanding that the selling of tribal lands to strangers should be stopped in order to preserve what is left for the needs of future generations of the Ga people. The attention of houses on Government estates is also being condemned on similar grounds.

Salisbury

A bill presented in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament proposes that existing registration certificates shall be replaced by registration books with a photograph. Selected Africans appeared for their "classroom, second, qualifications and standing" would be eligible for identity cards issued of registration books. Africans holding identity cards would have been as Europeans to move about the country.

London

The Prime Minister of Western Nigeria, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, said at Oxford that it was the intention of all the three Nigerian premiers to demand at the constitutional conference full independence for the federation in 1959. The Premier, who was addressing the Oxford University West African Students Club, said that Nigeria would discredit itself for ever if it failed to preserve the heritage of 60 years of stable, progressive and orderly government which Britain was now handing over. Chief Awolowo gave this warning on the difficulties of making a Constitution which would satisfy all Nigerians: "If we rely on mere sentiment, party slogans, and political theories the noble regions on which we have rightly embarked may founder. Delays to the conference must not be permitted in the approach to the complex questions of Nigeria. They must be objective." Nigeria was working "a modern miracle" in democratic atti-

government. A new nation and a new government was being constituted without a shot being fired.

Accra

Dr. Nkrumah has moved into Christiansburg Castle, which was built by the Danes in the middle of the 17th century, and has been the official residence of British Governors of the Gold Coast since the beginning of the present century. Dr. Nkrumah will have both his residence and his office at will as the Cabinet Secretariat is the castle. The Government's decision to move the Prime Minister into the Castle was announced on April 3 and at once provoked opposition, especially in Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. Dr. Nkrumah, defending the decision of the Government in Parliament last month, said that the Castle was the symbol of imperialism, and occupying it would give clear evidence to the people that they are now really free and independent. The success to Sir Charles Arden Clark will have his residence and office at the State House, which was originally built as the Prime Minister's residence. The acting Governor-General, Sir Arthur Kinnaird, is living in the bungalow which he occupied when he was Chief Justice.

The Ghana Government's draft estimates for 1957-58, published recently, provided for a total expenditure of nearly £40 million. The Minister of Defence and External Affairs, which have now passed from the hands of the Colonial Governor to those of the Prime Minister and are to be combined into one Ministry will cost nearly £4 million. Provision has been made for salary and allowances for another Minister of Defence and External Affairs to take up the portfolio from

the Prime Minister, if he decided, without the aid of approaching the a Senate committee.

German Communists Lay Controls on Student Movements

Berlin

UNIVERSITY students in Germany who do not submit to new controls put on their movement to the free Federal Republic may see students for long the Communist regime has laid plan.

Soviet Zone authorities have begun working out new regulations controlling the movement of students in the Federal Republic. In a news conference held in Berlin's Humboldt University, some of a strike against the regime last week, Wilhelm Grosse, Under Secretary of University Affairs, said student movements will not be allowed to visit the Federal Republic on private business. They will be given permission only if they officially represent their university or other regime agencies, and if they wish to attend meetings or lectures of their relatives.

Recently 130 students—the entire third semester class of the Veterinary Class—were suspended after they boycotted classes following the flight to West Germany of Professor Günther Schneider, Dean of the Veterinary Faculty.

"All the students have been investigated thoroughly," their attitudes towards the party's freedom revolution, well as to create in the East Zone—to see whether the attitude "has changed" Secret of the University is

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કેપીટલ્સ બાલ્કની હોટેલ
(કી કીશન કીશન કીશન)

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૩૩ વેસ્ટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનસબર્ગ.
પોસ્ટા ૧૫૪૬.

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની મીઠાઈઓ લીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીકાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીઅન કોફીન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુદ્ધ પ્રસંગે બાંંડે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને હોલની સગવડ

કામગીરી બોર્ડીંગને ખાસ પ્રસંગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પ્રસંગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ સેવામાં આવશે. ઔરંગઝોમાં નહીં અને અધુનિક ભવન ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. રેલમાં જતાં અમારે તે રેલમાંથી આવતા ઉત્સાહીઓ માટે કુદખાને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે કેશી સેવરકની સેવાથી શેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણીની ઘાગ, ખારક, પાણી, અને ચાંચલી, વિગેરે સપ્લાઈ કરીએ.

વરતું આંગિયું અથાણું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈવારે હોવા છે.

બોર્ડીંગી સિખંડ અને કુદપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

The energy of the free individual is the most dynamic force in human affairs.

—D. D. Eisenhower.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

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Lead thou follow! How busy I must be today: if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me!

—Sir Jacob Astley.

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INDIA ASKED TO CALL OFF RETALIATION AGAINST S.A.

By P. KODANDA RAO
Of The Servants Of India Society, Bangalore

SPEAKING in the Rajya Sabha on May 16, 1957, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru repeated once again that he did not approve the idea that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference should discuss the relations between India and South Africa and convert itself into a super-State. He added that the only forum for such discussion was direct negotiations between the two Governments or the United Nations.

It is permissible to advocate, with perhaps greater validity, the view that no forum, not even the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, should be convened, and that every avenue should be explored. It may be recalled that at the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 the question of the status of Indians in the Dominions, including South Africa, was discussed. The same question was again discussed at the Imperial Conference in 1921. The resolution was moved by the late V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, with the active support of the late E. S. Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, that, while each Dominion, including India, should be free to restrict the immigration of the nationals of other Dominions, Indians lawfully resident in the Dominions should not be discriminated against because of their race, but should be given equal rights with the white nationals. The Conference accepted it. The only dissent was from South Africa

in the person of the late Gen. C. Smuts.

Significant

That Conference was significant in another respect. It is the convention of the Conference to pass only resolutions by a unanimous and not by a majority vote. Nevertheless, a departure was made in 1921, when the Sastri Resolution was passed by a majority and published. It was open to Smuts to object to the procedure which betrayed his isolation. But he did not. He could not in London advocate an Empire based on race discrimination, whatever be his difficulties in South Africa. Again, the Imperial Conference of 1923 discussed, at the instance of the late Taj Bahadur Sagor, the status of Indians in the Dominions and, in particular, South Africa and Kenya. The Imperial Conference was not then a super-state, even as it is not now. The Dominions were *de facto* sovereign even then, and the Balfour Declaration in 1926 only confirmed form-

ally and legally the *de facto* situation. Indeed, the status of Indians in the Commonwealth is a matter of very special interest to the Conference, even more than to the United Nations. The confederal procedure of the Conference lends itself better to a more fruitful discussion of such disputes than the open procedure of the United Nations. If the discussion of the dispute between India and South Africa in the United Nations is not likely to con-

vert it into a super-state, there is no reason to apprehend that the Commonwealth Conference would become one if it discussed the dispute in its forum.

Retaliation

Pandit Nehru was willing to discuss the dispute direct with South Africa or in the United Nations. As long as Britain and the majority of the white Dominions take the legalistic attitude they have taken and the United

(Continued on page 255)

U.K. EDITORIALS ON RACE RELATIONS

BOTH "The Times" and "The Manchester Guardian" commenced on race relations in Central and East Africa in the light of the debates in the House of Commons on this subject.

"The Times," under the heading, "Sir Roy Welensky's Task," said, "Race Relations in Central Africa, which are to be debated in the House of Commons give plenty of cause for anxiety. So they do in most multi-racial societies."

African Side

"On the African side, the ingredients are not promising. In spite of some welcome statements to the contrary by individual African leaders, the aim of the few politically-minded Africans

in the Federation is African government on the Ghana model.

"The Europeans are divided in will. A large number are reactionary and would welcome the hordes of the South African racial policy. Another large section believes in a progressive racial policy."

Government's Position

"Where does the Federal Government stand? Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister, put it in a nutshell thus (Continued on page 256)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 7TH JUNE, 1957

Mr. Nehru Can Afford To Think Again

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish a contribution from a correspondent, Mr. Rao, who writes from Bangalore, India, to plead for a reconsideration of India's policy of retaliation towards South Africa.

We should like to commend this article to the serious attention of our readers for two good reasons. On the one hand it proposes a way of a situation which, as the United Nations, at least, has reached deadlock. Secondly, the South African government, itself, would not be wholly averse to such a development.

As far reason number one the debates at the United Nations have shown that as long as America and Britain hesitate to offend Strijdom on this issue the United Nations will not be in the position to do anything effective against apartheid. American hesitancy, in this regard, is quite clearly a sign to Strijdom that he should oppress the man of colour to his heart's desire as long as the Americans can have the privilege to invest their money in this country. America is a White man's country; at least the government is a White government while the African and the Indian oppressed in South Africa are not White. For these reasons America, as the oldest champion of "liberty," is not likely to allow the United Nations to exert decisive pressure on her White apartheid friends. This creates a situation where the coloured races must change their tactics in handling the South African racial situation.

New Directions

If creating a state of near-deadlock in the United Nations and spending much energy on that the non-White nations merely throw all their eggs in a basket which America can kick about at will. Without in any way abandoning the United Nations, the non-White powers can go on the offensive in directions where America's attitude will not be the decisive factor.

One of those directions is, quite clearly, the resumption of diplomatic relations with South Africa, on the part of India.

This involves questions of prestige and face and might even look very much like a somersault on India's part. But the issues at stake are so vital that a country which has produced Gandhi can afford to concentrate on the intrinsic and ignore the obvious, where they conflict. We certainly think the issues are important enough to impress on Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, the need for a second thought on the policy of retaliation.

Firstly, such reconsideration will restore to India the initiative to influence the course of events in her case against South Africa. Since retaliation was adopted she has lost this initiative so badly that one of the results is the near-deadlock in the United Nations and the danger that South Africa's race question might, with America intervening, be shunted off from the international platform.

World Opinion

If that happened world opinion, which was beginning to rally promisingly against apartheid, would be confused and the peaceful pressure it could exert would be weakened.

Secondly, India would stand to gain a lot by re-asserting contacts in a situation which changes from day to day and which might be decisive for humanity, since South Africa stands half-way between the East and the West. Her position would be reinforced by first-hand knowledge, where she attacked apartheid.

Thirdly, there is the possibility that through the diplomatic channels thus established, India could even encourage the leaders of the government or the Nationalist Party to visit the Indian Republic and see for themselves what non-White peoples do for themselves when given the power denied them in South Africa. We do not for a moment suggest that this would bring about a change of heart on the part of those who seek to oppress their fellowmen. We are certain only of one thing: it would bring them face to face with the wrongs they do the man of colour. What they would do after that we cannot predict.

At the same time Dutch Reformed Church preachers have gone to America. On their return some have been enabled to see the truth in new light. In the final reckoning those who believe in the non-violent solution of human problems must be ready to meet the challenges inherent in their belief. One of these is willingness to avoid shortcuts which defeat the goal of non-violence. The other is readiness to do the unspectacular, for purposes of building up cumulative pressure. Politicians as a rule do not like all this. But where human values are violated with the grossest impunity statesmen and not politicians are men for the occasion. We address our appeal for a reconsideration to Mr. Nehru as a statesman.

No Pandering

The resumption of diplomatic relations will not be a pandering to Strijdom. India will always be, as she has always been, free to attack in any way she likes. What it will be, and about which we are happy, is that it will be a firm demonstration of the efficacy of Nehru's own doctrine of peace shills. If the philosophy of co-existence can offer its next-door neighbour nothing but absolute non-co-operation and its logical corollary, war, then it has no right to be taken very seriously by anybody anywhere. But we believe it has hope for humanity. Who could be better-placed than its author, Mr. Nehru, to show the world precisely what nations which believe in peace shills do when confronted with an admittedly difficult position?

Above all, such a course would be in accord with Mahatma Gandhi's own teachings. The evil deed must be atoned by all means, but not the man, he says. This means that as long as life lasts in the perpetrator of the wicked deed there is always the opportunity that he could be made to see the truth in different light. This faith in humanity transcends considerations of immediate gain or prestige and seeks to do the very best in men. No country is better-placed than India to set an example to the world of how to act in conformity with the teachings of some of its finest minds and no group of men more qualified in the moment to show what Gandhism really means than the present leaders of the Indian government.

India Asked To Call Off Retaliation Against S.A.

(Continued from front page)

States of America is not inclined to relax relations with South Africa with a fraction of the sincerity and zeal with which it treats Communism, even with force, the chances of the direct negotiations or U.N. discussions yielding fruitful results are slim. Nevertheless, it is desirable that India should call off her policy of retaliation against South Africa and exchange High Commissioners in an event, and more so if direct negotiations are seriously contemplated.

It will be recalled that the late Poona Bazaar Dayal of South Africa was among those who pressed for retaliation and hoped that it would bring South to its senses. In fact one who once had to change his mind and plead that it should be withdrawn as it hurt Indians in South Africa more than the whites in that country. As early as February 8, 1957, the "Indian Opinion," published in Natal, South Africa, placed the retaliation was unworthy of India. It said:

"We view the simultaneous on famous South African passing through India as a piece of small-mindedness that a country which produced Mahatma Gandhi can expect only on the ground of human frailty. There is no doubt that the withdrawal of Commonwealth privileges from South Africa is in retaliation for what the Union does to Indian nationals here. But virtue is not one of South Africa's strong points, and to emulate her in this regard is deplorable."

"There is a serious objection to India's retaliatory measures. They are as ineffective. . . ."

"The third objection—and this is a very serious one—is that the measures are an unfriendly act of

a type area between two powers, preparing for war. We do not think India must go on herself involved in a standing war with South Africa any day. For this reason, we find particularly disturbing to act but take a course which will logically leave us as the only success of forcing South Africa to fulfil her obligations in terms of well-known international agreements."

"Finally, the humiliation of individuals, some of whom might be applied to race oppression, is a form of politics which our Prime Minister, Mr. Eric Louw, has—in South Africa's leading tongue—performed into a fine art. For our part, we are convinced Negro will not lose anything if he does not seek to out-Louw Louw in a field where the latter is a past master."

Prohibited Immigrant

It is pertinent to recall that the late Mrs. Sutcliffe, a South African white, once to India to join the Charlotte Soa Sangh, Poona. By then the Bishop of Bombay reached the ship, in the Bombay harbour to welcome his guest, Sutcliffe was taken into custody by the Bombay police as a "prohibited immigrant." The Bishop tried him to the Police Station and released him. Sutcliffe declined to take it all far, he said, "it was nothing as compared to the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Under considerable Jewish pressure, Sutcliffe produced a document handed to him by the South African Indian Congress to the effect that he had identified himself with the Indians' sympathies in South Africa and was asked for it by the South African Government. It is hoped that Sutcliffe's was as

Isolated Incident

In so far as India's satisfaction was prompted in the interest of Indians in South Africa, the case against it, as presented by the "Indian Opinion," seems to be bracketed. Nor can it be over-lashed. So far as it was prompted by the self-interest of India itself, India has not stored diplomatic relations with Pakistan, with which she has conflicts on the brink of war, as it were. In so far as it was prompted by opposition to the more comprehensive apartheid policies of South Africa, India can move and is moving the United Nations for appropriate action.

High Commissioner

There is no need for India to withdraw her High Commissioner in South Africa. Indeed, it can do no harm, but only does good if India and South Africa exchanged High Commissioners. It is in the Indian case and will

use only diplomatic methods, the High Commissioners will be the best channel for quiet and unostentatious pressure and protest. It may do much good in South Africa to have a High Commissioner in India to report on events and conditions in India. The more the number of South African whites who get to know India and its leaders personally, the better for both countries. India, under Nehru, is big enough today not to feel embarrassed to call off retaliation and offer to exchange High Commissioners. It will be a noble gesture, which will enhance the prestige of India, and perhaps put South Africa in the wrong, if the case is not stopped. The forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, where the subject of India and South Africa is sure to be discussed at least informally, seems to offer a good opportunity for reviewing India's policy of retaliation and at all.

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER XIII

WHEN the Boer War broke out between the British and the Boers (or Dutch people settled in South Africa), Gandhi's sympathy was as the side of the Boers. But he was a subject of the British Empire and he felt it was his duty to serve the side to which he belonged. He did not want to fight and shed the blood

By

Mrs. Gertrude Malroy-Cornwall

of others, but he was not afraid of risking his life. He collected together as many Indian friends as he could and under them took a course in ambulance work. He was not his course. As soon as they had got their certificates, Gandhi offered their services to the British Government.

They were about 1,100 men in all, and they did very brave work, even receiving the wounded wounds in the Boer line. They were much praised for this and the newspapers even published verses about them and their bravery. Up to that time the Boers had had the idea that Indians were not brave at all. Now they had changed their minds.

While doing his ambulance work, Gandhi and his friends came much together with English soldiers. They did not find them as hostile as at all, but very friendly and grateful for the good which the Indians were doing for their wounded. They believed in the Indians like brothers.

Among the Indians forming the Ambulance Corps, too, there were no feelings of pride about caste, or quarrels on account of religion. Hindus, Muslims and Christians—all were as friendly as could be. The danger in which they now lived, with guns booming about them, made them all understand that there is but one God and He is the Father of all. From this we see that even a cruel war can be a blessing if it makes men understand their great worth.

One of the greatest services that Gandhi did for Indians was the way in which he made them see their faults. As soon as the war was over, he returned in this task with new zeal. He continually told Indians that if they wanted to enjoy all their rights as citizens, they must make themselves worthy of those rights. If, for example, they wanted to live in the more quarters reserved for Europeans, they must show, by always being tidy and clean, that they were able to keep those quarters in good condition. There is no doubt that a large number of Indians had become careless and slovenly in their habits, and Gandhi would not allow this any longer. He wanted his people to be as clean and orderly as any other people in the world. He never accepted any excuse for laziness, and when they all loved him for his goodness to them, even the very wicked people tried to improve to please him.

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(To be continued)

TOPIC OF THE WEEK

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE.

An Urgent Appeal To Friends Of Africa

PEOPLE from both sides of the colour line often write to ask what they can do to help the Africans in his fight to assert his dignity as a human being or to overcome the difficulties as his way to a better life. It is always a privilege for me to dedicate to them what they could do. Most of the requests are made privately and I write privately.

Today, however, I had myself in a different position; where I have to make a public appeal for help for two deserving causes in quite different fields of human life. I must say that I should like to address this appeal in particular to the Indian friends of the African. Many readers of this column are certainly being asked to help, but I should like to first turn to the Indian friends of Africa called to our help.

The first part of the appeal is meant to benefit a mourning home and chair for Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton Makhepsa of Johannesburg African Bazaar, about 30 miles from Durban, along the South Coast.

This little place was started over twenty-five years ago by a man and his wife who have a greater and truer love for their fellowmen. The husband was a school supervisor, then, and the wife an school-teacher. The senior doctor at that time was about thirty miles away. Death wrought havoc on mother and father alike—very largely as a result of ignorance. Mr. Makhepsa and his wife, Constance, decided that they should do something about it.

Constance went to McCard's Hospital to train as a midwife. They were still getting children, then. On completion her husband took what whatever he had put aside by way of savings and invested it in a small wood and iron building, cheap beds and equipment for a mourning home. Then, the Makhepsas opened their doors to all suffering womenfolk.

Thousands of mothers and babies have been saved from almost certain death as a result of the sacrifice of this couple. But the most remarkable thing about this work is that Mr. Makhepsa started it out of his own pocket. He was younger then and worked in the gardens during the weekends to raise vegetables and other food for the patients while his wife helped them sleep.

In time the government gave them a small grant to cover wages for extra nurses and additional beds. Another covered part of the costs of building extensions. Through the generosity of a friend lights were installed and the little clinic functioned more efficiently and saved more mothers and babies.

When the present government took over it withdrew the small grant and by one small today the clinic is in a very critical financial position. The fees charged are minimal compared with the services rendered and the costs which the Makhepsas have to bear from month to month. In any case the fees cannot be raised because the community is too poor even to afford the seasonal charges, so great ones.

But what makes matters so greatly complicated is that last year Mr. Makhepsa retired from his job as pensioner and that cut off the subsidy in the clinic which he had been making for well over thirty years of his life. In material terms Mr. Makhepsa is a poor man because he retired all he saved in saving the lives of his fellowmen. The best that can be done is to ensure that the work he does for his less fortunate fellowmen is not abandoned for lack of help.

At Fane would have it, his wife's health has now broken down very badly—a result of stress, overwork and age; I do not think the bar had a holiday in thirty years.

People who wish to help should write to the Morning News, c/o "KwaNobu" Johannesburg P.O., via Durban, and NOT to me, please.

The other case is that of a home run by the YWCA for African girls at Cape Manor. This institution has been in existence for a number of years now. It is not a municipal hostel and the way it runs is quite different. It caters for the selected women, for whom there is an suitable economic decline in the whole of Durban. Much are provided at state the African can afford. When I was shown round the place I thought the diet good for the free charged.

This hostel is rendering an extremely valuable service to a section of the African population for whom nobody cares, really. The school teacher, the

medical Nurse who lives out of hospital, the African doctor who does not have her own home, the university student with no friends or relatives in Durban are all welcome at the YWCA home.

The home does not only provide board and lodging, it does all it can to make the lives of the girls as comfortable as possible. Its affairs are administered by a small committee of interested women who, I think, need every help and encouragement.

One of the things they need very badly is a radiogram to entertain the girls in the evenings or during week-ends. The others are furniture and furnishings now certain.

But the really serious side in this little piece of work is that every month the committee has to face a deficit of between £50 and £60. It has only limited funds and the fees charged are already paid by the poorest of Africans. If help cannot be forthcoming, the hostel will close down as soon as the funds dry up.

U.K. Editorials On Race Relations

(Continued from front page)

"Guardian's" View

The "Manchester Guardian," said: "Mr. Leeson-Boyd said during his visit to Central Africa a few weeks ago that the Government should for all time be 'in the hands of civilized and responsible people, whose leaders are there'."

"It was speaking of the Federation in particular, but it is a good enough in fact for multi-racial countries generally, with two persons. First, 'civilized and responsible' does not mean 'White.'"

"The stated proviso is that, while a distinction between the 'civilized' and where it occurred, it is right that the voice of the 'non-civilized' should also be heard. It should not predominantly, but it should be heard in the country's councils."

"If these general principles are accepted, each territory can pursue them by such divergent paths as suit its own circumstances."

other day: "Wherever possible, the Federal Government has opened up channels of advancement to all qualified people. But it has not lowered its standards sufficiently required of a civilized community, nor will it do so while I am Prime Minister. Partnership does not mean the lowering of standards. It means men are here with her own class."

"This is a reasonable line, but it is an extremely difficult line to hold in Central Africa."

"In the political field the most important step is still to come. This is the Federal Franchise Bill, due to be introduced in September or October. Members today will have of necessity, there fore, to speak without knowledge of its decisive contents. They can take comfort, however, from the fact that Sir Roy Welensky was extremely moderate in the demands he presented when in London in April. His task is no less than to expand the bounds of the possible."

Public Opinion And Political Policies

THERE has unquestionably been some slight relaxation in the pace of Nationalist sponsored legislation. It is now believed that the Bill to impose poll tax on African women and increase male taxes, as well as the Housing Apartheid Bill may be held over till next year. Almost certainly the University Apartheid Bill will only go as far as the second reading before being sent before a Select Committee. There it will stay for a year or more while substantial changes, at least of form, are made to Dr. Verwoerd's greatest work criticised propaganda.

When he issued this recast, this declaration is the march forward of the coldest in its declared intention? No doubt the speaker over the Church House and the very rapid support given to it by the D.F.C. played an important part in convincing the Nationalist leadership that it was making too many enemies too quickly. Oppositive to the service classes of the Native Lands

forced to take care of them. But once that is admitted, is however limited a degree, all sorts of other questions arise.

How far can one proceed against public opinion? Or against the opinion of those on whom a policy is to be imposed? If you cannot win their consent, what then? Are they wrong or am I? Or is the truth somewhere in between? Should we perhaps experiment step by step instead of legislating in one fell swoop for the creative ahead? Is it possible that some of our policies are misinterpreted, unreasonable, impractical or ill adapted to achieve the aims desired?

C. W. M. GELL

Amendment Bill has been hastily lost among and has drawn in all sorts of people and bodies who are not normally political animals. They are horrified at the further gross humiliations and penalties being imposed on urban Africans. And they are openly saying so.

At least as important has been the demonstration, through the bus boycotts, various mass demonstrations and a threatened economic boycott, that Africans are able to organise themselves on a mass scale with discipline and prolonged determination. This aroused attention of the ability of our most numerous and least privileged race-group to pursue what the rest of the world regarded as legitimate opposition in a peaceful but persistent manner has made a noticeable impact on our public opinion inside and outside South Africa, as the stock market knows.

Unrealistic

It would be unrealistic to imagine that the Nationalists have done more than temporarily recoil for tactical reasons. But they have been compelled to reassess the situation. This was clearly stated the other day by "The Burger" when it pointed out that "if separate university institutions are reserved by non-whites in a hostile spirit, we shall not achieve our positive code."

Public opinion, even among white public opinion, is a factor which the Nationalists are being

only the end of the White man's crimes but the certain release of the Black man from barbarity."

Remarkable Statement

Therefore the S.G.O. was no sort of "an apologetic approach" (it pay no heed to criticism) and instead "to present a continuously positive picture of South Africa." Coming from the body responsible for operating the mass bus boycotts as the work of "drummers" and "terror thugs," which emphasised "the mastery and brilliant opportunities" of S.A. Communists and their "neutral" of the A.N.C. etc., this is a remarkable statement. Or is it a promise of a more responsible policy for the future?

For surely our voters have to admit the possibility that "our traditional way of life" may have imperfections. That we may have something to learn from experience elsewhere. That not all our critics, either at home or abroad, are ill-informed "non-benevolent," "silly sentimentalists" of Communism. That "so-called liberalism" is the basic political creed of European or Western civilisation. That "National-minded" South Africa is not the only one in step. That some experienced and responsible people even believe in "liberalism" will lavishly bring upon us the very destruction of Christian civilisation it is professedly most anxious to preserve.

India's Sympathy Towards Subject Peoples

(The following is the substance of an interview published by the *Kanpur paper "Chitragraha Bha Ugrada,"* with Mr. Senagovetter, who has just returned after obtaining his B.Sc. (Engineering) degree from India. He studied there for five years on Indian Government scholarship.)

INDIA is one of the countries which feel most deeply for those nations and peoples who are still under domination. Indians have the strongest sympathy for them; more especially because they are fully aware of the evils of being under subjection.

This is the reason why all India opposed when China threw off the yoke of foreign domination and achieved her independence.

If you happen to talk to India's Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, you very soon become conscious that you are conversing with a man who is full of sympathy and understanding; a man who has spiritualised the hearts of the people of the Indian sub-continent, from the highest dignitary right down to the simplest village.

He looks down on no one; neither does he look up any one towards anyone. The social structure of India is indeed very complex and diversified. The same applies to the religious sects of the people, but the Independent Mr. Nehru easily mixes with them all, regardless of their caste or religion, without the slightest embarrassment, in spite of the fact that, socially, he is but one right higher of a high caste.

The best people in various parts of the country have taken to the street, advice as to be patient to the end. There is no doubt at all, they say, as to the

outcome of that patience. They sympathise with us very much, because they know perfectly well through experience, what a bad thing it is to be a subject people.

The subject is to send as many students as possible abroad right now, so that as their return there will be many qualified men in the essential professions, who will be invaluable in the future when we will have to conduct our own affairs.

They advise us that African students should learn everything and should also combine their attention to law and medicine only. It is not only lawyers we need and besides I am a large number of lawyers in India who are employed as mere clerks, so crowded in this profession.

In the past, India had vast army of her young men and women abroad on intellectual pursuits. But because India was not independent, on their return they had no opportunity of taking up positions of responsibility. As a consequence, the valuable experience gained in foreign lands was of no advantage either to themselves or to anyone else. When the country attained independence, these talented young men and women were immediately given responsible posts, in which they have proved themselves capable and an asset to their country.

Serious History Of The Kashmir Problem

WHY does India object to the free plebiscite in Kashmir where Pakistan herself demands it? Pandit Nehru has already replied to this question. It is the duty of each and every supporter of democracy to support the verdict of the Kashmiris if he does not wish to witness the bitter experience of the fate of India's partition repeated. The United Nations Security Council had been asked for nine long years. Why has it suddenly awakened at this

By BANTAL in "Visves Vatsalya"

hour? Why was the Free Press restriction introduced, before the leader of the Indian delegation accepted his preliminary appeal? What is the reply to the authentic information that the relevant resolution was drafted by Pakistan? What is the chief cause of Mr. Menon's latest speech falling on deaf ears? The reply to all these questions is simply this: "The two power game of the world do not fit India's Policy of India's non-alignment." The Russian delegate evidently despised India, but threatened himself at the voting time. This substantiates the above assertion.

The whole history of Kashmir is serious. I relate the background background in my own way:—

(1) When Britain quitted India after partitioning it, the conditions in effect were three: India (Hindu) and Pakistan should be partitioned on the basis of majority or minority. Where the Muslim was in a clear majority, there existed no need for a plebiscite. Where the Muslim League wished India influence or the territory was not geographically adjacent, the people would decide majority or minority through a plebiscite. They would join either country.

(2) The Prince was free to join one or the other nation with the approval of their subjects, but not with another state.

It was Pakistan's intention to incorporate as many territories as possible within its fold. There has remained still today the wire-pulling of the Anglo-American group behind Pakistan. Fortunately, through the able efforts of Sardar Patel, the Prince immediately understood the position. Those who did not understand it had to do so through the pressure of the

people of the Indian. The Muslim, although limited in a conflict, saved himself as a dual resort, and the Nawab of Junagadh is a fit example to Pakistan.

Kashmir, strategically, is such a territory that if it becomes a base of Anglo-American military force, India would be compelled reluctantly to remain under their subjugation. Whatever might be the intention, but there appeared an already behind it. When Pakistan saw that there was a possibility of Kashmir's accession to India with the consent of both the people and the Prince, it commenced an aggressive propaganda policy, and ruled Kashmir. At this stage the King and the representatives of the people jointly asked for India's aid. The Indian troops and the people of Kashmir hated the march of Pakistan soldiers among whom were some certain foreign troops. During this interval a puppet government was created out of Kashmir called "Free Kashmir" (Jard Kashmir) was organized at the instigation of Pakistan. India, a believer in democracy, did not move later. It felt that if a neutral body decided whether it was a puppet or the people's government, the world would soon know of it.

India has, from the beginning, attacked great importance in the United Nations. Whatever might be its nature through procedure, it would soon be able to deliver the goods with the incorporation of democratic countries was the internal hope of India. India's belief in this eventually is gathering. Despite the fact that there are nations in the Security Council endangering world peace, these nations would not exclude their hold much longer. Of course the situation of concerned and organized world opinion was necessary to achieve it. This scale of thinking took the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations. But an unexpected question arose as to whether a plebiscite should not be taken of the whole of Kashmir? India was against at the moment of the moment. She did not mind the plebiscite, but this much was to be taken into consideration:

Was Pakistan an aggressor or not? If the war, the fact should be clearly stated. Only that country could be the arbitrator who had not aligned itself on the Kashmiri conflict with the world's two power groups. Pakistan should first of all withdraw all its forces with a view

to creating the right atmosphere for a plebiscite. We were also prepared to withdraw our troops on the arrival of effective UNO forces for the protection of the border. Behind all these conditions lay the fresh bitter experience of India. Before its eyes were present the irregularities in the elections in the North-West Frontier, the activities in the beginning to support the Marikane (unsubstantiated) by force and the tragic tale of the thousands of thousands of refugees after the inauguration of the two nations. Under these circumstances nobody would justifiably object to the conditions proposed by India.

The days, months and years passed by. UNO's Security Council was fast asleep. Meanwhile Pakistan indulged in sinister tactics. For a time it instigated the Muslims of India and talked of war against India. It also entered into formal negotiations for a settlement. At another time it helped the Bhagat Patel and made an effort to influence the Islamic nations to make common cause with it, and created a situation of tension even among the nations of South Asia.

But the people and leaders of Kashmir came to realize the danger in their, and arrested Sheikh Abdullah and his associates. The Machine of India refused to be misled. Even the King of Arabia studied the situation on the spot and paid tribute to the non-commercial policy of India. India's march to expand the area of peace progressed steadily. Violence propaganda became futile. The people of Kashmir had been making steady progress in the direction of economic uplift. His constitution was drafted. All that remained independent of India is a certain extent. Finally it made provision for the incorporation of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir territory and joined completely with India.

After all these events took place, the sleeping Security Council awoke. Pakistan felt everything was on the point of being lost, and came forward to talk philosophically about the plebiscite. To which Pandit Nehru has recently replied in pretty outspoken terms: A balance in democracy can only talk of a plebiscite. One who has not established democracy in his own country has no right to demand it. Therefore it was necessary to introduce non-commercial democracy in Pakistan first before indulging in the talk of democracy abroad. Now we see how the Security Council failed. What situation could

there be in a plebiscite? Pakistan has come into Kashmir as aggressor and India has got there as a protector at the go of both the parties and its people. Would you put both the same category? Would you consider the leader and its protector alike? On what pedestal?

After studying this long and serious history of Kashmir nobody would question for moment the fact that India is wound all these years in its interests of democracy and welfare of the people and has been still on the same track. Everything she is prepared to tell all the plebiscite given in the past India does not even say sorry. It has taken a pledge not to commit any aggression. The only point is that there should be no compromise on the fundamental principle of democracy to the detriment of a free people in Kashmir who have tested the joy of independence. Everyone should remember this basic fact

Japan Wants Atomic Energy For Peaceful Uses

JAPANESE industrialists and businessmen attending an international atomic forum in Tokio recently, second assistance from the U.S. in harnessing the atom for peace purposes.

Pointing to the official need of atomic power in Japan where consumption is increasing, Japanese leaders stated the only solution is to rely on atomic-generated power plants.

Kijiyoharu Utsuno, President of the Japan Power Development Company, stressed, however, the importance of reactor systems since Japan has small land area with a dense concentration of population whose earthquake, typhoon and tidal waves are prevalent.

The request for aid was made during the opening session of the conference which is co-sponsored by the Atomic Industrial Forum of Japan and the United States. The prime purpose of this non-governmental conference, which ended in Tokyo earlier recently and moved to Osaka and other cities is to promote international co-operation and exchange of information on research and experience in atomic energy development between the two countries.

BOOKS FOR SALE

Ramdas—M. K. Gandhi	3 6
An Address With Gandhi—G. G. Rao	2 0
A. Gandhi's Autobiography (Book 1)—T. D. Desai	1 2
Gandhi's Ethics—Benny Gopal Ray	3 6
India's Education—M. K. Gandhi	2 0
Paper's Letters to Him (1936-40)	7 6
For Previews—M. K. Gandhi	3 6
The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi	
—M. S. Patel	5 6
To Women—Joshi's View	1 0
Drish, Drish and Gandhi	
—M. K. Gandhi	4 6
To the Students—M. K. Gandhi	2 0
The Gospel of Selfless Action or	
The Idea According to Gandhi	
(Translation of the Original in Gujarati with an	
additional introduction and commentary)	
—Shabdar Desai	5 6
Gandhi And More	
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India Letter

[From Our Own Correspondent]

Escape From S.A.

Pandit Kunzru's Call To Equip Defence Forces With Nuclear Weapons

ONE of the "older" parliamentarians, Pandit Kishori Nath Kunzru, has made a case for arming the Indian Defence Forces with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. It would be useful to the brave soldiers of the country, he argued, to send them to the field with equipment inferior to that of the neighbouring armies. He did not grudge a pie or defence expenditure. In fact, it might be necessary to vote larger sums of money every year for the country's security, he said.

Pandit Kunzru, who came to South Africa as the head of the Indian Delegation in 1955, made a special appeal for better accommodations on behalf of married soldiers and sought facilities for the education of officers' children. He also suggested that vaccination and adequate surface protection should be provided for the new aircraft carrier acquired by India.

Suspension Of Nuclear Tests Urged By Lok Sabha

The Lok Sabha unanimously adopted a resolution expressing its grave concern over the continuing threat of nuclear tests, explosions and appalling loss of human life. The Government should suspend all further tests. The Government should also take steps to ensure that no further nuclear tests are conducted. Mr. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister for Defence, initiated the discussion with a lengthy statement which went into some detail regarding radiation and genetic hazards and various scientific opinions on the subject.

He called special attention to the very serious danger of atmospheric contamination through dusts of strontium discharged by each thermo-nuclear explosion. This could well result in harmful mutation of genes and diseases such as leukaemia.

India's Protest To The United States

The Lok Sabha was told that India had protested to the United States against a recent statement of Mr. John Foster Dulles before a congressional committee implying that India had "assured" Kashmir, but no reply had been received so far from the American Government. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Deputy Minister for External Affairs,

said, in reply to a written question: "The Government of India is grieved and distressed by this statement which is not in conformity with the facts and coming as it does from the Secretary of the United States with whom we have close and friendly relations."

Indians In Ceylon

In a reply to a short notice by Mr. K. M. Menon and Mr. P. M. M. whether he had any discussions with the Prime Minister of Ceylon regarding the citizenship of Indians in Ceylon, and if so, whether any such assurance had been given to him regarding the settlement of the citizenship question by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, stated in the Lok Sabha: "It is the course of talks with the Prime Minister of Ceylon, reference was made to this problem. He detailed consideration of it took place at that time and any such assurance was either asked for or given. It was, however, agreed that both as regard to this problem and others, further discussions should take place at a later stage and with the Prime Minister of Ceylon and I expressed my confidence that outstanding problems between India and Ceylon can and should be solved satisfactorily."

Visit To Holland

Mr. Nehru will visit Holland as a guest of the Dutch Government from July 8 to 9. It was officially announced in The Hague.

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MRS. MARY LOUISE HOOPER, aged 50, the American who was arrested and imprisoned for five days in Johannesburg in March on the order of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Duggan, before being released on a writ of habeas corpus, has slipped out of South Africa.

Mrs. Hooper held a Press conference in the House of Commons.

GANDHI ESSAY COMPETITION

The date for entries of the above mentioned competition is now closed, and the winners' names and the winning essays will be published in our issue of June 21.

L. J. Collins, who is now St. Paul's Cathedral. But she would not disclose how, when or where she "escaped" from the Union.

While she was being pressed for facts, Colonel Collins interrupted: "Let us say that there are ways of getting in and out of any country without passing through immigration," he said.

Mrs. Hooper made also left the Union of her own free will rather than wait for Dr. Duggan to deport her.

There has been no disclosure yet.

in the case she has brought against the Minister claiming that his depositions about her flight in that he did not give her a hearing before he issued it. If she wins this case, Mrs. Hooper said she intends to return to the Union.

Mrs. Hooper said she will give lectures in America and try to raise money for the Christian Anti-Apartheid Union.

Mrs. Hooper told the conference: "The Africans have a most wonderful spirit. If some of the things that have happened to them had happened to us Western people, there would have been an explosion long ago."

Opening Of Bulmar Swimming Bath For Indians

On Sunday, June 2, the Bulmar Swimming Bath was officially opened by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. Percy Coburn. The Swimming Bath is the first one in Natal for Indians. The building of the bath cost the City Council £42,000. There are special days for women, on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. The Swimming Bath is constructed in the course of the Springfield Housing Scheme.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Nakuru (Kenya)

SINCE the election of eight African members to the Legislative Council last March, the political situation in Kenya has greatly declined. After their first meeting the African members issued a statement declaring the Legislative Constitution null and void, and refusing to join the Council of Ministers or to take office as Under-Secretaries.

Shortly after words they submitted a demand for the inclusion of the African seats in the Legislative Council from 8 to 15. The Chief Secretary's reply to the demand was by no means a flat refusal. He stated that the Government did not believe that the constitutional change was either impossible or undesirable, but it did consider that, in any circumstances and whether the constitutional arrangements might be, it would be necessary to enter into full discussions with all groups jointly before any decision was made. Replying to the Chief Secretary, the African members repeated they did not renounce the Legislative agreement, nor its pledge that there will be no change of constitution before 1960 without the agreement of all groups in the Legislative Council. They also refused to enter into any negotiations with representatives of other racial groups and stated they would deal only with the Government.

Furthermore they expressed their view that "the Government should make known its decision on the existence or otherwise of a case for increased African representation before such talks can be held." Since then the Nyansa group of African elected members and Mr. Tom Mbeke, who hails from Nyansa, have bitterly attacked the Secretary of State, the Government of Kenya, and the European community at a series of meetings. They have been strongly supported by Mr. Aggrey Kibiki, president of the Nairobi District African Congress.

All five attended a public meeting in Nairobi on April 27. This meeting was attended by some 500 Africans of whom approximately 50 per cent were

of the Luo tribe. Mr. Mbeke who received an ovation, asked why Kenya should not obtain independence as Ghana had done, especially as Kenya Africans were more educated and advanced than those of the West Coast. He then said: "Unless Africans are given their rights, war will not end." He repeated these words three times, and asked that the Government be informed that he had spoken them. After strong criticism of European settlers, he launched an attack on land consolidation. Africans should know, he said, that it was the Legislative plan which had brought land consolidation to Kenya. If the Government wanted land consolidation the settlers must leave the White Highlands, and it could be done then. Mr. Mbeke's term is 1960 and he is a good place to start. Mr. Mbeke said that Africans rejected the Legislative Plan, which was "a mistake made by one African nominated member, who perhaps was hungry and had accepted a seat for 5000 shillings a month."

Mr. Othman, the former Minister of Community Development, was at the meeting, and had an uncomfortable time. Mr. Mbeke, who is a most eloquent speaker, argued that the Colonial Office form of Government is absolutely preferable to any government in Kenya that includes unofficial Europeans and Asians. He such an over-riding member of African members of the Legislative Council, elected on universal adult franchise, until an African

Government, on the model of Ghana, rules Kenya as an independent state within the Commonwealth. He said himself as the Minister of the East. He says openly that he is not interested in getting on with any European who lives in Kenya, and also speaks of advice and aid which he receives from socialism in England.

Recently he is reported to have told a local journalist that the Executive of the Labour Party never did anything about Kenya without consulting him.

There have been two disturbing reactions to their campaign. After the Nairobi meeting on April 27, 5 Africans from Nyansa, located in Central Nyansa, where the consolidation programme had made good progress, suddenly withdrew their names from the list of those who had accepted a short course on land consolidation. They had particularly asked to be enrolled for this course, and they gave no reason for withdrawal. Land consolidation is a fundamental part of the Government's intensive programme to raise the standard of living among African peasant farmers. Secondly when news of the meeting reached the Athi River detention camp it had a very bad effect on the outlook of the Mau Mau detainees. There is a grave possibility that if the activities continue they will retard release of detainees and so postpone the date when emergency powers can be abandoned.

Mr. Mbeke and other African leaders have also strongly opposed the proposal to establish a military base in Kenya. The situation is dangerous and explosive and the Government may well be forced to impose a stricter control on public meetings. Since the African elected members entered the

Council for too many of their speeches have been outside for false statements and great distortion of facts and they seem determined to give a racial twist to every issue. African members who, a month ago, admitted general support for increased African representation, are now clearly perturbed by the way things are going. Those who take an impartial view of this inflated problem recognise that there is a good case for 5 or 6 more seats for Africans in the Council.

Nairobi

The Kenya Government announced recently its intention to impose tighter control on African political meetings warned Africans that such meetings might be recorded on tape records "in order that there may be an incontestable record of what is said." Referring to a statement in "The Standard" political speeches which it uncharacteristically led to a return of violence, the Government spoke of further commitment of methods employed by Mau Mau leaders before the emergency was declared. The decision to tighten control had been taken with the greatest reluctance but the situation was now such that firm action was required.

...the Government is now in a position to give a full account of its emergency measures, and to show that it has not only been successful in its operations, but also in its efforts to bring about a return to normalcy. The Government is now in a position to give a full account of its emergency measures, and to show that it has not only been successful in its operations, but also in its efforts to bring about a return to normalcy.

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ઘરનું અધિભૂત અધાભૂત અને સાચી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તૈયાર હોય છે.

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INDIAN OPINION

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No. 23—Vol. LV.

Friday, 14th June 1957

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ANC INSISTS BOYCOTT NOT RACIAL

IN a special interview with *New Age* which we reproduce here, Mr. Oliver Tambo, Secretary General of the ANC, explains the real aims and nature of the economic boycott. The economic boycott is not aimed at Whites or Afrikaners as such. *New Age* put several questions to Mr. Tambo. Below are the questions and his replies.

1. Is a further cut of products to be boycotted likely to be achieved?

Mr. Tambo: We have announced the first line. After full investigation, additions will be made and released at suitable stages of the campaign.

2. Is this a National boycott?

Mr. Tambo: Yes, it offers an opportunity to the millions of people in all parts of the country to participate by an act of self-denial, in a nation-wide protest against the arrogance of the Nationalists and their utter contempt for the rights of individuals.

3. What must shopkeepers who previously sell these goods do the boycott list do?

Mr. Tambo: The boycott terminates on June 30. This gives shopkeepers reasonable notice to dispose of and to make no further orders for the affected goods. There is certainly no intention to involve them in losses. On the other hand, we do not believe that they will be acting in their interests if they attempt to oppose, ignore or in any way undermine the campaign.

4. Is the boycott appeal directed only to members of the African National Congress?

Mr. Tambo: No. The campaign is being conducted jointly by the ANC together with anti-Nationalist organisations of Europeans, Indians, Coloured people and trade unions. An appeal is made to all members of the public, including those who do not support the full aims of the Congress alliance, to observe the boycott as a token of protest against Government policy.

5. Is this boycott anti-White? anti-Afrikaner? At whom is the boycott aimed?

Mr. Tambo: The boycott is aimed at Whites or Afrikaners as such. The Nationalist Party has gone out of its way to set up financial and business ventures as a part of its political plan. It is only such enterprises that will be affected by the boycott. The Congress boycott subcommittee includes European representatives and calls upon anti-Nationalist Afrikaners and other Europeans to join the boycott.

The Congress movement is strongly opposed, on principle, to any form of racialism.

6. Critics of the campaign have suggested that there are many other ways of protest open to the people and that a boycott of mere Nationalist goods is an ineffective method of protest. Any comment?

Mr. Tambo: There are of course many other ways of protest, and our organisations have been and will continue to be most active in advocating and pursuing such methods. The boycott does not clash with other kinds of political activity.

In the course of conducting the campaign our organisations will endeavour to persuade the people of the reasons for not buying the named products. There is valuable educational and political work.

I do not think the economic boycott could be described as 'ineffective'. Although we do not expect the Government to fall outright as a result, hitting the Nationalists in the sensitive region of the pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more emotional protests which they have ignored.

AFTER THREATENING TO BREAK BOYCOTT SCHOEMAN ADMITS DEFEAT

THE Native Transport Bill was before the Assembly seeking to increase the subsidy to Purses and thus avoid further Native bus boycotts.

Everyone agreed that the measure was necessary and, indeed, urgent but the Minister, though at first a willingly enough, confessed to a mood of passing melancholy.

He recalled that his original desire had been to break the boycott because of his belief that it was politically inspired. The commerce and industry in Johannesburg had stepped in with an unofficial sub-

sidy to last for three months.

But this period of grace was rapidly expiring and—here his gloom deepened—it was clear to him that the baby would be pinned on to the Government.

To prevent this he was increasing the levy from employees so that the required income could be returned rapidly as possible to private enterprise.

(Continued on page 256)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 14TH JUNE 1957

Appeal To Reverend Mr. Mahabane

THE passing of the Native Lives Amendment Act makes the calling of the national conference to create a united front against apartheid a matter of the greatest urgency. For this reason, in response to urgent appeal who will walk it is, in the prevailing circumstances, to pass the buck very dangerously.

There are, of course, very real difficulties on the way. Mr. Mahabane and his Interdenominational African Mission "Protestant movement" is not the exception. They have every right to be given the chance to carry out their plans. Of equal importance, also, is the fact that other concerned people and organisations are perfectly correct in their unwillingness to place their names in positions where they would appear to be siding with IDAMF's line.

The second factor is also very important. IDAMF is politically not committed and it therefore is the best person to make a response among all anti-apartheid groups which would produce the best results possible.

New Factor

These matters were very weighty at the time the Interdenominational conference was its decision and created its problems. But difficulties are there to be overcome. And so long this one has needs to be faced in mind. The reason which came swiftly after the Interdenominational conference and overshadowed some of IDAMF's other leaders and friends. This placed the Reverend Mr. Mahabane, president of the IDAMF, in the position where he could not make with one speed he would have his role.

Against this fact and the conditions created by the Native Lives Amendment Act, the calling of the national conference was to work from actually new persons in the case of the bold action inspired by sudden thought and courage.

With this in mind we must now make a special request to both the Interdenominational African Mission conference and the South African Christian Council. We request them, in the name of justice and in the name of millions of Christians who are being ground under by the wicked apartheid division, to co-operate and call the conference jointly.

At the same time we thought the isolation of the Dutch Reformed Church among the agencies in India would be a tremendous thing. And this would be the Native Lives Amendment Act. It would be impossible for them to separate the conference in mind to that isolation would seriously handicap work in the direction of a united front.

No Isolation

We are not arguing here that the Dutch Reformed Church should be isolated. But if they mean to be in that position, nobody can stop them. What the world calls is a truth and demands action, and the only organisations which can give a lead in that direction are the Christian Council of South Africa, speaking very largely for the White Christians and the Interdenominational African Mission's Association for the Africans.

The conference itself will have to be all inclusive. No particular party political line should be observed. At the same time some people from the Left need to bring to the Interdenominational Church from the discussion. Such action can very easily disrupt the united front we all desire. Emphasis will necessarily have to be on those things where there is maximum unity and there are (a) the urgent need to stop apartheid and (b) agreement of the calling of a national conference in South Africa along a new road.

Time is no longer in our favour. Instead of this, we would urge both the Christian Council and IDAMF to move with all possible speed in this matter. In addition we urge leaders of political and other organisations to get in position except to the day of calling the conference in order to position: possibly within the next three months.

Question For Prof. Kappel-Jones

THE Johannesburg "Sunday Express" is at the moment running a series of articles in which Professor Arthur Kappel-Jones, author of "Pitied or Poo," analyses the present political situation. The "Moral Majority" is publishing these, every Monday. We should like to urge the readers to apply to the two papers for reprints of the articles and should like to see the series done in reprint form.

In these Professor Kappel-Jones makes a damning and accurate appraisal of the present situation in South Africa. He is leading the country straight to disaster. And, with characteristic foresight, Professor Kappel-Jones does not hide the fact that catastrophe is now almost round the corner.

Question

The question raised in the mind of every reader is why should African Nationalism go to these mad extremes? Does the answer lie in the relative absence of the tradition of political responsibility among the Voortrekkers? Possibly. These men were often a few miles themselves. If they had their guns and their Bibles, why should they do as they liked?

Professor Kappel-Jones seems to have his hand tightly on the pulse of our country when he suggests that African Nationalism is motivated by a fear it does not admit, openly, when we would describe it as the fear that the African Nationalists might not be able to measure up to the demands made on them by living

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

DOING RIGHT IN EVERYTHING

CHAPTER XIV

WHEN Gandhiji had spent his last days in the ashram at Ahmedabad, he was in the full bloom of his life. He was a man of about 60 years of age, with a strong, healthy body, and a mind that was as clear and as bright as the sun. He was a man of great energy and great courage, and he was a man who was always doing right in everything.

His life was a life of constant struggle and constant sacrifice. He was a man who was always fighting for the rights of the poor and the oppressed, and he was a man who was always willing to give up everything for the sake of his country.

When Gandhiji was a young man, he was a man of great energy and great courage. He was a man who was always fighting for the rights of the poor and the oppressed, and he was a man who was always willing to give up everything for the sake of his country.

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(અંગ્રેજી-ઇન્ડિય)

સ્થાપના ૧૯૧૬

અગતીક પ્રતિબંધ

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની શાગખા લીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો ડિવસ વેલટેરીઅન ફોગન મળી શકશે.

લંડન પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

ઠોઠા મુજ પ્રસંગે બાટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડિંગ અને લોઈંગની સગવડ

કાચથી બોર્ડિંગને ખાસ પ્રસંગે આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પ્રસંગે આપવામાં આવશે. હાસમાં તે માત્ર પ્રુપ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. કોરેડાઓમાં નહીં અને આર્થિક દબલુ ફર્નીચર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. કેસમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાડેઓ માટે કુકર અને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે કેશી સેવરધની શાગસી સેકેટી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણીના દાળ, ખારેક, પચવા, અને આલેહી, રિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ધરતું આથેલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાષક કંબેશ તઈયાર ઠોઠા છે.

બોર્ડરથી શિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

If your soul is worth
spite, he would direct every
thing that was being done in
the name of Christianity.
—Mahatma Gandhi.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1938

Courage is the standing
firmly of the soul which keeps
it from conquest, pillage and
slavery.

—Henry van Dyke.

No. 24—Vol. LV.

Friday, 21st June, 1957

REGISTERED AT THE G.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.
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BROOKES BELIEVES SOME WHITES NOW READY TO GIVE NON-WHITES FRANCHISE ON COMMON ROLL

SPEAKING at the University of Natal Dr. Edgar Brookes said "I believe that a considerable section of White South Africa would be ready to consider a concrete proposal for enlarging the franchise on the common roll if a political leader of standing had the courage to put it to them."

He said that in the 1955 General Elections fewer than 600,000 votes in South Africa's adult population of 5,000,000 decided who should govern the country.

This represented only one-tenth of the potential voting population and, no matter what such a system was, it was not a democracy.

Dr. Brookes, a former Senator and now Senior Lecturer in History and Political Science at the University, said "Not only have the majority of the non-Whites no vote they are not in any way consulted about the major policies and laws affecting them."

No Conferences

No general or representative conferences of non-Europeans as a whole, or of any non-European group, are held, for the cogent but very understandable reason that they would almost certainly oppose the Government's policy if they were called together.

Many South Africans would say that the non-Europeans were uncivilised and not fit to be voters.

"It is precisely this attitude which makes South

Africa unattractive to the outside world, hated by her enemies, and a real embarrassment to her friends."

Not On Roll

He personally knew Coloureds, Africans and Indians who held university degrees, could speak both the official languages and were public-spirited people,

"if they are civilised, what argument can be based for the fact that they are not on the general voters' roll? Every European, German or otherwise is eligible to be put there."

"For a democracy to be distinguishable from a totalitarian State, it must possess an opposition which has some chance of forming a government, and a spirit of tolerance which makes the search for truth a virtue rather than a crime."

['Don't Care']

"In the Union, one feels in one's more privileged moments that the White population is made up of 50 per cent who believe in votes for one who is not White, 2 per cent who believe in votes for everyone and 48 per cent who don't care."

"The greatest need in South Africa is not, however, the need for gradualness it is the need for immediate action of some kind with regard to the enfranchisement of the non-Europeans."

"The alternative is utter

ly indefensible injustice indefinitely prolonged or, in the poet's words, 'Red ruin and the breaking of oaths'."

Apertured purported to find a way out of the choice but, by doing so, it confessed that there was a moral issue at stake.

DURBAN CONFERENCE CALLS FOR UNITED FRONT

THE Civil Liberties Defence Council called a conference in Durban last Sunday at which the following resolutions were passed:—

This Conference called in Defence of Civil Liberties is of the opinion that the past 5 years of Nationalist Party rule have seen a steady and a relentless inroad into the freedom of speech, assembly, association, education, collective bargaining, movement, occupation, and of the people to choose their own Government by such measures as the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Industrial Conciliation Act and Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act all of which are designed to ensure the maintenance of Nationalist supremacy in South Africa for all time.

This Conference therefore:

1. Calls upon all true democrats to support and participate in the proposed Conference of the major denominational Federations and to weld into a powerful united front all the organisations opposed to apartheid.

2. Urges women of all races to stand united in their opposition to the extension of the pernicious system of pass laws to African women.

3. Resolves to work for the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and all other unjust laws.

4. Calls upon all participating organisations to
(Continued on page 25)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 21ST JUNE, 1957

New "Opinion"

UR readers have for a long time been accustomed to having two editions of this journal—one in English and the other in Gujarati. As from next month we propose to introduce slight changes in order to enable the paper to reach a wider South African readership. The Gujarati edition will remain, appropriately, **INDIAN OPINION** while the word **Indian** will be dropped in the English section.

We believe the reasons why we do this are all good and in perfect keeping with the teachings and spirit of its founder as well as of its late editor, Mahatma Gandhi. In a multi-racial society there is really no room for emphasis on sectarian interests or the purely sectarian approach. Emphasis must be on one sense of nationhood, on the things which will unite the various sections of the nation and not on the things which will divide people.

Oneness Of Man

Mahatma Gandhi's teachings laid great stress on the fundamental oneness of Man. If he started work among the Indians, only the circumstances of history placed him in that position. But his message was meant for and reached men and women from every race, group or nation. Nowhere could this be the case more than in multi-racial South Africa.

Thus, in seeking to make the paper its established speak for all the peoples who belong to South Africa we believe we conform to the demands of a changed situation as much as we follow his wishes to their logical conclusion. For, no greater dishonour can be done to Gandhi than to regard him as belonging to India and Indians only. The greatest teachers of humanity do not belong to their tribes and national groups, they belong to humanity.

Ten Years Ago

We have referred to a changing situation. About ten years ago most people could fairly talk of Indian interests. On the one hand South Africa had not departed much from the wrong foundations laid in 1909 when Union came into being. All groups saw events from the perspective of race. It was only natural that the Indian minority should have not departed from custom.

On the other hand there has, since 1945, developed among the people of this country a new sense of nationhood; a new feeling of belonging together. This transcends cultural and racial barriers and holds before all the ideal of a united nation whose various people shall be bound together by their love of their country and

their belief in the ideals on which their freedom shall be founded.

Their Faults

Whatever their faults and no matter how much they worked away from this goal, the most positive contribution of the Afrikaner Nationalists towards the development of this country has been to give an increasing number of men and women on both sides of the colour line this sense of belonging together. Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Europeans who could never have dreamt of crossing the racial line today freely do that and are the first to admit that life has been richer and more enjoyable for the experience of making friends with people on the other side of the racial line.

In the time of the Nationalists we have seen the Liberal Party come into being; we have seen the colour policies of the Labour and Union Federal Parties take on a more liberal hue and we have heard more constructive talk of democrats of all races having the responsibility to defend together that way of life they believe to be based on truly democratic ideals.

We believe these developments constitute the first serious move to entrench democracy in this country. Furthermore, we believe it is the duty of every good South African and of every democrat to do all in their power to support and encourage this trend. In dropping the word **Indian** from the English edition of this journal we endeavour, in our own small way, to emphasise the importance of this new sense of belonging together.

Wider Circle

In one sense this change might enable us to appeal to a wider circle of readers. We believe it will and that the message we have for them will produce only the best possible results for democracy and the country.

In the English edition as planned emphasis will not be on communal or racial interests. We shall lay the greatest stress on seeing men and events from the perspective of the greater South Africanism which is now developing. We shall seek to see widened the area of liberty in the life of the nation.

For our success in the task we have set ourselves we depend entirely on the support the democrats in this country will be prepared to give us. Our most immediate needs are money and subscribers. We wish to appeal to the very many friends who have supported us in the past to persuade their friends to subscribe to **OPINION**.

South Africa is passing through a very dark period in her history. There is no reason why this should be the position forever. Light can be brought on the situation if only the men and women who love liberty make up their minds to cast out the darkness. In a sense a journal like ours helps to speed events in the direction of more light. Thus, to keep it going is a blow for liberty and a hastening of the coming of the day when the darkness of the present shall be a thing of the past.

GANDHIJI—

The Story Of His Life

Phoenix Settlement And The Zulu Rebellion

CHAPTER XV

WHILE on his third visit to South Africa Gandhiji decided to found a colony of people who would all lead simple lives pleasing God. He therefore purchased a piece of land not far from the city of Durban, intending to start a farm where the people could live and grow their own food.

Although he had left his wife and children in India, he had brought with him on this voyage several reforms: young men who wanted to see life less new

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Cocoon

land. These young men, several friends, both European and Indian, and a small number of Gandhiji devoted followers and fellow-workers formed the new colony. All were equal in position and all shared the work of farming the land, harvesting the crops. There was no idea of getting richer having an easy life. Every man, woman and child in the colony was ready to perform any task that was asked of him or her, as if they had all been one loving family.

In the operations they wrote and printed a newspaper called "Indian Opinion". This paper published all kinds of news helpful to the Indian people of South Africa. The farm was called the Phoenix Settlement and Gandhiji, its founder, loved it very much. He would have been glad to live there always, but, apart from his legal work, his political was growing bigger and bigger. He was fast becoming the hope of the Indian Nation, and Indians felt that only he could make their lives. So he could only pay short visits to Phoenix.

Soon he sent for Kasturba and the little boys to come and live at Phoenix. On the voyage Kasturba, pregnant child, broke his own whilst playing. Gandhiji still loved among sick people and was now learning more and more how to cure them. In spite of all his work, as soon as his family arrived, he took complete charge of little Kasturba and soon had her broken arm well again.

Gandhiji wanted to make life

at Phoenix absolutely simple, just like the life of very poor people. Only at Phoenix everything was to be as clean as a new pin, healthy and happy. In this way they would show people that even if one is poor, one need not be dirty, or miserable.

They even made their own bread. Because wheat flour is more nourishing and more economical when it is ground by hand, they ground their wheat in this way themselves. The children were allowed to help in this work, and they liked doing it very much.

Just when the Gandhi family had settled down nicely again, the Zulu Rebellion broke out. The Zulus were a somewhat primitive race of Africa people who objected to the taxes which the British made them pay. Because at three times they rebelled against the British.

Although Gandhiji was always strong (but without the use of violence) against the British to make them treat Indians fairly, he was loyal to them whenever they needed his help. He wanted to make them

understand that they were not just towards India, but he was aware their enemy. So once again he collected a group of Indian volunteers to do Ambulance work for the British forces.

His heart was soon filled with pity for the poor, simple Zulus, however, when he saw how helpless they were against the powerful rifles.

When Gandhiji and his friends went to the military hospital to start their work, they were surprised to find only Zulu patients—no Europeans at all. These wounded Zulus were not rebels, but a group of Zulus friendly towards the British. The British soldiers had fired at them by mistake. Then there were other Zulus who were sick because they had been severely beaten by the British who suspected them of belonging to the rebels.

Gandhiji and his companions nursed all these poor Zulus lovingly. To Gandhiji all men were brothers, however poor, however ignorant, and whatever side they happened to be fighting on.

children may be protected against police assaults in to ensure the identification numbers of policemen are prominently displayed. In particular Conference strongly condemns the actions of the Durban Police force in arresting 1,500 residents of the Somerset Road Location.

SWAMIJEE IN HOSPITAL

SWAMEE NISCHALANANDA was removed from the Lodge to the St. Aidan's Hospital on Wednesday, the 12th June, 1957. He remained there Tuesday evening almost normally and returned to the Lodge where he collapsed half an hour later. A few members who delayed their stay with him left the Lodge a little later after he had recovered feeling satisfied that he was well.



Swami Nischalananda

A few members who called at the Lodge the first day at about 11 a.m. found the doors closed but heard groans from within. They opened the door and entered to find the Swamiji lying on the floor in an unconscious condition. He was carried to hospital by ambulance.

The Swamiji is suffering from physical and mental exhaustion. Early last month Swami Nischalananda after a busy fortnight he was engaged in arrangements for the Children's Club Anniversary.

Though the Swamiji was in a serious condition for two days following his removal to hospital, he has shown some satisfactory progress and on the recommendations of the doctors he will remain in hospital for a few more days. It has been advised that Swamiji should be taken to a quiet place for complete rest at least for a month.

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DURBAN CONFERENCE CALLS FOR UNITED FRONT

(Continued from front page)

defeat the Imperialist programme of the South African Act to subvert workers and staff of universities threatened under the Separate University Education Bill and the Masters Amendment Bill in their progress.

Conference recalls that momentous day, on June 26th, 1950, a nationwide campaign of sabotage was held in protest against the Government's policy of apartheid. It calls upon all the participating organisations to take such steps as may be necessary to organise a peaceful demonstration on June 26 of this year to express our determination to re-affirm our narrative to those ideals for which June 26th, 1950 was set aside.

Conference views with alarm the ever deteriorating position of the living standards of workers

generally, and non-European workers particularly in South Africa. It notes that this position is fatal to the peaceful and healthy existence of our people. It therefore supports the campaign launched by the South African Trade Unions for a minimum wage of £1 a day for all workers and urges this organisation to call a conference to discuss this campaign at greater detail.

This Conference strongly condemns the increasingly oppressive rule of the South African police in playing its part in repressive. It therefore calls for the abolition of all armed forces of the police who have become agents for the effective implementation of all apartheid legislation. Conference is convinced that one of the means whereby the rights of the

TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE.

Africa Cannot Listen To Strijdsm And Louw

THE Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs have been at pains in recent weeks trying to impress on the peoples of Africa the need for hurrying slowly in the march to sovereign independence.

Firstly, Mr. Strijdsm and Mr. Louw must be told by the Africans, quite plainly, that it is none of their business to tell the men and the women of Africa when they should want to be free. They would employ their time and breath in better use elsewhere.

There are two reasons for this. They are bad counsellors and their advice is not calculated to do the men of Africa any good.

We should like to feel that they are best qualified to advise us who are just finding the way we are going. These two gentlemen are not going our way. They believe and teach that race is the determinant of a people's destiny that South Africa is a White man's country; that we must be treated as though we were negroes in the land of our birth. The Prime Minister himself never there—although he has selected them visibly in the years he has been in office—without telling the world that *de Witte man moet altyd daar bly*.

Future?

What sort of a future can the men of Africa look to in a world where the White man is master? To ask the Africans, in all seriousness, to be patient with a man whom he is perpetually branded as the *Wit man's* inflexible to be blind to reality. And that is pointing it mildly.

The two greatest forces at work in Africa today and the universal demand for self-determination and the complete and uncompromising expression of White supremacy, White leadership and peace, White trusteeship and all the sentimental language and hypocrisy which go with that. When thousands of thousands of Africans walked on their feet for freedom at Aldershot Township in protest against the pass law in their future, 10,000 women marched to Pretoria and marched to Union Buildings with anti-Pass petitions, when the residents of Fort Hare demonstrated against Whitehead University, when they did not want to go, in plain language what anybody need recognise, that they want to determine their future and don't want to be forced by anybody any longer, it is at no time that Strijdsm

and Louw in any shape or form is a friend of the African. He, who is not our friend cannot advise us.

Our White friends are those who seek to broaden the area of liberty in the nation's life who seek to face squarely and honestly the prospect of being ruled by an African majority; who are not horrified by this as long as civil liberties are guaranteed to all citizens. These White people do not ask for any special privileges for themselves. All they want is the opportunity to make the best possible use of their lives in circumstances where they will be secure. In other words, all they want is to be treated about as that when the African majority rules. It will recognize their right to those liberties which the Africans want for himself. What could be more reasonable? More just? What could be more calculated to encourage the Africans that genuine partnership was being sought?

Roguebands

Strijdsm and Louw regard such these people as rogues; as enemies to the White man—no people for whom laws must be made so that they do not have any contact with the African. There have been men and women like the Afrikaner Nationalists right through history. They were the people behind the *Voortrekkers*. They were the men who pushed the French revolution, they were the people who imposed the Pass system in the *Transvaal* Republic, they were the men who came with whips against their fellowmen in *Caribbean*. They are history's greatest liars and women, today. For, as tyrants for as yet have been who will suppress the spirit of man forever.

At the same time of Mr. Strijdsm and Mr. Louw want to convince us that they are friends, it is for them to change their attitude to give up on ideology such as segregation and hatred and which has driven us the brutal leaders of millions of their fellowmen. It has no place in the democratic tradition and none in Africa, either. It has no room in slavery and racialist in policy of logical fallacies in the *Classical* in the hands of Strijdsm and in

the Julius Strijdsm of *Nazi*, Germany.

We know that these men, so uncannily politicians for the will, fear of the Africans today—just because he is getting too strong to be subdued any longer—would not raise a finger against Hitler. Today they have got Parliament to pass laws which brand the African a political leper in the land of his birth, laws which will create situations where it would appear God Himself would visit Africa's Christian world. He entered his house to worship Him against the wishes of Mr. Strijdsm's two governments.

Not That Way

We, Mr. Strijdsm and Mr. Louw, you do not make friends that way. Certainly, if you want people to listen to you when you speak, you do not do these things. No African in all his years will come even for a minute to bother about what you say. The Black people are on the march is a future they are creating for themselves, whether or not you stand in the way.

If you stand in the way, the sons and the daughters of Africa will march on. Nothing that Afrikaner Nationalism can ever do will stop 120,000,000 men and women from reaching their goal in their own time. If Afrikaner Nationalism is crushed in the present and with that the Afrikaner is told there is no place for him in Africa, only then like the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the Dutch Reformed Church will be in blame.

Then things need to be said now, plainly, bluntly and openly, as a warning to the blind who follow Afrikaner Nationalism to the precipice. The greatest mistake which has ever arisen in this country is the notion the future of the White people in Afrikaner Nationalism. If it has its way, it will destroy the Union and create situations in which this part of the world will not be a fit place for an Afrikaner to live in. The *hate* is still up in the hands of the men of colour are as deep as those run in the Afrikaner's own hands by British imperialism in the Cape and later. The Afrikaner Nationalist should know how he felt then and from that should realize that he has brought the African exactly to the same pitch of hatred. He is, of course, at liberty to do what he likes while he is strong,

The British did that against him. But he must know and must be made to know, that one day he, like the British imperialist, will be called upon to pay the price of it all. For this reason, the people of Africa cannot listen to him who he speaks or to his leaders because he has successfully convinced the Black man that he does not wish it good.

March To Goal

We are going as much as any part of finding Africa with firm determination. "The White people who enter as slowly in that is most welcome. Quite frankly, we are very anxious to have them men in their address as that we can fight together and, having fought together, build together a new Africa where we must still be pushed for the fact that his actions were done in a particular context, as that he speaks a particular language or that he has a particular skin colour. We have suffered enough from the uneducated South Africa of the Strijdsm and the Louw and want no more of that suffering, either the ourselves or our fellowmen, for it is terribly boring and destructive. We want, for ourselves, our children and all our countrymen, that peace and that liberty where we shall be free not to hate where we shall feel that we are not hated. And that peace comes only where men are equals of their neighbours. That is why we want true equality.

If Mr. Strijdsm and Mr. Louw tomorrow said to us that they want true equality, I would be the first to tell the sons and the daughters of Africa to listen when they speak; for then they would be speaking the only language that Africa's 120,000,000 will ever be so used to understand.

Mr. V. K. Krishnan Menon Inspects Minesweepers

Four newly acquired minesweepers were inspected by Mr. V. K. Krishnan Menon just before he left for U.S. The minesweeper took place at the Naval Dockyard early in the morning. After the inspection Mr. Menon and the minesweeper experts were taken around the bay for half an hour in one of the minesweepers. Breakfast was served while we cruised around the bay.

R. VITHAL

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SPENDING DEPLORED BY M.P.'s

IGNORING their party affiliation, members of the Lok Sabha united in denouncing wasteful Governmental expenditure and denouncing all road accounts.

Hardly anyone questioned the need to raise new taxes to bring more money in the Government coffers to spend on the second five year plan. But Congressmen, especially joined Communists, Socialists and Independentists in insisting that the Government should do with "clean hands".

Acharya Kripalani, the P. Socialist Party leader, led the attack on official waste. He urged that the formation of Government be abolished and the second chamber of legislature be wound up. The salaries of highly-paid Government officers and Ministers, he added, should be reduced to Rs. 1,000 including perquisites, and the salaries of M.P.'s should be cut.

Acharya Kripalani criticised the Government for "slavishly imitating" the imperial tradition by maintaining the "pomp and show" of the former British rulers.

English Will Continue To Be Useful To Indians

India would need the English language for a long time to come and people must refrain from dubbing it as an alien language, the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Sir Patrick has said.

He advised parents not to hesitate to teach their children "this useful language". It had to be important both for national and international purposes, he added.

The Governor was addressing the Cadets of the training ship "Dufferin", on the occasion of its annual prize distribution ceremony, held at the Convention Hall.

Bandaravake Heading For Trouble

Armed, steel-banded police were stationed at strategic points throughout Colombo while mobile patrols roved the city in an aerial exercise in anticipation of the civil disobedience campaign which the Tamil Federal Party has decided to launch in August.

The Federal Party has announced a Gandhi styled "Sargam" campaign in protest

against the Government's decision to make Sinhalese the sole official language of Ceylon.

Members of Premier Solomon Bandaranaike's Government have reportedly declared that the Premier would be willing to meet Tamil representatives in a bid to solve the language dispute.

The Government has instructed the Ceylon High Commissioner in New Delhi to circulate particular directions in inviting visits for travel to Ceylon following the Tamil Federal Party's announcement that Indian leaders would come to Ceylon in connection with the Civil Disobedience Campaign.

Influenza Epidemic Disrupts The Life Of Bombay

This epidemic has disrupted the normal life of Bombay. Thousands of people have taken ill and thousands of homes have suffered a considerably. Many local trains have been cancelled because of the shortage of staff. Local cloth mills are working with a skeleton staff and in some cases they have had to close down. Public transport has suffered considerably because many drivers and conductors have taken ill.

Post Office boxes have been curtailed because of the shortage of staff. Life, generally in the City of Bombay has been disrupted.

The Municipal Commissioner has, however, assured the general public that this epidemic is now under control and there is absolutely no need for panic.

Death Of Prominent Prastoria Businessman

NEWS was received early this week, of the sudden death of Mr. Girdharlal Tejendra Tanna, of Messrs. I. Girdhar and Co., of Prastoria. He died of heart failure at the young age of 43, while he was visiting India with his wife and son. He was a keen businessman and one of the top figures in the South African Indian community. He is survived by his wife, two daughters and four sons, and a large number of relatives. We wish to extend our deepest sympathy to the bereaved family.

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Ramkrishna Child-rens Club

Third Anniversary

THE Club celebrated its third anniversary on June 8, at the Sri Vallabha Export Temple grounds. About 300 children from various branches at Secunder, Midlary, Chawwa, Nertada, Springfield, Railway Bazaar, Beladur, Chikaballu, Phosur, Glairwood, Sagar, Pancham, Candel and Darius Court were present. The celebrations commenced with a march past by the children singing "Jai Ram." The Club day was helmed by a Trustee, Mr. S. Ranganath Srin, Nishalawade welcomed the children, parents and guests, and outlined the progress of the Club in the past three years.

A variety programme rendered by the various branches, was brought to an end by a Fancy dress parade in which children dressed as Saints and Gods.

Speeches were made by a number of prominent Indians. Club members sang Bhajans and Dhans.

Mrs K. G. Pillay presented a large Birthday cake.

The children and guests were served with light refreshments.

S.A. Delegation For New Delhi

A PARLIAMENTARY delegation of eight members, is preparing to leave for New Delhi, at the end of this year to participate in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference. They will also make a tour of Pakistan, Ceylon and India. The following members will make up the delegation—Parliament Speaker Mr. J. H. Connolly, the Clerk Mr. J. M. Hays, (leader of the delegation), Mr. J. F. W. Rank (Belville Nat.), Senator P. S. Haywood (Cape Nat.), Dr. Henry Gladstone (Vereville U.P.), Mr. Douglas Macdonald (Natal U.P.), Mrs. Margaret Ballinger and, the chief whip of the United Party, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger and, the president of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the South African Association Mr. Hagarty. He will also provide the residence in New Delhi.

The President, Dr. Rajadurai Prasad, has set a precedent by requesting the Government of India to reduce his salary by Rs. 2,000 in view of the financial difficulties experienced by the Government.



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He who is passionate and hasty is generally honest. It is your cool dissembling hypocrites of whom you should beware.

—LAVINER.

No. 25—Vol. LV.

Friday, 28th June, 1957

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VERWOERD LIKELY TO BE OUT OF NAD PORTFOLIO?

CAPETOWN, Sunday.

DR. VERWOERD may be removed from the Portfolio of Native Affairs within the next few months. This seems to be the implication of the timing of the strong hint in the Nationalist Press that such a move is likely.

The fact that the Nationalist Caucus chose to give Dr. Verwoerd what is apparently a farewell presentation at the end of this session instead of at the next year's pre-election session suggests that the Prime Minister wants to carry out a Cabinet reshuffle before next year.

It is widely believed in political circles that the Nationalist hierarchy has come to fear that Dr. Verwoerd's handling of Apartheid policy, and his mannerisms, have made

him as unpopular as to be a political liability in his present Portfolio.

For the change to have sufficient impact on the electorate, it would have to be made before the election.

Another Post

Dr. Verwoerd is assured of another important Cabinet post, however. Not only does he still wield considerable power in the Nationalist Party, but the Cabinet needs his undoubted intellectual ability. Also,

it will be necessary to "have face"—Dr. Verwoerd's, the Government's and Apartheid's.

It has been suggested that Dr. Verwoerd may succeed Mr. Tom Naude as Minister of Finance, that Mr. Naude may go as Administrator to Natal, and that Senator Jan de Klerk, the present Minister of Labour, may take over Native Affairs.

Dr. Verwoerd told the

Caucus that he intended to fight an Assembly seat at the next election and it is generally thought that he will challenge the "champion of integration," Professor "Sakkies" Fourie, in Edendale.

Professor Fourie won the seat by 443 votes in 1953 but it is expected to become a safe Nationalist seat as a result of the coming delimitation.

(Continued on page 277)

CATHOLIC BISHOPS TO MEET

SUBJECTS of vital importance, such as the implications of the Native Laws Amendment Bill and the future of African mission schools, will be discussed at the Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria early next month. All Catholic Bishops in the Union are expected to attend.

The conference, which starts on July 2, is likely to last four or five days. The chairman is Archbishop Denis Hurley, O.M.I., of Durban.

The Archbishop has appealed to Catholics in his archdiocese to "pray earnestly for God's guidance in the deliberations of the bishops."

Archbishop Hurley has said that the conference would be given the latest news of the Catholic Bishops' Campaign. This year's campaign is to raise funds for the retention of African

mission schools after the Government has withdrawn all subsidies, it drawing towards a close.

The Archbishop said: "We will discuss the mission schools and the future of the Catholic Church's apostolate in South Africa."

"We must find ways and means of providing at least religious instruction for African children in housing schemes, such as the proposed Duff's Road scheme near Durban, where no provision is made for mission schools."

NKRUMAH WANTS AFRICAN IDENTITY

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, Prime Minister of Ghana said on his arrival in London that the Pan-African conference he was convening, would take place in October at Accra. He expected eight countries to attend and two, Morocco and Tunisia, had already accepted invitations.

The other countries invited are Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Liberia with Ghana the eighth.

Dr. Nkrumah said that the prime purpose of the

conference would be "establish an African identity to impress Africa's personality on world politics."

The Prime Minister answered questions, said in (Continued on page 277)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 28TH JUNE 1957

Louw's Strange Reply

MR. ERIC LOUW, the Union's Minister of External Affairs, told Press reporters on his arrival in London that he was not sure whether his government would enact more apartheid legislation. We find this a most amusing reply from a Cabinet Minister whose Party is in power to carry out apartheid. How can Mr. Louw not know whether or not it will pass more apartheid legislation?

The real significance of the Minister's uncertainty lies in the fact that it is a retreat by apartheid in the face of mounting world hostility to race oppression. Rather than tell the British Press confidently, as he did on the republic issue, that apartheid was his party's policy, the Minister elected to equivocate.

From here another very important fact emerges. The real reason why Verwoerd is being kicked out of the Native Affairs portfolio—is that the outside world sees in him a crazy fanatic.

The Strijdom Government, however, will not go very far with the technique of appearing to retreat while on the homefront they elevate Verwoerd. If, as reports have said, he goes to the Finance department, the victims of the apartheid ideology will have every reason to rejoice—because there could be no more convincing argument that the men of apartheid are really crazy. And world finance, on which the Nationalists depend, does not like crazy men.

United Party And Incorporation

POLITICAL gangsterism seems to be in vogue in this country these days. The United Party recently told the Strijdom government that it would co-operate with the latter in plans to force the incorporation issue before the next British election when Labour would most probably take over and make it impossible for the Union ever again to take possession of the protectorates.

On the question of race supremacy the United Party and the Nationalists are not much different. Both believe in White supremacy and both believe in exploiting the mass of colour. They differ only on the methods by which to achieve their own goal. Against this background it is hardly surprising that the United Party should urge its Nationalist cronies to hurry up and grab the protectorates before it is too late.

Unhappily for them it does not seem likely that any British Government would, with the way in which

apartheid's name stinks in the world, ever risk the consequences of handing over the protectorates against the wishes of their inhabitants.

The United Party could find solace only in the fact that the Conservatives would probably take much longer time to give the protectorates self-government than with the Labourites. But British policy for the colonial countries has crystallized in a fairly solid and clear form.

Against this background it sounds a trifle unrealistic for the United Party to talk of grabbing in a hurry when the realities of the situation demand a realistic policy which would inspire African confidence and bring nearer the day when the protectorates would of their own free will, elect to join the Union.

'Rule By Intimidation

AS we go to Press reports reach us that in the Transvaal the provincial authorities are anxiously considering what to do with the nurses who join protest marches against the Nursing Apartheid Bill. These follow closely on "cabins from Capetown" which told of the provincial authorities in that part of the country asking for the names of all the professors, lecturers, students, etc., who took part in the march to protest against the Separate Universities Bill. These and other moves by the government indicate to what extent this country has become a Police State, where rule by intimidation is the established practice.

The Nationalists have no right whatsoever to make such a mess of the lives of decent men and women in this country. They do these things not because they are invincible. It is just their opponents, who are in the overwhelming majority and infinitely more powerful, are not united and still allow race and colour to confuse their thinking of the race problem.

The Nationalists can be defaced—but not by the White people alone any longer. No force on the White side remains now with the potential to destroy apartheid. Only two forces can do that—the united will of Black and White men and women who love liberty or the strength of the African's united numbers.

For our part we cling democracy will be safer in this country if men and women who believe in civil liberties on all sides of the colour line realize that now is the time for them to stand together in one solid front against apartheid.

£1 A Day Campaign

WE remain convinced that the decision of the various Congresses to support the £1 a day campaign was a tactical error. It has been argued that it was a bargaining move to ensure that the Africans extracted the maximum benefits from his victory in the Almedra bus boycott.

We have consistently made it clear that there is a very strong and unanswerable case for higher wages for all workers. At the same time we feel that where

the intention is to mobilise opinion on all sides of the colour line into united front, against apartheid, to introduce laws which might cause internal division among the new allies in to play right into the hands of the men opposed—to invite defeat, in other words.

We would hesitate to accuse the advocates of the new campaign of the intention to sabotage the success of a united front, but their proceeding ahead with the campaign will certainly make its establishment extremely difficult. Strictly speaking to ask for a minimum wage of a pound a day now is to press what can fairly be regarded as serious interests in this case. Viewed in this light the campaign can also be viewed as an unwise attempt to bring the African into taking sides in an ideological fight which is not the most important issue at stake at the moment.

The times demand that emphasis should be on those things which will unite all the opponents of apartheid and not divide them; when standing together in all cases rather than on pressing particular interests, as being able at all times to distinguish between the obvious and the obvious in the light of the Police rule, as being able to resist the temptation to follow shortcuts which can lead to the blind alley and, finally, as laying solid foundations for a mighty force which will sweep away apartheid from our national life.

Gandhi Essay Competition

"The Quality In Mahatma Gandhi That Impressed Me Most"

[Sometime ago we introduced an Essay Competition in 'Indian Opinion'. (Paragraphs were forwarded to schools and to the general public, and young people all over were invited to write on "The Quality In Mahatma Gandhi That Impressed Me Most." We regret to say, that from our appeal, to hundreds, we received only five entries, of which only three sent us their essays. Two of these were from Africans and one from an Indian. This competition was the first of its kind, and it was introduced by us to encourage more young people to read Gandhian literature. We were indeed disappointed by the very poor response, and the lack of initiative amongst our young generation.]

The Essays were read by Mr. M. B. Nkomo, Vice-Principal of Somo College and a Trustee of the Pankaj Sentinels. We were unable to qualify any of the essays for the first prize, but, the essay written by Miss Joyce Makhethi, 17 year-old student of Somo College has qualified for the second prize of £2 lbs. The essay is printed below. Congratulations to Miss Joyce Makhethi!]

MAHATMA GANDHI was born in 1869 and died in January, 1948. Mahatma in the first place, means "Great Soul." There is no other name that would better fit this great leader, than Mahatma. One author says, "He was endowed with few of the traditional qualities of leadership, but endowed with a clear vision and a magnetic faith, this remarkable man achieved an appointed people's sense of their dignity and a resolution to strive for their independence. His long struggle on behalf of the Indians in South Africa and his emergence later as a prophet in the houses of millions of his followers—his political shrewdness and legal acumen enabled him to translate his faith into effective action. Above all, he was world renova-

by his doctrine of non-violent resistance." Gandhi was resistant but non-violent. This latter quality impressed me very much in the Mahatma's life which was spent in service.

His parents had brought up Gandhi in a very religious atmosphere. The Mahatma's father, Koba Gandhi passed away when the Mahatma was still a youth. The Mahatma completed his studies in London, where he was already married and had a son. Soon he was invited by a doctor from South Africa and came to South Africa in 1893 to serve their business.

In Natal, Gandhi was faced with race prejudice which appeared in the most "degraded" form, social and political, based on the Indian community

individually and collectively." Soon a case in which Gandhi was wrong was to be held at Pretoria. Gandhi had to go by train to Pretoria and a first class ticket was bought for him. But on the train he was told to sit in a non-European coach and was put off the train, because he was refused to shift. He did not try to use force or violence, but remained alone in the waiting room. There Gandhi made up his mind to remain in South Africa and work hard, suffer if necessary, to release Indians. But in all his struggles to make the status of the Indians he was to be non-violent. All the bitter experience he faced made him the more prepared to create respect for Indians in South Africa.

The laws against Indians in South Africa were not fair and he was hard for them. Gandhi fought against these laws with all his strength, and taught his followers how to fight against them. He was strict in his insistence that everything must be done peacefully. He had chosen the noble and best path of non-violence.

The Satyagraha was a movement started by Gandhi for struggling against injustice by means of non-violence. "Satyagraha" means "the Force which is born of Truth and Love or Non-violence." This new principle met its first success when the famous Gandhi-Sarda meeting was successful, which abolished the principal Indian grievances.

Again, in India, Gandhi—in his struggle to be Champion in helping the oppressed peasants—conducted the struggle to success as either victory by means of "Satyagraha" agitation. Once, the people, during Bombay strike, shared the Satyagraha by taking violent measures. As a result, Gandhi felt that he was to blame for motivating the weapon of non-violence to people who had not been ready to use it. Moreover, he was arrested for the first time in India. He made a speech to defend his movement and his own philosophy. The judge accepted the presence of his doctor but sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

On his return with the family to South Africa, Gandhi was swayed by white people angered by the "Gandhi pamphlet" which he published in India. A mob attacked him. When the Government wanted to arrest the leaders of the mob, he refused to point them out, as he did not want to hurt anybody. He was always seeking for peace and not violence. "Gandhi when crushed,

fought back only with absolute truthfulness and love. These weapons achieved more than violence to force could have done. The non-violent resistance freed his country from foreign rule and turned his enemies enemies into friends."

We see then that Mahatma Gandhi taught the principle of being mutually helpful as the way of solving difficulties in a true spirit—which of course is non-violence.

Verwoerd Likely To Be Out Of NAD Portfolio?

(Continued from front page)

Politicians who have known Dr. Verwoerd throughout his career are convinced, however, that he would not accept "boomer-baiting" from the key job of architect of Apartheid unless he had a higher goal in mind.

They believe that he realises that the Native Affairs Portfolio, now that the first public South African enthusiasm about Apartheid is over, is becoming politically dangerous.

Released from it, and representing a House of Assembly constituency, he would be better placed to make a bid for the Prime Ministership when Mr. Strydom goes.

Nkomo Wants African Identity

(Continued from front page)

was too early at this stage to give details of the agenda of the conference.

Dr. Nkomo said if a close relationship was maintained between "the oral, 'free' independent status in Africa" one could then see what kind of a part China could play.

"What I have in mind is that we must have our own African identity, and then be able to form alliances on certain issues."

"In that particular way I think we can play an important part, not only in the Commonwealth but in the United Nations as well."

Dr. Nkomo also said that while in London he hoped to have the opportunity of having Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip to visit Ghana.—Sapa-Reuters.

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

A NEW WORD

CHAPTER XVI

FOR some time now Gandhi and his followers had been growing stronger in the eyes of one Sayyidpur. Just they did not yet tell it that. They said the English words "passive resistance" whenever they wanted to describe their way of winning British countries. Gandhi was absolutely determined that neither he nor his followers should ever use violent means in order to make British respect India's

rights and freedom. They must make the British people understand their right to be free by showing that Indians were prepared to die for the sake of freedom...but they must never shed the blood of others, or harm others in any way at all. When forced to obey unjust laws, they must simply but firmly refuse, and remain quiet.

Gandhi offered a prize for a new word to describe this kind of resistance that was something better and nobler than mere "passive resistance." Maganlal Gandhi, a young relative of Gandhi's and very dear to him, won the prize. He had thought of SADAGRAHA as a good word. SAT means truth, and AGRAHA means firmness, so the full word would mean "firmness in the truth." In order to make the word clearer Gandhi changed it to Satyagrah—a word which is now famous all over the world.

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(To be continued)

Foreign Opinion Against Apartheid

THE policies of the Government if they are persisted in over a long period will certainly result in the ending of White domination in South Africa and lawlessness in the country and overseas are alarmed about it, said Mr. Henry Oppenheimer in the United House of Assembly.

Quoting the two boycotts as an example, he went on to say that the Government policy was such that the facts of the case were not given. Instead it was made an issue between Black and White.

Mr. Oppenheimer said there were very good grounds for discrimination in South Africa. There were different backgrounds and the legitimate right of the European market to protect his own standard of living. Success of these things the United Party was not prepared to concede complete equality to the people who were not, in fact, completely equal. But there was a great difference between saying that there should be discrimination for good reasons and saying there should be discrimination merely on grounds of race and color alone.

The Government took the line that the non-European in South Africa should not be commensurate with the loyalties of white South Africa. The Minister of Native Affairs was suggesting that there should be concern only with tribal loyalties. But people overseas asked what was expected of the Africans in time of trouble—alleged loyalty or loyalty to South Africa?

Perfectly Plain

"It is perfectly plain that, whether we like it or not, the opinion of the overseas nations regarding South Africa is very much worse than it used to be and very much worse than it ought to be. Nations that formerly looked upon South Africa with particular friendliness are now looking upon her with considerable measure of doubt."

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corrie

rights. He felt, however, that they needed a better word to describe their attitude. He wanted Indians to die, it would be, for the rights of their country, but without any hate or anger in their hearts. They must even love their oppressors. [They must understand that strong people are where (and exist) in weaker people because the strong people

Incorporation: Government Urged To Act Swiftly

SENATOR J. M. CONRADIE (U.P.), said in the Senate that the Government would get the Opposition's support in trying to get the provisions incorporated in the Union and he urged the Government not to delay in getting the incorporation.

Senator Conradie said that he did not want to make a political statement but it was generally accepted that the British Conservative Government could fall at the next general election.

If the Labour Party were returned to power, he forecast that the tempo of granting independence to the Black States in Africa would increase.

In Assembly

The provisions issue was also referred to in the House of Assembly while the House was in committee on the Native Laws Further Amendment Bill and was dealing with the clause making it necessary for High Commissions to receive notice to obtain permits to reside in urban areas.

Caplan B. H. Newwood (U.P., Maritzburg Div.) said that the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, should be con-

vinced to provide High Commissions territory Native communities, so it might win the Government's favour of incorporating the provisions.

Replying, the Minister said that he did not have sufficient power to deal with the situation. When the meeting started at Newwood he had been asked by the newspapers to deal with the leaders of the gangs. Now he was taking the necessary power after requests made by the Honoured National Congress. He was not making enemies of the Bantu by dealing with people who gave them a bad reputation.

The High Commission authorities had, in fact, asked him to report the leaders of these gangs far from encouraging the Bantu with this measure, he would be giving their cooperation—Sapa.

Rhodesia Faces New Crises On Franchise Proposals

TWO big issues in Southern Rhodesia's proposed new franchise law were that the Government should remain in civilized lands, but that the vote should be given to those Africans who had earned the right of being called civilized and responsible persons, said the Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd.

Mr. Todd was commenting on his statement made to the Joint-Racial Society that if Parliament, when considering the new Franchise Bill, failed to acknowledge the Group Africans in the colony who had had 30 years' education, he would not continue to lead his Party.

He reiterated his statement that Africans such as teachers, agricultural demonstrators, medical orderlies and those of similar jobs had the right to be classed with their educational backgrounds as responsible persons entitled to the vote.

The Tredgold Franchise Commission report, he said, was a challenge that had to be met, even though some people did not like some of the recommendations.

It was clearly demonstrated in the Assembly recently during the debate on the Tredgold Report that Government Party members were sharply divided on the question of the franchise. These views will clash again at the Party Parliamentary

meeting.

Mr. Todd stated at the end of May that the Franchise Bill would come before Parliament in July, but that its principles and details would have to be first discussed at the Party convention.

His Party caucus has now to try and find a compromise that will satisfy the majority of Party members if the Bill is to be awarded a safe passage through the House.

Finding this compromise is not going to be easy. For some weeks a working party of his Party M.P.s has been studying the franchise proposals so as to put a concrete plan before the caucus.

A second knowledge of bookkeeping is essential in every systematic course. The Revised Of Accountancy, Intermediate, based by 11 years of successful education system, have been published in several parts. The first part, "The Ideal Way To Success," The Revised Of Accountancy, P. O. Box 4234 (7), Johannesburg.

Nursing Apartheid And Diet Deficiency

By MEDICUS

AMONG the various arguments used before the the Parliamentary Select Committee in favour of apartheid in the nursing profession, perhaps none would now prove to the allegations that non-white nurses (especially Africans) required a different training syllabus in Europe.

Miss C. A. Richard of the Nursing Council explained: "The sense of responsibility of a European and a non-European nurse is different and we must therefore train them differently. If we do the same we are to have the same sense of responsibility. Does you train them differently you must register them differently."

One might have supposed that, even if Miss Richard's basic assumption is correct (which is doubtful), either you trained them the same way and that failed to produce the same sense of responsibility in the end, or you trained them differently in order to produce that desirable similarity as the end. Miss Richard preferred to have it both ways, possibly because her main concern was to advance a superior register and not retaining was subordinated to this aim.

Advocate van Rensburg put it more succinctly, also on behalf of the Nursing Council: "You cannot have one standard for a highly developed race and the same for a lower developed race." Quite so. There is to be no pretence of "the same end."

And this point is made even more abundantly clear by the discussion of dietetics as being "necessary" in the training of non-white nurses. Miss Richard thought dietetics pointless for those, as the "diet of non-Europeans is not the same as for Europeans." And Advocate van Rensburg said: "They will have the same education but a different syllabus." (Clearly a national syllabus?) "It will be a basic and practical syllabus which will be of help to the non-European as well. You cannot ask a question on dietetics in a non-European the same way in which you put it to a European. They do not live in the same way."

Of course, they do not. But should they not learn? The Directors of the Transvaal Nursing Services did not think so. Miss M. Sander: "I have had to face the stupid position of having to train in my own non-European students nurses serving the city, while they think the ordinary

African living should have. This type of teaching is unrealistic for the non-European. It is right out of context of what she should be taught in order to serve her own people in their own social milieu. More emphasis should be placed on the psychological and anthropological side the more 'cultural' [?] aspects of non-European work."

Are not these exactly the sort of arguments that the abandonment and opposition of racial change have used in every country through the years? In Britain a hundred years ago before the Florence Nightingale revolution, and even after? Is India still only the other day?

And one wonders what these earnest advocates of keeping from non-white nurses knowledge of what "an adequate human being" should eat, would say if confronted by a recent BBC lecture by Prof. J. Gilman of Natal University on "Malnutrition in Africa."

Prof. Gilman's thesis is that chronic malnutrition, not hunger, is the basic health problem of this continent. He compares it to an iceberg of which only a tiny fraction is visible in the form of diagnosed cases of acute nutritional failure. But he believes that post-mortem on large numbers of apparently healthy Africans reveal "widespread bodily damage, due to grossly insufficient diet."

To this cause he attributes the fact that African life expectancy in the Union is about 35 years, compared to the European's 70. The European death rate on the Rand is 7.6 per 1,000, Africans 20.9. Two-thirds of African deaths could be attributed to diseases connected with diet deficiency. A recent Census survey showed that 242 out of every 1,000 African children die before they are one year old, 323 before one year and 502 before they are 15. Among African school children 65-70 per cent. are recognisably malnourished, 50 per cent. need medical or nursing attention, 10 per cent. ought to be hospitalised for severe deficiency conditions! Grown Africans bear the marks of the un-

dernishment of their mothers and their own inferior diet during day. It is one of the greatest factors in the "laziness, irresponsibility etc. of the Nations."

Prof. Gilman emphasises that this is a long-term disability to which there are no quick answers. We are not even yet even what in the ideal diet, though we can recognise obviously inadequate ones. And the long-term ravages of persistent malnutrition cannot be remedied by short-term additions of deficient vitamins etc. Such remedies often produce harmful and even toxic effects.

Starving people do not develop degenerative nutritional diseases. The inmates of Berlin and Buchenwald were virtually free of scurvy, pellagra etc. Their deficiency diseases derive upon a quantitatively adequate diet of qualitatively inadequate food. And thrive the more successfully because the warning signal of hunger is not visible.

Overweight? While people with earlier tendencies are an malnourished, stunted Africans who average at least 10 lbs less, age for age, lighter for height, than average healthy Europeans. But the overweight White usually chooses his food badly or is greedy. The African is starved by poverty and ignorance. His diet is deficient in calories and vitamins. It is also badly unbalanced, with too great a reliance on one cheap staple food (e.g. maize). The result is a severely unbalanced combination, liable to pellagra, chronic liver disease, under susceptibility to infectious parasitic attack.

What is too often referred to as the African's "inferior mental capacity" is frequently due to chronic, low grade cerebral damage resulting from permanent malnourishment over a period of years.

Few of these chronic symptoms are curable by later medical attention, though they may be palliated. The damage has gone too deep for too long. It, therefore, follows that African malnutrition must be tackled at source—the pregnant mother, the babies and the school children. Did Dr Vorster really shout shout about the school-feeding scheme among Africans, yet leave it among the far better fed Whites?

And it must be tackled by diversifying the African's diet, so that maize meal becomes a smaller proportion of the food consumed—more eggs, bread, butter, milk, meat, fish, fruit and vegetables, says Prof. Gilman.

Of course, much of this remedy lies outside the medical sphere—is raising Africans' incomes to a level at which they can afford a more varied diet. The bus boycotts have revealed how food is the only item in the budgets of the very poor which can be cut back when incomes fall below subsistence level.

But, in face of Prof. Gilman's analysis, would Mrs. Swart still consider it "tragic" for Africans because to learn that "an ordinary human being's diet should start with grapefruit, eggs and bacon"? Perhaps if they had a little more general electric training, such notes would help save the non-white African generations from the fate so graphically depicted by Prof. Gilman, and thereby enrich our country's future human potential.

No Room For Dictatorship In Commonwealth

Dorking, (S. England).

BRITISH Labour Party leader, Hugh Gaitskell said here there was room in the Commonwealth for a minimum of the Indian type, "but no room for anything involving dictatorship and racial oppression."

Speaking at the conference of Commonwealth Socialist Parties, Gaitskell referred to the 600 million people in the Commonwealth who are "emerging into new adulthood" and said it was an "un-viable duty" to see that parliamentary democracy was preserved in these new nations.

Gaitskell spoke of the growth of "very powerful nationalist feeling" in the newly independent countries.

"In the great majority of cases, this is a good thing, but it would be foolish to deny that it can be exceedingly dangerous if it is allowed," he warned.

The conference passed a resolution condemning the South African Government for refusing to allow the South African Labour Party "free and unobstructed representation" at the conference.

R. VITHAL

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

London

THE Queen has set her money aside but for the last time she is giving attention to an African, Sir Enoweme, who is 36 years old and was born at Oshana, in Eastern Nigeria. So far the best lot for him has been, twice in one of the Buckingham Palace studies and twice at his own studio in Maiden Vale. Mr. Enoweme hopes to be given a fifth and last sitting soon so that he can complete the statue; it will then be sent in bronze, and placed in the House of Representatives at Lagos. The Federal Adviser to the Nigerian Government (Mr. Enoweme) was the obvious man to be commissioned when the official secretary suggested that a statue of the Queen should be erected to commemorate her visit to Nigeria last year.

Luanshysa N. Rhodensia

About 5,000 mine-workers, representing about two-thirds of the total African labour force, went on strike at East Africa, hope copper mines have recently become a meeting place that had asked for with the African personnel manager over a week ago had been refused. As a result for the Rhodensia Selection Trust said that an advancement of African staff had been involved, a member of the mine's study department had been invited to the arranged meeting with the personnel manager. The workers had objected to his presence and the meeting was closed.

European daily paid employees at the Rhodensia copper mines refused to work after a four-day strike over the responsibility for making safe certain electrical equipment.

London

A party of 8 British and local officials from Kenya who are touring this country for 6 weeks studying agriculture, local government, education and industry, have arrived in Manchester. In Manchester they paid special attention to local government. Their interest in the electricity examination was explained by one of them, "We have very few primary schools for children from 7 to 15. At 15 they take an exam. After year 12-13. But in our case it does not de-

cide between grammar and secondary modern school. It divides between the children who will go on to intermediate school and ones who will have no more education. The 15 per cent of scholars who pass the exam go on to the intermediate school and they are 15, and believe that with a year of secondary schooling. A general recognition of African education was taking place in Kenya. School is not compulsory, but as a first step in extending education a pilot scheme in Nairobi will make it possible for any child who wishes to attend school. The scheme will be introduced next year. If it is successful it will probably be attempted in other parts of the country. One serious problem is that too many secondary school graduates are turned away to the cities by the pressure of high wages, and not enough of them go on to teacher training colleges, where they are urgently needed.

The "Manchester Guardian" editorially writes as follows:

Although it is only 3 years since the great Owen Falls hydro-electric station in Uganda came into commission, already plans are being talked over for a second dam on the Nile to meet the growing need for power in East Africa. During its brief 6 or 7 years' existence the dam has thrown up the Uganda Electricity Board has been turning its eye to the future. The conclusion it reached from its own forecast estimates was that the full capacity of the Owen Falls dam was likely to be attained by 1965. In order to get a sense of opinion on the "Economist" Intelligence Unit was asked to make a study of the prospects for economic growth in Uganda with a view to assessing the potential demand for electricity. The report on this study, which has just been published, suggests that while the board may have been too optimistic in some of its calculations a serious source of supply will almost certainly be needed before 1955. At the end of that time the national income is expected to be two-thirds greater than it is now as there are at present many small industrial concerns waiting to be connected to the system, the

demand for electricity is likely to grow considerably faster. Taking into account the probable requirements of Kenya (which already buys a third of the Owen Falls output) there seems to be a sound case for getting ahead with another dam without much delay. There should be a surplus for its supply even so the rather conservative assumptions which this report makes about the progress of heavier industries and the growth of consumption in African households. Cheap and plentiful power is, in practice, probably the secret way to bring about a rapid rise in productivity and income and also to attract new industries into a country that has good natural resources.

London

The Colonial Office has announced that the Nigerian constitutional conference have approved a plan to appoint a committee of inquiry into the problems of minority representation to "ascertain the best about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria and to propose means of allaying those fears." Each of the 3 regions of Nigeria is dominated by one major ethnic group. However,

there are some 250 tribal groups in the country as a whole and in each region there are substantial numbers of people who regard themselves part of the dominant group of another region. The conference seemed to have been into real trouble in sorting this out in relation to the announced goal of all these delegates for self-government and independence for Nigeria in 1959. There has been pressure in Nigeria for a solution to be found by the creation of new states. The Calabar Union, for example, is a minority group which wants to see the creation of what it calls the Calabar, Oyoja and Koroa Union. But the Colonial Office administration are understood to be strongly opposed to the idea of creating more states in a Nigerian Federation. A committee added that the Colonial Secretary had announced at the previous day's session that the form of the agenda dealing with regional self-government had now been satisfactorily concluded, and that in consequence "steps to implement the understanding on this subject given in 1951 would be taken forthwith in respect of the Western Regions of Nigeria."

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

Should South Africa Be Expelled From The Commonwealth?-(1)

MR. ERIC LOUW speaks with marked and understandable diffidence when British Friends asked him if his government minded expulsion out of the Commonwealth. He said he saw no signs of any desire in that direction but hastened to add that South Africa would stay within the Commonwealth if the other members did not wish to throw her out—no something like that. This, together with the passing of the Native Laws Amendment Act, which creates situations in which the Africans could be treated as though they were not Indians, throws into very bold relief the question whether or not South Africa should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth.

Very many people, particularly in the non-White countries of the Commonwealth, feel that now, with the formal recognition of the competitive of the Family of Nations changing, is the time when South Africa should be thrown out before she complicates the relations inside the Commonwealth too far.

Other Arguments

There are other arguments in favour of such a course. Apartheid, it is said, is conflict with everyone of the principles cherished even in the Commonwealth; it is a heading toward to violence of non-White members; it is frightening Natives and Natives themselves from the idea of partnership. A group of young lawyers in the Commonwealth, it is common knowledge, came to the Family of Nations, in 1946, and, further, that South Africa had no right to enjoy permanent treatment as a member when her major contribution is to render the best state with keep the Glass Ceiling.

Again, it is said, would be a magnificent demonstration of Commonwealth determination to oppose race oppression in any shape or form and would be immensely satisfying to the African peoples. Others assert that it would spite the Whites and prevent the Africans from being a most welcome member of the great Family.

There are all very weighty arguments. But they raise thorny questions which no person can ever hope to answer. I propose to go into some of the latter.

Mixed Race

Firstly, what is possible, what would happen to the millions

of non-Whites who are bitterly opposed to apartheid? Would it be just and wise to throw them out with the condemned?

It seems to me that expulsion would not be too dignified a way of passing the buck. Most Africans want to stay in the Commonwealth and want to see apartheid defeated. These intentions are not irreconcilable. The time that comes in May might apartheid's back be broken within the Commonwealth? I shall answer that at the end of this contribution. For the moment I want to continue the case against expulsion.

It seems fairly certain that when the Federation constitution comes up for review in 1960 both Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia will choose not to be part of the South-West Africa. Certainly with the behaviour of the Southern Rhodesians in the Maitland case as background, no self-respecting African could choose to belong to a Federation where apartheid would be enshrined in one form or the other.

But if the two central African provinces decide to go the way of Ghana, that could quite conveniently produce a counterpoise effect on the idea of partnership in the Family With Ghana independent and newly Native while Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia want that they also an African Federation would be real on the way towards becoming a reality. This prospect would be more concrete to increasing number of African victims of apartheid that they should see solutions more and more in joining hands with Ghana, Nigeria, Nyanaland and Northern Rhodesia in a continental front against White domination.

African Identity

Maramba has already spoken of what he calls African identity in world affairs. That concept has a very powerful emotional appeal to African victims of apartheid. It is just the sort of the thing which makes the Africans.

With South Africa thrown out of the Commonwealth the remaining Africans within the Family of Nations, like the feeling of belonging to a larger and more just family, would be deepened. The Africans would be free to settle all accounts

with apartheid in his own way and could be seen to the next day out. I am sure in my mind that most advocates of expulsion do not want this unhappy country to be forced into civil war.

Of course, where the Union was expelled, both the Africans and the Whites would be free to look for allies wherever they were available. There is little doubt that after expulsion China and Russia would gladly come to the help of the Africans in these circumstances. In these circumstances, it seems that South Africa would be an out of hand over South Africa to the communists on a platter.

And, in any case, I fail to see where expulsion would be useful unless it were the first step towards isolating the Union and preparing for a Commonwealth declaration of war.

There are other, more powerful arguments. Expulsion would lose the force of the moral indignation it would inspire simply because to get South Africa out of the Commonwealth would tally very closely with one of the deepest African Nationalist aspirations. In it they would see their freedom denied without blood shed.

City Of London

The Commonwealth would lose through to "retaliate" in the efforts of a lone country. At the moment, it has been said, the City of London for its part, is not in a position to do much. There, it seems to me, could be a better measure for apartheid than expulsion.

The chance is that when Africans are persecuted, the steadily growing interest in the White community would be done, on all-White forms would be created and create sympathy a powerful solution of the race problem.

But when the real intention was to crush apartheid what would stop British or Commonwealth members from going to South Africa and forcing it to end apartheid? That is the dominant feeling? That is the issue concerning and affects the interests of solidarity with the victims of race oppression. It would be practical and would directly split the South-South Party in the end.

What should stop the Commonwealth members refusing to act in international discussions with White delegates who

supported apartheid? With apartheid in forcing now, almost certain to be law, why should not the medical and nursing associations of the Commonwealth not exert international pressure to expel South African professional associations with the Calver Bar? These pressure would certainly be most effective, what would be more, they would facilitate the coming-together of the White and non-White Democrats on a broader and more effective basis and hasten the advent of the day when they would work, struggle and bled together to establish that society which would be in the closed accord with the ideals cherished in the Commonwealth.

International Body Won't Act Against Nursing Apartheid

London.

A STRICT policy of non-interference prevents the International Council of Nurses from attempting to prevent the South African Government's Nursing Act Amendment (1956) from being applied to the nursing profession. It will take action only if asked to do so by a member body in the Union—the South African Nursing Association.

The executive secretary of the International Council, Miss D. Bridges said that so far no action had been requested by S.A.N.A.

"Members of local policy are not our business," she said. "We are happy to learn that merely in the hands of our member body. Being on the spot, they are more familiar with local conditions from day to day than we would ever be and we would never interfere unless asked by them for our services."

Subject Aired

The subject was aired at a recent executive meeting of the International Council in Rome, when, because "the subject stands at the nursing profession in South Africa have been questioned," the President of S.A.N.A., Miss M. G. Brooklands invited questions on "nursing conditions in the Union."

"Several questions were put to her," said Miss Bridges, "and she answered them to the satisfaction of all present."

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size either by our speech or
by our writing. We can only
do so really with our lives.
Let our lives be open books
for all to study.
—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

Founded by Maurice Godelle in 1905. Former Editor: *World Courier* (1912-1935)

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No. 25—Vol. LV.

Friday, 5th July, 1957

Who Is Boss Of The Nationalist Party: Strijdom Or Verwoerd?

IN the following article, a special Correspondent of the "Natal Witness" answers some of the questions raised in the minds of many by what might be going on in the Nationalist Party and whose external led course is the report that Dr Verwoerd might leave portfolio of Native Affairs.

The position of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, in the Cabinet is still an enigma, but there are signs that he will soon have to make a vital decision—either to quit politics or to make a bid for the Premiership.

During the Parliamentary discussion on the "church clause" the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, loudly declared Opposition intentions to join in the debate to defend Dr Verwoerd. In view of the magnitude of the controversy and the fact that the clause was roundly condemned by influential sections of the Afrikaans churches, it was logical that Mr. Strijdom should say something.

He said nothing and the interpretation which is now being placed on his silence, in the light of the news that Dr. Verwoerd is to relinquish Native Affairs, a fact there was a personal difference of opinion between Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd, with various members of the Cabinet ranged on the two sides.

The Nationalist Press has

gone out of its way to emphasise the friendship between Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Strijdom and to discard ideas that Mr. Strijdom, a lie man and wolf blood, is likely to have his position challenged.

The fact remains, however, that Dr. Verwoerd, who has been called the Moses of the Afrikaans people, is seen by Nationalist extremists, particularly in the Transvaal, as their hope and future leader.

He commands a dominant position in the party organisations which he helped to found, and which gave the Nationalists their 1948 victory. With him on the propaganda side and the Minister of Labour, Sessar De Klerk on the organisational side, a formidable party machine has been created.

Party Machine

The machine a process leads the party—and the party does not dissent and control the machine. Mr. Strijdom has played a relatively minor role in it and the betting is that if Dr

Verwoerd comes in to do so—and he is undoubtedly being urged by the extremists—he could lay down the law to Mr. Strijdom.

This explains why Mr. Strijdom condemned the "church clause" even if he would not say a word in its defence.

It also explains why Mr. Strijdom approved the flag and anthem measures, even though as recently as the Transvaal Nationalist con-

gress last year, he urged that the party should wait till the whole matter of the republic could be decided.

Mr. Strijdom used to give in on these two measures—and in the absence of any other explanation the only surmise can be that he was forced into a corner by the extremists and the party machine. And it is these two sections of the Nationalist Party that Dr. Verwoerd is dominating.

Nigerian Leaders Disappointed Independence Coming In 1960

BRITAIN will be prepared to grant independence to Nigeria, but only after the new Nigerian Federal Parliament, due to meet in 1959, formally requests it.

Britain, in answering Nigerian demands for independence in 1959, told the delegates she would be given independence, but the choice of date would depend on "the way everything was going."

The correspondence issued from London recorded the "disappointment" of the three regional premiers of Nigeria—Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Eastern), Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Western) and the Sardauna of Sokoto Alhaji Abubakar (Northern)—at Britain's refusal to set a target date for independ-

ence.

However, the premiers of the Eastern and Western regions are going home with British agreement to self-government for these regions this year. The premier of the Northern region, which is predominantly Moslem and was biggest, did not seek regional self-government until 1959.

The conference decides means that Nigeria is now assured of full on-going Ghana into sovereign state, served as a member of the British Commonwealth.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 8TH JULY, 1957

To Our Readers

WHEN Mahatma Gandhi started this paper, one of his intentions was to provide a forum where men and women could exchange views, where the clash of mind types itself would lead to a clearer perception of the truth. Over the years this tradition has been adhered to. We believe that in dropping the word *India* from this journal's name and in enabling it to be a forum for a wider circle of human beings we still carry out the Mahatma's intentions.

Special Appeal

Because of this we would like to make a special appeal to our readers to make the fullest use possible of our correspondence columns to discuss matters of moment to them as citizens.

Very many of our friends both in this country and overseas write from time to time asking what it is they can do to give us help. We are launching a campaign to bring in more subscribers as well as to widen our circulation. We would ask our sympathisers and friends to introduce *OPINION* to people they come in contact with as well as send as the names of those who might be interested in a paper like ours.

Serving Humanity

OPINION is not a profit-making organisation. It is moved by a charitable Trust and works solely to serve humanity, to fight ignorance and prejudice, cruelty and injustice by the methods of peace, love and truth. In a century like ours, where there is every acid for men and women on both sides of the colour line to seek constructive and peaceful solutions to the race problem we think a paper like our own has a place uniquely its own. To read it is to cast your vote for a peaceful solution of the century's most difficult problem.

Money's Value

It is our intention to give the reader his money's value. We should like to see *OPINION* able to bring to its readers the latest news, views and developments from all parts of the world which have a direct bearing on the race situation. We should like to give our readers informed discussions of the situation within the country itself. But with the best will in the world our success depends, in the first reckoning, on the amount of support given us by the men and women who love liberty and justice. It is to these we appeal.

I fully, we should like to express our very sincere gratitude to the friends, sympathisers and friends who have enabled us to carry on with the admittedly difficult task of running a paper like *OPINION* in the months we have left behind.

Comment On Men And Events

Strijdom Versus Verwoerd

THERE is trouble simmering in the Nationalist Party. It centres around Strijdom and Verwoerd and springs from the fear that the Minister of Native Affairs might be wanting to do to the Prime Minister what the latter did to Malan.

Friends and foes alike say that Verwoerd is easily one of, if not the most dominant person, intellectually, in the Cabinet, & his friends insist that in stature he stands possibly next to the Prime Minister. Capable in the measure he is the most talked-about man. He has energy, drive and courage which are often matched by bold words of fanaticism.

Theoretician

There is little doubt that in the ranks of the Party he is accepted as one of the principal theoretical exponents of apartheid. Trained as a psychologist and possessing considerable picture-theatrical experience he is often able to persuade his Cabinet colleagues to support him in some of his wilder dreams with little difficulty.

That did not matter much when the weather was fairly when farmers were assured of good markets and the industrialists of fair returns and reasonably low taxation. As a rule political parties do not quarrel when they are successful. But when the weather changed, when the world sold apartheid articles, when Canada got £380,000,000 and the Central African Federation £28,000,000 in foreign loans—money which South Africa scraped a miserable £1,000,000, when the Alexandria boycotts made the Ministry of Transport the laughing-stock of the market-places of the world with its threats, the lords of apartheid found themselves face to face with enemies and their enemies. For example, they were forced to retreat from and move to crippling taxation.

End Of Era

Verwoerd thought he could take a lot of the burden off White shoulders if he satisfied the Afrikaners by lowering his standards and subsidising the activities of the other loyalties. That did not work. And now the farmers are being told to ignore their better industry is being advised to consider ground ground. All these are signs that South Africa is heading to the end of the era of prosperity which followed the end of the last war.

This should not be the time when foreign investors are look-

ing for new fields and where South Africa should be attracting more money than she can make good use of. The cause of the creation of the law is, of course, the fear expended in many here and abroad that apartheid means conditions for a violent explosion something less likely to attract any investors.

Maddest Extremes

Recent apartheid has gone to its maddest extremes in the treatment of the Afrikaners, the Prime Minister feels that to secure the reversing trend that the situation is under control he should remove Verwoerd from the Native Affairs portfolio. In this sense the removal is a major rebuff for Verwoerd.

But the fact that it comes so shortly before the elections suggests that there is something else, besides. It would seem as if the Prime Minister and his wing of the Party feel they should make it plain for all to see who is boss of the Nationalist Party.

The Prime Minister is a very remarkable man. Endowed with force of character, when the times are difficult in their terms of Black and White, he has the peculiar habit of showing ideas to clear through his mind with the violence of party. Whatever it is a part of the last stage of anti-verwoerdism, Verwoerd is a devoted believer in power as a desired argument.

Differences

The temperamental differences between the two men did not matter when all was well. But when the tide turned suddenly against apartheid their personal rivalries were accentuated and now constitute a heavy weight on the shoulders of the loads which keep the Nationalist Party together.

The fiercest theorist in Verwoerd seems to date from about 1945 when the more practical farmer in Strijdom wanted to take more compromise, at least, of reality. Neither is it usual to yield ground to the other two far, 'Aph' would be the best way out for the 'Nationalist Party'. But official theoretical movements don't split—however the differences might be talked into the future. At the same

that the Prime Minister feels that he can no longer control Verwoerd.

Point Of strength

He has hit on the idea of removing him not so much from a point where he undermines the Party as from a point of strength. If he goes over to Finsen, he will be isolated, politically. He will no longer figure in the dramatic situations which give him so much publicity at the expense of the Party. And, in his new habitat, he will be brought face to face with the hard reality of having to level some of his personal singularities to impress, at least, the financial world.

The Nationalist Party needs foreign finance. African Nationalism depends on it at the moment to a very large extent. If Verwoerd starts the slow late thirteenth again, he will destroy, in Nationalist eyes, to be the next Prime Minister. If he fails, that will be the end of the apartheid bubble.

Time Overruns

I told earlier that Verwoerd is being isolated. He will spend a good deal of his time overruns, away from the parliament. To make certain that his influence is weakened considerably in the Party Stridom seems in need to prepare his brother-in-law, Jan de Klerk, to the Native Affairs Portfolio. De Klerk is as much of a blitherer as Verwoerd—but he is infinitely practical by spiritless standards. If he goes to the NAD that will

mean that the theoretical fanatics have had a move forward to the practical administration.

The latter want to consolidate ground held and set to embark on ventures which complicate an already difficult task. Viewed in this light, the statement by Mr. Eric Louw in London that he could not say if his government would pass more apartheid legislation begins to have clearer meaning—Stridom is making it felt that he is lost.

Breaking-Point

The history of the Nationalist Party to date shows that when internal forces begin to be aligned in this fashion, breaking point is not really far. But there is a new factor in the present situation. The external crisis is relatively remote. In the past these crises have had the effect of splitting the Nationalist forces. At the same time a new force has emerged. The boycott of the Afrikaners has shown that the organized members of the African are affecting a shift in the balance of political power. Tactically, this might strengthen Stridom against Verwoerd.

But if Verwoerd finally find himself in the position where he will be isolated by the hierarchy and chopped off the sunlight, with political oblivion a real prospect, he will most probably decide it was time he did as Stridom what the latter did to Mabin.

It is a war of attrition, you see. But both have an eye on the gallery.

JORDAN K. NGUBANE.



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End Foreign Rule In Goa

THE Goa speakers at a public meeting in Bombay took a pledge to wage a relentless fight with renewed vigor to end Portuguese imperialism in Goa, Daman and Diu.

The meeting was held at the People's Hall to commemorate the eleventh anniversary of the Goa revolution started to Margao by Dr. Bhausaheb Latta on June 15, 1946.

A resolution, which was unanimously adopted, appealed to freedom loving countries of the world to render their assistance to the Sahakar Government to stop the "inhuman atrocities which the Portuguese and African middle men perpetrating on the peaceful citizens of Goa, Daman and Diu and to grant them independence."

"Considering the limitations of the Government of India's foreign policy and the unlimited

aid of the Sahakar Government in the use of brute force is to be held on Goa, Daman and Diu, this meeting calls upon the people of these territories to organize themselves and make a final bid to drive away the foreign ruler from the shores of India" the resolution added.

Dr. Tribhuvan Bhausaheb de Cunha, who presided, said the question at Goa, Daman and Diu, could be solved only by armed intervention. The committee cannot have applied in the past several had proved ineffective. "We today have been transformed into a foreign base which has potential danger to the security of India," he added.

In Bitter Denunciation Of Apartheid Prof. Keet Says Whites Must Abandon Feeling Of Superiority

A PARTHEID was subjected to one of the sharpest attacks yet levelled at it when, in Johannesburg, it was described by Professor R. B. Keet, a leading authority of the Dutch Reformed Church, as "impractical", "immoral" and "a threat to white South Africa". He said it represented the attitude of the guilty conscience which does not see the cause of its guilt in itself but in the proximity of those who occasion the feeling of guilt.

Professor Keet had come especially to give the 15th annual Herold Memorial Lecture of the South African Institute of Race Relations at the last state's annual headquarters at Anton House, in Johannesburg. He spoke of "the Ethical Apartheid" to a large and distinguished audience which included prominent members of the Union of F. M. B. and the Witwatersrand and other South African universities. Keet said he was not a member of Parliament, newspaper editor and leading churchman.

One of the best of the many luminaries of apartheid, said Professor Keet, was that it seemed to the permanent and total political, economic and social segregation of the non-White groups whom, on the basis of the Government's justifications of their policy, it should also be considered desirable in the case of the European groups of the country's population.

"If independent apartheid enforces it is essential for the sound development of the non-European groups, why should it halt at the colour line?" he asked.

Victims Of Apartheid

"By seeing the situation of the problem not in subjective repugnance but in the objective manipulation of those who are the victims of our racial prejudice we reveal the attitude of the guilty conscience which does not take the cause of our guilt in ourselves but in the proximity of those who occasion the feeling of guilt."

"The very first requisite if we are to find a solution is to examine ourselves and get rid of our strongest feeling of superiority, as if we are fundamentally so much better than these coloured brethren with their dark skin, coarse features and poverty stricken living conditions."

"Without a change of heart on our part the best-planned

policy will fail, for a mere change of environment cannot bring about a change of disposition, and without a change of disposition the rule of our unsatisfactory race relations will remain," Prof. Keet declared.

Will To Act

Ethical principles, he said, were not meant to be executed as axioms and then left to speculation. They must be implemented and applied in everyday life as law. The discipline, the will to act must be there in a problem which everyone should regard as a personal one.

In its application in South Africa (apartheid) shows an almost total disregard for the rapidly growing numbers of Africans who have emerged from their primitive state. The plain intent of apartheid, as the pattern unfolds, is progressively to diminish all points of contact with the coloured race, even to the extent of closing the church doors of the European community to them," said Prof. Keet. "Apartheid claims to salvage the necessity of a development of the non-European race to the limit of their capabilities along their own lines. But how can we to

automate the point of time when a whole society comes to maturity and so qualified for the principles of being treated as co-equals? And who will be the arbiter in this matter? The fact is that it cannot be done."

Apartheid Fundamentally Wrong

"Accordingly, my view which regards the group as of preponderating importance, even to the suppression of the individual, must be condemned as unethical from a Christian standpoint." It is just how that apartheid grows to be more fundamentally wrong because it seeks to the individual in the generalization of group-thinking," Prof. Keet declared.

To treat the group as a masked individual, as apartheid did, was an abstraction that led to the most disastrous consequences, and was in fact, in fact, the submergence of justice, common sense, anti-racism and colour prejudice, he said.

"In our South African situation we have all the ingredients of group thinking aggravated by the closed group formation according to the colour of one's skin. For the different elements of population the individual is held inseparably together with his group, as if he had chosen his own ancestors. As a consequence we have developed a caste system which separates all others of its kind, because no others it may be possible to advance to a higher caste, but here, under apartheid, there is no possibility of change."

Anti-White Front

Colour prejudice was probably the greatest single factor

in the creation of black nationalism where groups of widely divergent interests were driven together to form a solid front wholly hostile to the whites, said Prof. Keet.

"Apartheid tends to reverse the process of Western civilization in which nations are continually developing towards a casteless society, in which not even the monarch is a class or an estate or a proletariat, where all feel they are part of the nation. For the European group in South Africa is particularly it is suicidal to adhere to these artificial colour divisions, for it is just this approach that turns the problem as an ethical one, based on the calculation of numbers, so as to prevent the domination of one group over another. Along these lines the prospects for the survival of a white South Africa are indeed bleak," he said.

Better Alternative

The advocates of apartheid constantly claimed that there was only one alternative to apartheid—integration of all races.

"For myself I would prefer to say that it was the choice between racial domination and racial co-operation. If the doors of apartheid could be removed it would leave such a legacy of resentment and anger that the price paid would be far too high. There would be nothing but an acceptance of the fact that we must live and work together. A way must be found to enable the non-European to share in the great task of building the nation—a right

(Continued on page 292)

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Gandhiji And Kasturba Save Each Other's Life

CHAPTER XVII

WHILE in South Africa, Kasturba fell very ill and had to go to hospital for an operation. It was impossible to chloroform her, as she was too weak to bear it. She was as brave as any man during the operation and did not squeal at all. After the operation, however, she gave worse screams of better, until it seemed as if she were about to die. The doctor said it was absolutely necessary for her to take beef tea if her life was to be saved. Gandhiji refused to allow this, just as he had refused to allow Manilal to take the chicken broth. But even to save the life of his dearest one would be to do a thing that he thought to be wrong.

The doctor said that if Kasturba did not take the beef tea and obey all his orders with regard to diet, she must be removed from the hospital. He said this because he really feared that she would die if she did not eat the

food ordered by him, and he did not want to take the responsibility.

Gandhiji was in a terrible position. The Hindu religion absolutely forbade the eating of beef,

and he himself felt that we should not kill even the smallest insect, much less a gentle animal like the cow. Kasturba was dying, however. He decided to ask her what she wanted to do—just as he had done with Manilal, for he did not like to force anyone not to eat meat if it was his or her wish to do so.

Now, Gertrude Murray-Carron

and he himself felt that we should not kill even the smallest insect, much less a gentle animal like the cow. Kasturba was dying, however. He decided to ask her what she wanted to do—just as he had done with Manilal, for he did not like to force anyone not to eat meat if it was his or her wish to do so.

Kasturba firmly replied that she would rather die, than drink beef tea, and asked her husband to carry her away from the hospital.

It was raining, and they would have to go home so the Phoenix

Settlement by train. The station was a long distance away from the hospital, and Kasturba appeared near to death. She was as thin as a skeleton and as weak as a new-born baby.

They got to the station in a nick-of-time. Kasturba bravely confessed her husband when she noticed how worried he was over 'his condition "Don't worry," she said cheerfully. "Nothing will happen to me."

At Phoenixville, good friends from the farm were waiting for them with hot milk for Kasturba to drink and a hamper to carry her in.

Gandhiji sat with her with all his skill in the days that followed, and for a time she was much better. Then she became very ill again. Nothing did her any good. One day Gandhiji thought that perhaps she might get better if she gave up eating salt and pulses. He asked her to do so but she said that she never could. When he gently insisted, she said that he was adding something impossible, and that he himself would never be able to give up eating salt and pulses. Gandhiji was only too pleased to have a chance of doing something difficult for her sake, and promised to give up salt and pulses for a year.

This great kindness so touched Kasturba's heart that she at once promised to do as he wished. She begged him, however, not to trouble about giving up salt and pulses himself. She could not bear that he should make such a sacrifice just because she had been obstinate. Gandhiji replied that he could not break a solemn promise.

Kasturba wept, but he remained firm. So they both left salt and pulses out of their daily food—and the happy result was that Kasturba soon began to get well again.

Later on Kasturba had an opportunity of seeing her husband's life in stone.

He had come to know how cruelly many people treated their poor cows in India. Here, in the state good to get more and more profit, they viewed the poor animals in their efforts to squeeze out the last drop of milk. This cruelty was horrible to Gandhiji's

life-loving heart. He often said that he would never kill a single animal even to save the life of a human being. So we can guess how he felt about poor, gentle cows being made to suffer awful pain just for the sake of getting a little extra milk. He also felt at that time that milk was not absolutely necessary to man. So he made a vow never to touch milk again, and he kept this vow faithfully for a long time. At last he felt very ill, however, and the doctor said that he must take milk if he wished to become strong again. Gandhiji explained to the doctor the vow he had made.

What and clever! Kasturba was standing near by and in her wish to see her husband well again she quietly changed of a way out of the difficulty. She asked Gandhiji, "If, by 'milk' he did not mean the milk of cow and buffalo. He said, of course, that it was so. Then, said Kasturba, even if he had vowed never to touch the milk of cows and buffaloes, there was nothing to prevent him from taking the milk of goats, as they had not been in his mind at the time of taking the vow."

The doctor said that if his patient would only consent to drink the milk of goats, he would be quite satisfied.

Gandhiji agreed and soon was well again. In this way, Kasturba's quick brain rescued her husband from a severe illness that might easily have ended in his death. Though she had not studied she was more intelligent than very many women who have, always showing great common-sense. A perfect wife and mother, she is an example for all Indian girls to follow in her loving devotion to her husband and children, and in her simplicity, modesty, beauty and piety.

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(To be continued)

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Bishop Reeves Warns Of Conflict As Result Of Church Laws

THE RT. REV. ANDREW REEVES, Bishop of Johannesburg, speaking in New York on the conflict between Church and State in South Africa and on the possible punishment of those who defied the law, declared: "The Church cannot lose in the long run. Individuals might suffer, but history is littered with people who have tried to do this to the church."

Speaking at a Press conference, Bishop Reeves said that the increasing tension between

the Church and the Government over the Government's racial segregation policies threatened to break out into open conflict.

That would happen, he said, when the Government tried to enforce a new law, passed on May 15, prohibiting Africans from attending church services in White areas if their presence was considered a nuisance.

The Church, he said, had instructed congregations to carry on as before, and he said that facts would be relied to help those who were victimised by the law as a result.

Under the new law, the Bishop said, "once again it is non-Whites who are punished."

But he and his fellow clergymen might also bring severe consequences on themselves by instructing their congregations to disobey the law as they had.

He said they were risking being charged with inciting others to break the law. The maximum penalty would be a £200 fine, up to five years in jail and possibly 10 lashes.

Africans Want To Clear Out Of CAF

London.

MR. HARRY NKUMSU, U.A. President of the Rhodesia African National Congress, told a Press Conference at the House of Commons that he had come to Britain to press the British Government to allow Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to break away from the federal state.

He said that federation had been imposed against the wishes of Central Africans and opposition to the federal scheme was rising.

The Rhodesia African Congress represents over 150,000 Central Africans, he added.

Louw Invited Dr. Nkrumah To Lunch In London

MR. ERIC H. LOUW, the South African Minister of External Affairs, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, recently held lunch together in London.

It was the last meeting at Ministerial level between representatives of the Government of South Africa and the new state of Ghana.

The lunch took place at the Dorchester Hotel after the morning session of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference at No. 10, Downing Street.

Mr. Louw was accompanied by Mr. G. F. Jacobs, the Secretary for External Affairs, and Dr. Nkrumah by Mr. Kojo Boto, the Minister of Trade and Labour.

Mr. Louw informed Nkrumah's correspondent afterwards that the discussion he had had with Dr. Nkrumah had been very interesting and most constructive.

Private Meeting

When Mr. Louw arrived in London, he said he would arrange to have a private meeting with Dr. Nkrumah.

The lunch was at Mr. Louw's invitation, and was arranged towards the end of last week.

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Mr. Nehru's Goodwill Tour Of Scandinavia

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU, on his way to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, had a warm reception in Denmark, Finland and Norway and was in Stockholm on June 29 to complete his goodwill tour of Scandinavia.

When he arrived in Oslo on June 30, he was greeted by the Norwegian Prime Minister, Mr. Gahrstén and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Lange.

Later he was received in audience by the Prince Regent the Crown Prince Olav at the Royal Palace.

During his earlier visit to Finland, Dr. Nehru said at an official banquet that acceptance of the five principles of peaceful co-existence would remove the principal causes of international conflict.

He said "I do not say that the world will become virtuous by mere repetition of a phrase. But by such acceptance a certain public world public opinion is built up and grows, and gradually influences the powers and makes it difficult for them to misbehave."

Mr. Nehru condemned jibes at 'Hemushah' and said the alternative to following an independent foreign policy was to surrender one's own judgement. "Surely that is not a healthy state of affairs," he declared, and added: "Nor is it a democratic approach".

The Finnish Prime Minister, Mr. Kekkonen, said that the outlook of India and Finland were basically similar. "We think as you do, that in order to function effectively the United Nations must become fully representative of the world community."

Of the Prime Minister's three-day visit to Denmark, the Copenhagen conservative paper "Danskke Tidende" said: "Denmark has no official visit here as successful Nehru brought to Denmark a breath from a war and violent culture. He taught us few things about the art of living in peace in a troubled world."

Shortly after arrival Mr. Nehru drove to the Royal Palace at Amalienborg, residence of King Frederick and Queen Margrethe to sign the visitors'

book. At eight he was the guest of the Danish Government at a banquet at Christiansburg Palace, east of the Danish Parliament.

In a speech at the banquet, Mr. Nehru stressed the great task facing the people of India in creating a social welfare state. He said "Our present policy must take with our thinking over long periods of the past. We simply do not want to be subjugated. We wish to build our own country and we have learned that too much criticism of others is not the way to transform the world."

The Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Hansen, welcoming Mr. Nehru, said there was "hardly any contemporary statesman who enjoys higher personal prestige in every part of the world." He continued: "We are humbler with and we admire very greatly the role of your personal efforts in securing for India very significant position which your country holds today among the nations of the world"—131.

Indian Navy Cleared At Mombasa

HUNDREDS of people gathered at the Assala Drive and cheered the Indian Navy Flagship "Delhi" when it sailed into Mombasa Harbour leading the destroyers "Rajput", "Raoji" and "Rana" into the harbour for a five-day goodwill visit.

As the ships passed the Royal East African Naval Base, smart African naval guards presented arms and accorded the ships its welcome.

Hundreds of others gathered at the quayside where the "Delhi" berthed. The Provincial Commissioner of Kenya's Coast Province, Mr. Desmond O'Hagan, went on board to call on Rear-Admiral Katari and a seven-gun salute was fired when he left. The Admiral called on the Indian Commissioner and the call was returned. The Chairman of the Mombasa Municipal Board and other Indian leaders then called.

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Evidence Of Treason Etc.

(By A Special Correspondent)

BY the time the prosecution called experts to discuss the nature of treason and communism the Treason Inquiry had a mass of evidence on file over 10,000 documents have been admitted, and at the end of the week ending May 11 over sixty police and other witnesses had testified about meetings up and down the country.

Together with the 156 accused and the possibility that the preliminary hearing, begun in December, will last at least until August (with the trial still to come) all this adds up to the longest and longest judicial proceedings ever held in the Union.

The following extracts from the verbal evidence on a late even-estimation of the Coen case is regard to meetings. But it must be remembered that witness Pm. 51 described the 156th meeting brought to the Inquiry's notice. So that it is only possible to present a selection.

A Coloured member of the Special Branch, Det-Sgt. I. Sharpe, said one speaker at a Sophiatown meeting began "Mr. Chairman and Fellow Strivers." He blamed the African situation to pre-eminence at the time of Christ: "We know our country is being taken forcibly from us." Sgt. Sharpe emphasized that one of the women suspected had made love to him and had "blurred" in his ear. The magistrate warned the accused about contempt of court.

Det-Capt. Myles reported an accused saying: "The A.N.C. will be the Government of the future. We will punish African nationalists...the difference will be that there will be a democracy and an colour bar." The A.N.C. is not wrong when it wants equal rights."

In reply to Mr. V. C. Berrange (the defence) witness admitted the speaker added: "If White and Black are united, we can fight shoulder to shoulder to defeat the enemy. Another speaker called us 'slaves of Africa to remain the handcliffs. If we are unable to do so, our children will be unable to do so because they will have received Bantu Education."

Mr. Berrange: "He also spoke of the unity between Whites and Blacks—Yes, that is correct," (20 of the 57 police witnesses called have recorded under cross-examination the speakers at the meetings emphasized non-violence but co-operation with Europeans.)

Det-McLennan reported a 51 hour meeting at the Trades Hall yesterday, though he made no guess till he got home. Mr. Berrange: "How did you get—25. When were you back?—(in the second attempt) 3123. How did you go to school?—I did

not expect concern over discrepancies between the original notes taken by Coen witnesses at the meetings and transcripts handed up to the court. Both Coen and defence agreed that there were material discrepancies.

Det. Sgt. F. J. O'Connell made short-hand notes at an ANC meeting in Sophiatown in August 1955. One speaker said: "Ever since 1919 the Europeans in South Africa have stood together to oppress the Bantu blood out of the Africans. Whether it is Jan Smuts or Johannes Verwoerd, the Europeans have no right to make laws for the Africans. We say that Africans, Coloureds and Indians should get together and rule. We want to govern ourselves."

Det-Capt. G. Halli reported a speaker saying that "the Government should remember that before they became Ministers they were agitators."

A woman accused was reported to have told a meeting: "Dutch policemen in the Flying Squad can demand your pass, and if you haven't got one they take you into the car and even rape you. After a while you find you are carrying a Dutchman's child because you let this apartheid only work in the street, not when you are two together."

There was a burst of laughter in the court when Det. Satagha, whose language is Venda, emphasized that he was able to understand proceedings at meetings because he used to go the ANC chairman to provide him with a Venda interpreter.

An ANC meeting at Alexandra was said: "There was a great and stupid Dutch people like Verwoerd and Smuts still don't understand that apartheid is impracticable. The D.R.C. is propagating a doctrine that the African people should not mind their oppression as they would get freedom in heaven. In that case, I do not want to go to heaven."

Mr. F. J. O'Connell, representative of the Kays Mendi Institute, Stellenbosch, used to be a reporter on "Die Burger." He said words that paper anything of "naive value." He also took notes of meetings for the police. "My accounts on three meetings and say nothing of more might fairly be construed in part of my duties."

Mr. O'Connell said that non-violence was stressed at ANC meetings "But this was often contradicted by the content of the speeches." Asked to illustrate this, Mr. O'Connell quoted a speech (not by an accused) which said: "The time has come when we must choose a representative to tell the Government what is troubling us. Everywhere we put our foot down is blood, because where you put your foot you are caught. If you have no pass you must pay 10c. or 15c."

Mr. O'Connell (for defence): "You call that streaming the idea of violence?—Not violence, but related ideas such as hardship, hate and sufferings." Mr. O'Connell: "I seriously suggest that putting forward governments or showing representatives is to advocate violence?—The speaker was creating an atmosphere of tension which might be conducive to violence."

Mr. O'Connell said he had collaborated with the police since 1943 when he was a student at Stellenbosch. He was paid for reports of speeches said by "Die Burger." Asked whether, if a speaker had said "the ANC would be all that is best in our nation," he would send it to "Die Burger," Mr. O'Connell replied: "There would not be much point in sending a report that would not be published."

Sgt. W. J. Wessels reported an ANC meeting which was said that "Congress was very weak when Smuts was in power as he was not a tyrant. The oppressors Mthembu and Verwoerd have been good leaders for us," making the ANC popular because of the people's endorsement.

Det-Sgt. F. Lowe said that "organizers" at Bloemfontein give the police the right to disrupt all African meetings at which English and Afrikaans translations of speeches are not made. "I would disapprove any meeting at which this regulation was broken." The regulation also provided that a police officer had to be in sole control of such meetings. Mr. Berrange: "This is leading me to the problem where I shall have to subpoena the District Commissioner of Bloemfontein."

Mr. Eric Langenhove, now a reporter on the "Pretoria Office," sent the Special Branch a transcript of a meeting at the Doree Social Centre in Durban. One of the accused said: "I do not believe we have Fascism in this country, because, if we did, we would not be on this platform here. But let me now believe that Fascism is not far approaching."

One of the last meetings reported to the Court up to May 11 had been called in New Brighton (Port Elizabeth) in 1951 to discuss the boycott of a local newspaper for selling Afrikaner papers.

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

British And French Tried To Kill Us With Bombs, USA Tried To Kill Us By Peaceful Means

BLITZ magazine Editor Mr. Karamappa's exclusive interview with President Nasser of last March was reprinted in a recent issue of the "Daily Express", which carried world copyright answers by Mr. Nasser to the American writer/Mr. William Attwood.

"One of Mr. Attwood's queer items was, 'In March, you told all Indian journalists that it was futile to treat the West. Do you think your avowed socialist partners—Albert Till and Mr. Fabre—would agree with this view?'

'President Nasser rejected the American view more bluntly than he told Mr. Karamappa.

"Would you trust someone who is talking you with a gun? We were attacked by your British and French allies. We were threatened by Mr. Dulles. You said 'it hard for me to trust you.'

"Described as President Nasser's 'first analysis of 'How I see things'—since the immemorial events of last autumn'—the interview shows Egypt's ruler as self-confident, unshaken by western propaganda attacks and altogether this even.

Expounding Soviet economic assistance as contrasted with what is in his opinion "Western Economic War" on Egypt, Mr. Nasser said: "The Russians sell us wheat and petrol. They bought our cotton. They helped us survive. You—and they helped us escape domination by the West. How can I say this is evil?"

"You from our foreign currency. You refused to sell us wheat and medicines when we needed them. You tried to bring economic pressure on us to change our Social policy."

"The difference between you and your allies is that they tried to kill us with bombs and you tried to kill us by peaceful means—by economic pressure and starvation. Both claims failed."

Sudden Death Of

Dr. Bharadwaj Karamappa

The death occurred at Madras on June 25 of the noted Gandhian scholar, Dr. Bharadwaj Karamappa. He was 65.

Dr. Karamappa died suddenly of cerebral haemorrhage.

Dr. Karamappa was chief editor of the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi sponsored by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The first volume of this is stated to be now ready and about to go to press.

Dr. Karamappa was born in 1892 in Kovvada and belonged to an illustrious Christian family. One of his brothers, Dr. J. G. Karamappa, a noted theologian of Mahatma Gandhi, is a well-known Gandhian economist.

Dr. Bharadwaj Karamappa was educated at Madras and in England where he got his doctorate in Economics and Indian philosophy. After teaching philosophy for some time in Nagpur and Madras Dr. Karamappa became the Assistant Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association. He edited for the Harvard Trust an abridged version of the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi and some selected works of the Mahatma.

In Hitler Demagoguery Of Apartheid

(Continued from page 286)

which apartheid death," said Prof. Kest.

Merit

"Leaving the ethical question aside for a moment," he went on, "the patent objection on practical grounds will be that the survival of White South Africa will in any case be placed in jeopardy. To this one can only reply that a mass appreciation of the probable outcome of it all is that for many generations to come there will be no marked diminution in the superiority of the Karamappas. But it will at least be a superiority based on merit rather than accident. And it is the distant future the non-Karamappas shall have proved their superiority and taken over the leadership, the Karamappas can have no grievance if they

are unable with a start of 300 years to make their advantage. By that time is any case, one may expect that this whole synthesis of black versus white will have lost its meaning, since the cause of the synthesis will have been removed.

"South Africa stands at the cross-roads. Will it grasp the opportunity to give the world a shining example of racial co-operation in a multi-racial country or will it persist in a policy that has failure writ large on the very first steps taken to ensure its implementation? Nobody cherishes the

vision that it will be an easy task. It will claim the best brains, the deepest devotion and the greatest sacrifice.

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કોઈપણ બોર્ડિંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ પ્રશ્ન વર્ગનેજ લેવામાં આવશે. જોરપાશીમાં નહીં અને આક્રમિક દબલ્ડ ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાડ્યો મારે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી લેવરખની સેવાથી શરૂ કરી, અને કાચી તેમજ વાણીની દાળ, ખારેક, પિપરલ, અને ચણાલી, વિગેરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ધરતું અધિલું અધાલું અને સાચી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગોર્ડેશી સિખંડ અને કુંધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે જણા.

*I do not believe in people
...telling others of their faith,
especially with a view to con-
version. Faith does not admit
of telling. It has to be lived
and "then it becomes self-
propagating."
—Mahatma Gandhi.*

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933.

Former Editors: Manilal Gandhi—1934-1956

No. 27—Vol. LV.

Friday, 12th July, 1957

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LOW TELS BRITISH OF NAT ATTITUDE TO AFRICAN STATES DENIES APARTHEID'S DANGERS

In these days, when our country is being subjected to force criticism and violent attacks," said Mr. Low, "it is good to know that there are many British citizens who are acquainted with South Africa and its problems and who are not misled by this campaign of misrepresentation and distortion."

He said that he was going to deal frankly with the anti-South African campaign, but would speak first on the very interesting developments taking place in Africa.

Focal Point

"Africa in the past years or two has become a focal point of international affairs," said Mr. Low. "Great changes are in progress on the continent—changes reflected by the presence at the current Commonwealth conference of the Prime Minister of Ghana."

"The Union is, of course, watching these developments with the greatest interest. Africa south of the Sahara, with its great natural resources and its strategic position between West and East, has become destined to play an important part in international affairs."

"And for this reason there is need for understanding, goodwill and co-operation among its various States, territories and peoples."

Strydom Statement

"The position was clearly put by Mr. Strydom, our Prime Minister, when he said: 'Our aim is the free, independent new White States are coming into being in Africa. We acknowledge these States as part of Africa.'"

"We must not regard them as enemies, but together with us,

they should realize that there is room in Africa for non-White States, and room also for White States."

Mr. Low added: "The Prime Minister extended the hand of friendship to these emergent States and emphasized the desirability of co-operation in matters of common concern."

On Guard

"That is the policy of the Union Government and of myself as Minister of External Affairs."

"We, and the emergent States of Africa, must be on our guard against attempts which are being made—in the Press and in certain quarters—to sow the seeds of suspicion and distrust for the purpose of breaking down the spirit of goodwill, co-operation and understanding which we are trying to build up between the Union of South Africa and the other States and territories in Africa."

Mr. Low said that as Minister of External Affairs there rested upon him the duty to do everything in his power to promote friendly relations between South Africa and other countries.

Anti-S.A.

He would be taking in his duty if he did not take advantage of his presence in London to deal with the anti-South African campaign "which on the one hand is generating prejudice against South Africa in the minds of millions of people in the United

Kingdom, and on the other hand, is having the effect of embittering both sections of the Union's European population."

"However excellent and cordial the relations between our two Governments may be—and I am glad to be able to testify to these happy relations—there is no doubt that relations between the peoples of the two countries are being detrimentally affected by this campaign."

Unfortunate

"That, of course, is most unfortunate, not only for South Africa, but also for the United Kingdom."

"Our two countries have many interests in common, apart from the traditional bonds of friendship and goodwill, and it is our mutual interest that we should co-operate to the best of our ability."

Mr. Low said that the anti-South African campaign in this country was to a very large extent based on misleading and distorted news despatches appearing in certain newspapers and on information received from prejudiced sources in the Union.

The anti-Union campaign advanced by those who tried to justify the anti-South African campaign, said Mr. Low, was that the Government had, since coming into power, passed legislation for carrying out the Government's policy of Apartheid—separate development for the non-European population.

The legislation complained of did no more than put into statutory form what had been South

Africa's traditional policy for many years.

"We now policy in the order sense of that term has been evolved by the present Government," said Mr. Low.

Villain Of Piece

"It is this important aspect of the issue that is carefully controlled by our media and channels abroad, in order that the Government now in power can be presented as the 'villain of the piece.'"

The policy of Apartheid, declared Mr. Low, led to no disadvantage in the conditions under which the non-European lived.

"Our enemies used and misuse what their eyes to this side of the picture and consequently, by the means of their ventral and important press, a steady distorted and often false picture is presented to an ignorant and credulous overseas public," said Mr. Low.—Saps

Women's Passes Burnt At Uitenhage

FROM the morning until the afternoon the women at Uitenhage gathered in the church and thereafter marched through the streets. By early evening a large number of people saw women had begun to gather at the sports ground where women's resistance leader wrote bust to enter before a crowd of 500 people who sang "Amang nyathane" (the passes are being burnt).

It was just 340's biggest bus-ness and in the last of the resistance books was completely destroyed by the flames the people crowded off the ceremony with the singing of "Nkomo Nkomo" (Africa) and "Morona Bophelo Sechaba."

The police stood watching at a distance, but did not interfere.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 12TH JULY, 1957

Events in Russia

It is clear from what was reported in the Soviet Union last week that Nikita Khrushchev means business when he talks of destalinisation. The dismissal of Malenkov and other stalwarts from public office looks very much like one more proof of his determination to break finally with the Old Guard.

That does not mean that he is a poor type of communist. He appears a firm and unshakable Marxist. The liberalisation for which he stands does not really spring from aware of weakness, either. It would appear to come from a realisation of the need to appeal to a wider, more homogeneous audience.

Ex-Colonialists

With a large number of ex-colonial peoples attaining independence, communism believes that they are potential allies. Fresh from the house of bondage they show little inclination to allow themselves to be locked up in another prison house. Khrushchev wants to draw them into his empire by laying very great stress on voluntary bonds. They must be made to believe that communism is not a synonym for tyranny and Soviet domination. They must be made to feel that the communist bloc is a counterweight of progressive countries where sovereignty is respected and where the right to see the communist truth in differing light is the rule.

This appearance of respectability is designed to win wider acceptance for Marxism without its having to yield a single inch of ideological ground. The communists will remain a Party of hate and vengeance, dedicated to the ideal of the violent overthrow of the capitalists and imposing a dictatorship of the proletariat.

New light

At the same time it must be noted that destalinisation itself is an indication that in certain circumstances communism is not above being able to see the truth in slightly new light. On the other hand it might be argued against this that stalwarts and its emphasis on centralized control was not a cardinal principle of faith; it was merely a tactical move. But Khrushchev's own doctrine of "many roads to communism" enunciated at the sixth congress of the Soviet Communist Party, coupled with Mao Tse-tung's dictum of "a hundred schools" indicates that the process of liberalisation can be something more than a tactical adaptation to changing realities.

If this analysis is correct democracy has more to worry about from greatest communists than from the bloodthirsty lords of Lullaby prison. For, there is no valid reason why, in a truly democratic society, a communist who behaved in peaceful agitation should not be free to convince his neighbours that he is the best solu-

tion to human problems. The problems to which this could give rise are many and complicated.

Debunk

At the same time the oppressed peoples of the world will be happy that events have taken the turn they have followed in Russia. That debunks much of the propaganda from the oppressors of their fellowmen that things like the Native Laws Amendment Act will make it difficult for communist agents to mislead the uneducated. Where the communists reviled Marxism and rejected violence as a cardinal article of faith, they would weaken the arguments of their opponents to a very large extent.

In any case Kereke's case in India has shown that a communist government does not need violence for its existence. Here events and not men, are proving that Marx was wrong, somewhere.

The Contemporary Press

ANC For Rhodesia

ATALKING-POINT of the news is South-east Rhodesia this month is the announcement that an African National Congress is to be formed in the colony.

In fact, the country has had an African nationalist organisation for some years, under the title of Youth League. So all the current announcement means is that the Youth League will in future be called the African National Congress.

Also for many years this colony has sheltered branches of the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Congress in Salisbury and Bulawayo, so the idea is not so startlingly fresh and untried as many Europeans here believe.

The average white settler views the official formation of a Congress with alarm. One-sided Press reports of the "troubled" Congress has crossed in the North are to some extent responsible for this fear.

—Basil Delaine
in "Peace News."

Strijdom's Tactics

STRIJDOM'S tactics, of course, will be to select his victims one at a time, starting with the most

vulnerable ones. The question facing democratic South Africans is: Will they fight for the rights of others, as well as for their own rights? Will the churches stand by the Institute of Race Relations? Will the Liberal Party stand by the Congress of Democrats? It is just as important for members of all these groups to make up their minds on this matter, as it is for them to decide personally to duly forward. It is not enough to take the first step and ignore the second.

Strijdom's laws are forcing all democratic South Africans to make common cause. This is one of the most obvious lessons of the 1957 Parliamentary session. And along this road of interracial unity lies success. A united, inter-racial front NOW can defeat Strijdom, quickly and decisively.

—CPE in "New Age"

An Apartheid Delusion

WRITING to the Nuring Act, a well-known Nationalist commentator in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper has written

dictated this law, in effect, as a watering down of true apartheid doctrine. He is greatly disturbed because non-European natives will be compelled to remain members of a European association "but with limited rights and status," instead of having a separate organisation that would realise the ideal of equality for all races within their own sphere.

The Government, he feels, have thus thrown overboard a "basic principle of apartheid" to suit themselves politically. For the first time, in his view, "the stance has been given to the charge that the Government have done nothing but discriminate against non-Whites in what is assumed by the law to be a common society and a common field of employment."

—*Star*—

War On The B.B.C.

WAR broke out between Mr. Eric Louw and the British Broadcasting Corporation at dawn on Tuesday morning. Our correspondent at the front reports that Mr. Louw, when last seen, had advanced a considerable distance into B.B.C. territory, while simultaneously carrying out a peace movement in the neighbourhood of Downing Street. Mr. Louw appears to have hung off his horses into the attack with the intention of inflicting heavy casualties on the B.B.C. television department.

"South Africans, though they favour neutrality in these matters, set naturally behind Mr. Louw to a man. But they wish that they knew what it was all about."

—*Rand Daily Mail*—

Comment On Man And Events

Where Professor Keet Disappoints

AFTER a careful reading of the full text of Professor R. B. Keet's Harpers Memorial lecture, which has been given very wide publicity in the Press, I find it difficult to get out of my mind the impression that the famous theorist was not wholly convincing.

The most indignation behind his denunciations of apartheid, his truly authoritative exposure of its greatest weaknesses, were all very impressive. But he appeared to talk like a man defending a cause close to his heart.

For this reason I find it difficult to understand how someone of the English Press can start making in his voice which might bring the wrath of Justice raining on the man of apartheid. Professor Keet himself was very careful not to set himself up as a prophet, he devoted himself to a perfectly correct historical objective. I found this more disappointing, even faintly.

Reasons

But we need to go into the reasons for this, in order to see his address in its proper context and therefore assess its real significance correctly at this point in our history.

His tone was undoubtedly uncompromising. He was perfectly clear in his mind that apartheid is immoral, deserving no assistance from a guilty conscience. This forthrightness impressed a step forward in his thinking. In "Whites South Africa" he condemned apartheid but did not look out so fiercely against racist to be a matter of expediency. In the Harpers lecture he could find no reason for it.

From here one naturally expected at least two logical steps to follow: the presentation of a clear-cut alternative and, also, a call for positive action to counteract the progress of events in the desired direction. On the contrary, Professor Keet contented himself with a mild plea for a change of heart and a nothing profoundly worthwhile about when and how to start the brain-changing process.

Cultural Grip

One can only guess as to the reasons for this attitude. He is naturally heavily opposed to the cultural grip of white discipline on his people. Perhaps he feels that a measure of racial trouble might be the best way to shake the white man out of his head. Or, he might be convinced that though

pain is truth, apartheid is still emotionally and rationally possible in very many of South Africa's followers. Whatever the reason, Professor Keet obviously appears to feel that at the moment African Nationalism is a neo-political judgement to challenge which is a frontal attack might be in favour being ground underfoot.

The position he takes is one of trying to distance apartheid by the simple process of demoralisation. In his lecture he set himself the goal of taking doubts among the "white Afrikaners" as apartheid, resolved the evening by forthright condemnations of it as moral evil and other grounds and sought to widen hatred rather than ideological issues in the minds of African Nationalists.

Incites To Doubt

Commandable as all this is, one cannot get away from the fact that it incites to doubt without really pointing the way to certainty. It cuts Professor Keet to the role of a public-social demagogue where his accurate, courage and penetrating analysis is expected to suggest a confidence in the future. Where the issues are as clearly defined as in the situation he analysed, merely to stop at condemnation makes him less effective—where by a more positive approach he could probably help turn the tide against an evil about whose gravity he is not in doubt. Perhaps I am anticipating events. If that were the case, I should be most happy. But I cannot say so.

Professor Keet is himself aware of this weakness. After boldly stating apartheid to persist, the alternative he proposes is a change of heart on national platforms, at best. This gave me the impression that the Professor intended to attack from facing the basic challenges faced at a man in his position by the nature and the urgency of the problems he discussed. In other words he covered himself with a strong question which he did not really attempt to answer. It is my duty as a victim of apartheid and a believer in personal liberty and the dignity of Man, to tell Professor Keet: What does he mean

precisely when he talks of a change of heart?

Opening Valves

On quite another plane, Professor F. V. Marais of Potchefstroom University, commenting on the Kropotkin series of articles on apartheid in the "Sunday Express", mentioned the "opening of the valves" to avoid a racial explosion, as a solution. The question this raises is like the first: What is meant precisely when one talks of outlets?

I am afraid that both learned men in this case appear to tend to see the race problem largely from the perspective of the White man who is accustomed to taking the initiative in doing things. The race problem is basically no longer one of groups; it centres around individuals as human beings. Where this is the case talk of a change of heart or culture is really futile. What is required is a new sense of individualism; agreement on ultimate objectives; an interpretation of common aims which will have the same meaning to a Black, White or Brown South African. This means only one thing: That those who believe and accept common aims as life and liberty bring together, regardless of race; that they have the duty to stand and fight together in the defence of these values against apartheid; that these values, in the final reckoning, are the only guarantee of group survival in a mixed nation. At least this is what I would understand to be a change of heart.

JORDAN E. NGUBANE

To Appear At Treason Trial

Further Headquarters, who is now in charge of Services of the Community at the Reconstruction in Midland, in Yorkshire, hopes to come back to South Africa to appear at the treason trials.

International Exhibition Of Children's Books To Be Held In India

An international exhibition of children's books and magazines is being organized jointly by the All India Federation of Juvenile Library Organizations and the Academy of Juvenile Arts and Crafts during August this year. Children's books and magazines from all countries published in any language may be submitted for display. They should be sent to Mr. Parvath Ramani, Dey, 43 Sharma Ghose Street, Calcutta 9, not later than 31st July 1957.—UNESCO

Christians, Jews And Kaffirs

(By A Special Correspondent)

A STUDY of Hallowed may not be very rewarding. But it is immensely revealing. Never more so than during the recent debate on the Native Lands Amendment Bill.

A fair sample is given by the second reading debate on April 14. The period begins after the Minister and the Opposition (Dr. Sene) have made their opening speeches and the Minister has introduced his 2½ page amendment to the Church clause.

Outstanding Opposition speeches were made by Messrs. Moppe, Lovell and Davidoff of the Labour Party and Mr. Standford of the Liberals. But the quality of discussion offered by the United Party, in the general clause of the Bill as well as to the Church clause, also excited anything the party has recently achieved. There was little direct flaming even when Dr. Verwoerd promised to take them on at the polls as the party of racial segregation, because they did not appear to have power to lose all sacred meetings, or put the white African man firmly in his business and subordinate place.

Implications

The Opposition regard, rightly or the far-reaching implications at which the Minister called "the anti-semitic improvement" in the Bill, relating to land, to business, to crime, to education and to urban African. Mr. Standford showed, he believes, that in 1933 under the Urban Areas Act alone 139,000 Africans (or 2,000 per day) were connected with subsidiary offences. In 1935 there were 400,000 convictions (or 2,500 per day). Yet in almost 12 years the present Bill gives the Minister new powers and takes away African rights, thereby creating new categories of "offences" under an Act which already accounts for well over 50 per cent of all convictions.

Another feature of the debate was the inconsistent appearance of the word "African" for "Natives" in occasional United Party speeches (e.g. Messrs. Gray and Baerger), indicated by Mr. Bruce Curren's pseudo-racial allusion to the word "kaffir" instead of "natives" from the Government side.

Main Interest

But main interest undoubtedly seemed to be the extremely defensive Nationalist speeches. They almost entirely confined them-

selves to the Church clause—perhaps an indication of some inner disquiet. The single exception was Mr. J. A. F. Nel (N.E. North). But since he was unable to distinguish between "permanence" and "continuity" evidence, his membership lacked significance. Apparently it did not occur to him that he is himself "permanently" resident in Port Elizabeth, but by virtue of his parliamentary duties he does not reside there "continuously."

Only one other Nationalist speaker expressed a Cape constituency (which a U.P. seat), and came from South West Africa and two from the Free State. All three of the 17 Nationalist speeches came from the Transvaal. A further indication, if one is needed, that the extreme tail of the province was the N.P. dog and possibly the Dr. Verwoerd. With him none happen.

Not one who held the debate could fail to remark how frequently a Government spokesman would refer to "my Jewish friends," as alleged apartheid in Biblical days or in Synagogue now. Among the 17 speeches there were no last three were separate and deliberate. Some reference of one sort or another. One of the Nationalist which even tried to put a synagogue on Mr. Haggis, who is a Christian. Most exceptions was Mr. J. P. Schabbe (Pretoria District) who seemed to know when Jewish Opposition M.P.'s did towards "prosecuting the Natives" that "they are so interested to put the kaffir line as wherever possible. They are as example to the world because in Church and State they strictly applied apartheid, and were we want to apply apartheid they are so concerned. And we is tell that they are no longer find God in church unless they have a lot of Natives to Columbus or Austria in their Church?"

What Right

Mr. P. J. Curren (Langlaagte) also thought Mr. Haggis was a Jew, and demanded what right Mr. Lovell had "to try to force Natives on other Christians?" Surely an odd interpretation of opposition to a clause permitting the Minister to forbid mixed services. Mr. J. M. Abraham (Glen-

lands) considered the idea of "the brotherhood of man" as a Jewish Christian concept. It was, therefore, "an important for Jewish members to lay down the law to a House consisting mainly of Christians." And Mr. B. Curren (N. Rand) thought Waters had no such right to keep out Native worshippers at the "English-speaking churches of Porten" but to exclude a synagogue from their area because "we do not want Jews to come and worship here in large numbers." According to Mr. Curren, "there is only one principle in the clause"—"control over the labor of Natives, just as there is control over the labor of Jews in certain areas to attend synagogues." The "principle" is evidently capable of indefinite extension. We have at least been warned.

"You Did It."

Much of the general Nationalist argument consisted of the "you did it too" variety or the accusation that if the Opposition did not agree to ban mixed schools, meetings, Churches etc., it was because it secretly wanted to prevent them or to marry their daughters off to kaffirs. Mr. J. L. V. Liebenberg wondered if the Opposition knew that "freedom" was an "important word in the traditions of Jews and Christians" and is everywhere used by the ANC, which was plotting democraticism in Church. Between the English Churches and so longer able to distinguish between "religion and the service of State" but only want "to embrace the Natives", the Government must "protect the people and help them to conquer the last bit of racial hatred dogged under the cloak of religion."

Mr. H. S. Erasmus (Onderdorp) thought the Natives fully supported the Bill. He wanted member B.R. to prevent "imported Christianity" coming to the Union. In the European areas Whites want have all the rights and Natives only had "privileges", one of which (the "privilege" of attending White Churches) was now being curtailed "as we have every right to do." It is the "job of the Church to go to the kaffirs, not vice versa. But English evangelists are too lazy to go to the kaffirs."

Not Far Enough

Mr. J. C. Greyling (Venterdorp) was "possibly not satisfied that the Bill goes far enough in applying segregation to all gatherings—I would welcome legislation prohibiting all mixed gatherings." Perhaps the Minister's short snarling speech satisfied him that this was the Government's

intention? Mr. Greyling contended the Bill "nothing but a segregation measure", which made rather amusing of current arguments that the Church clause was only meant to deal with "voluntarism". The hon. member, inspired by "body slapping" in regard to segregation in all phases, would have nothing to do with the "pastor, national, national, national spirit."

Dr. L. I. Curren (Stooderick) erected an Anti Solly in the form of an unrecognizable definition of "religious freedom", and then proceeded solemnly to demolish it. The rest of his speech relating to "voluntarism" had already been demolished by Mr. Greyling. Similarly with most of the speech of Mr. E. J. Smith (Capeport). Mr. M. C. van Heek (Lichtenburg) showed the Opposition for "putting its women and its Churches in the line in its political fight."

Despite the Speaker's ruling against repetition Mr. M. J. van den Berg (Krugersburg) gave over half a dozen about "voluntarism" and "Communist". He also thought the Opposition was trying to force a "Native ruling" before the election. Mr. P. J. Curren (Langlaagte), believed that the Bishop of Johannesburg deliberately killed St. Mary's Cathedral on Mayday Sunday with Africans "in order to be declared a hero by the English Press." And, with several other speakers, he asked when African Churches had ever allowed non-Whites into their Churches.

Vulnerability

No Opposition speakers seemed to realize just how vulnerable their speeches are on this point. Separation in the DRC only dates from 1879 and was vigorously promoted by Snydler "not a consequence to prejudice and weakness." Spread affirmed by belief that common services were both "desirable and Scriptural" and that separate services were an admission of "human inferiority". Only a year ago, the Federal Council of the Ned. of Geref. Kerk "accepted the Scriptural message, but judged that circumstances had not changed sufficiently in South Africa for practice to follow the ideal more closely."

Then little piece of history between the rhetorical question of Mr. J. M. Abraham (Glenlands): "Who introduced mixed worship into this country?" It was long long before Dr. Philip van der Merwe (Krugersburg) told Mr. B. J. Vorster (Nyls) wanted to ask a 91-year old "disbeliever" whether he could remember Natives ever going to church with Africans. "If the minister were only 100 years older, per-

(Continued on page 304 J)

GANDHI—The Story Of His Life

GANDHIJI'S FASTS

CHAPTER XVIII

THE Phoenix Farm was such a great success that Gandhiji decided to leave another colony like it, also in South Africa. The second one he called the Tolstoy Farm, after Tolstoy, the great Russian writer, whom Gandhiji greatly admired. On this second farm a number of people, both Indian and European, came to live together in brotherhood and amity. They were all good friends, though of different religions and races. As there were no suitable schools to which the children of these

children could be sent, Gandhiji himself taught them. He was always a very kind and patient teacher, for he did not believe in severity.

Gandhiji's many fasts have become famous all over the world. Many times he risked his life by fasting—and always for the good of others.

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(To be continued)

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

people could be sent, Gandhiji himself taught them. He was always a very kind and patient teacher, for he did not believe in severity.

Gandhiji's many fasts have become famous all over the world. Many times he risked his life by fasting—and always for the good of others.

The very first time he fasted was when two of the inmates of the Phoenix Settlement behaved very badly and shocked him by their wicked conduct. He did not mind them because all his followers, even the bad ones, were like beloved children to him. But he worried these two so much that he was sure they had displeased God, so that they might truly repent. He said that teachers are responsible for the faults of their pupils and that therefore he must do penance for the sins of these two pupils of his who had done wrong.

He began a fast of seven days, and after that took only one meal a day for four and a half months. This of course made everyone at Phoenix very unhappy, for they all loved their master and leader dearly. They all fasted even the very dance of sin after that.

After this, throughout his long life, Gandhiji fasted whenever he found that his great work for India had come to a standstill because of the hardness of the rulers' hearts, or because of the foolish blindness of his followers. And this became a way of fighting was successful. One time, he opposed him when he argued or pleaded with them, not when he bravely

Nehru Among The Big Six

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU has been named one of the "six most powerful men in the world" by Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, sometimes described as the king of American news analysis, a U.S.I.S. release said in New Delhi recently.

Mr. Kaltenborn, 55, made known his selections in a study appearing in a recent issue of the "Parade" magazine, a Sunday Supplement section appearing in several leading U.S. Newspapers.

Of Ind Nehru, Mr. Kaltenborn wrote: "...Because Nehru holds a great and growing position, because he enjoys the respect of the world, because of his undoubtedly good intentions and because he occupies a strategic position of neutrality, he remains a man of power who may yet exercise decisive influence in the development of world peace."

Others selected by Mr. Kaltenborn are President Eisenhower, Marshall Tito, Nikita Khrushchev, Wen Tiao-tang and Pope Pius XII.

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DURBAN.

After Many Months 'In Labour' Wassenaar Mountain Produces Comatose Mouse

THE policy of the new National Democratic Party of South Africa, founded by Dr. Theo Wassenaar, is comprehensively outlined in a draft programme of principles which will be considered at a conference of the Party at Bloemfontein on August 5 and 6.

After emphasising the Party's intention to foster a spirit of mutual trust and tolerance between the two European sections of the population by guaranteeing to each section political and language rights

non-European receive their education under the guidance of the European, will have a more beneficial effect on racial relations.

Influx Control

After outlining the Party's attitude towards the influx control of Africans to urban areas and towards the impracticability of total territorial segregation, the statement makes the following declaration of Coloured rights:

Points from this policy include the following:—

The Party accepts the traditional policy of racial separation between Black and White, and will resist social and biological integration. Through a Christian spirit of friendship the Party will strive to regain the Africans' faith in the Europeans.

Grant Powers

The Party will gradually grant the non-European powers of local self-government and guidance and leadership "in proportion to their progressive civilisation," and will undertake the development of African reserves "to benefit South Africa as a whole."

The establishment of pure Bantu civilisation will be resisted, "as these will result in undesirable results of arrogant, aggressive Bantu nationalism and will, therefore, constitute a much greater danger to the Whites than would the provision of separate facilities at existing universities which will provide for non-European."

The Party believes that such an arrangement, where the

Towards the Coloureds, the Party will follow a policy of friendship to ensure that they will always remain allies of the Whites. They will, therefore, be awarded full participation with the Europeans in the fields of religion, culture and Christian Western civilisation.

After a test period of 10 years the Party undertakes to institute an inquiry by a commission of all Parties into the effects of the Separate Representation Act on the relations between Whites and Coloureds to establish the advantages or disadvantages of this Act.

In foreign affairs the Party intends to retain every possible contact with Western countries and to establish friendly relations with the non-European States in Africa; and in the economic field it promotes commerce and industry as much as possible and the removal of economic friction.

On the Republic issue the statement says that any change in the present form of government, whether for practical or sentimental reasons, may only be effected along constitutional lines and "only when a two-thirds majority of European voters so decide by plebiscite."

Formula

The following formula is then proposed:—

When the Party considers the time ready, it will hold a plebiscite on the question of establishing a democratic Republic, and if not less than a two-thirds majority of the European voters favour such a step the Party will then establish such a republic.



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MADE

As long as it is in the interest of the peace, security and happiness of South Africa, the Republic will remain a member of the Commonwealth.

The Constitution of the Republic will provide for a purely democratic character based on the spirit of Christian Western civilisation, language and political rights of both European and non-European races, and the Republic's

existence to be subordinated by a two-thirds majority.

Other points from the Party's draft programme include non-interference with the constitutional functions of the Provinces without thorough consultation, a vigorous immigration policy, and a system of family allowances for Europeans in order to increase the birth rate of the European population.—"Natal Mercury".

Indian Traders Tell Americans Of Their Disabilities

A GROUP of Indian businessmen representing various trades was interviewed by the United States Trade Mission which visited Darban recently.

The interview took place at Claridges Hotel and the Indian businessmen who took part in the discussion, which lasted one and a half hours, were: Messrs. I. K. Mehta, R. H. Mehta, R. Anand, Gopal Mehta, J. P. Chhabra and L. A. Mehta.

There was a full and frank discussion and views were exchanged freely with the head of the mission, Mr. E. Schellbacher, who is also Director of the Office of Trade Promotion, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

In the course of the discussion it was pointed out that Indians had settled in South Africa for almost a hundred years, were now in their 4th and 5th generations and regarded themselves as full-fledged South Africans though they were denied citizenship rights.

It was pointed out that in spite of the many handicaps due to discriminatory treatment South African Indians had played their full part in the progress and development of the country. They made important contributions to the agricultural, commercial and industrial advancement of the country and will continue to make such contribution.

The enactment of the Group Areas Act which threatened to uproot settled Indian communities was viewed with great alarm and it is the fear here some leaders had to switch over to cottage industries or

some other industrial projects American advice and assistance in such matters would be very useful.

Mr. Schellbacher gave a sympathetic hearing and said that American businessmen were always ready to co-operate with industrial and other concerns in South Africa and to provide the know-how and the latest "know-how" techniques as used by them in America.

Representations were also made to the mission concerning the complaints of some South African importers against a certain type of American goods not always up to the mark in specification.

Mr. Schellbacher pointed out that the United States was a democratic country and did not interfere with private enterprise. There were, he said, good and bad traders in all countries and they should always satisfy themselves regarding the bona fides of any concern before entering into a contract with them.

At the same time all genuine complaints should be reported to the American Consul who will do everything possible to take appropriate action.

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Mr. Nehru's Tour A Big success

SCANDINAVIAN diplomats described Mr. Nehru's tour of Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark as a great success.

Swedish officials said that since India had no bilateral problems with any of the Scandinavian countries, they viewed his visit as a result of Mr. Nehru's wish to extend his personal influence in the interests of peace in all nations.

"India has become too small a nation for him, and his freedom has been won and the country has been started on the road to federalisation," said a Swedish official. "To those of us who met him here, it appeared that he feels he has conquered India and believes his mission is now to act on the global scene."

Determined Bid To Free Goa

Mr. Peter Ayrnes, the National Congress (Goa) leader, appealed to the workers of the Congress to continue their work for the liberation of the Portuguese settlements with unity and determination.

He reminded them that Mr. Bhaichand Joshi, president of the organization and members of her committees were still hankering in Portuguese prisons and it was the duty of the workers of the National Congress to maintain perfect unity in their ranks and continue to work with determination for Goa's liberation.

Referring to the situation inside Goa, Mr. Ayrnes said that non-violent law prevailed in the Portuguese settlements. A reign of terror was prevalent there and people were being shot at just because they did not carry a light at night. They were made to carry identity cards. He also referred to reports of Goan women being tortured by Portuguese soldiers posted in the settlements, who numbered 15,000.

He stated that some foreign business interests were giving financial assistance to the Portuguese government in Goa and described it as an "actively anti."

The Commonwealth Conference

The Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers which

met in London had some unusual features. For various reasons three Commonwealth Prime Ministers were absent. Ill health prevented Mr. Holland of New Zealand from being present while political storms at home compelled Mr. Bandaranaike to stay in Ceylon. What sickness and status prevented the available Mr. Eeyden from attending the conference table have not been officially divulged but diminish the apostle of spiritualism has the secret locked up closely in his white house. Could he be alluding to the new African Commission, Ghana and its Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah?

Dr. Kumarappa Cremated

The funeral of Dr. Bhanusa Kumarappa, the noted Gandhian scholar who passed away recently, took place at the Rajmangal crematorium on the banks of the river Jomna.

Earlier, the vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, laid a wreath on the body at Constitution House where a funeral service was held. A wreath was also placed by an A.D.C. on behalf of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The funeral service was conducted by the Rt. Rev. Dr. S. K. Neelkar, senior Bishop of the Methodist Church in Southern Asia. Dr. Maudslayi paid tribute to Dr. Bhanusa Kumarappa for his contributions to Gandhian literature.

Mr. U. M. Dholkar, the Congress President, Mr. Manoj Das, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, K. S. Kulkarni, and many other prominent Congressmen were present at the service and later at the cremation.

The body was taken from Constitution House in a procession to the Ghats. It was cremated in accordance with the wishes of the deceased.

Pak Bid To Get Rid Of Indian Employees

The Pakistan Government is said to have intended of late the process of "gradually expunging out" Indians working in Pakistan, according to a highly placed Indian source.

This, the source said, was in marked contrast to the "generous attitude" adopted by India

on the question of Pakistanis employed in India.

The source recalled that the Government of India had recently extended the time-limit for Pakistanis employed in India to obtain travel documents to facilitate their further stay in the country.

This measure the source emphasized, had been taken despite the confusion created in that country by over two and a half lakhs of Pakistanis staying there without documents—and despite Government requests for over five to six years.

"Management is an old method by which authorities and interested parties in Pakistan got a number of minorities, mostly Hindus, out of Pakistan. The new method is referred to great and clever spies in Indian employments here. The source alleged.

Pakistanis Raid Indian Villages

About 200 Pakistani nationals called Kachipura, an Indian border village in Kachipura, West Bengal, on Saturday June 29, according to reports received here.

The intruders opened fire and shot arrows at the villagers, who tried to resist them. Six Indian nationals were injured and one of them who sustained serious bullet injuries had to be admitted to hospital.

A Humanitarian Gesture

Mr. D. R. Daboo, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, has, in response to the appeal made by the Prime Minister for an amnesty drive, expressed his desire to forgo his whole monthly salary of Rs. 1,200 and draw a token salary of Rs. 1 only.

Ministers of the Union Government and of the State Governments have also vowed a cut of 50 per cent on their salaries. The Prime Minister has asked the Government not to purchase new cars for the Ministers and

to help in every way they may in this economy drive.

Commemoration Stamps

Mr. Raj Bhadur, Minister in the Union Ministry of Communications, told pressmen that to avoid rival claims from different parts of the country, it had been decided not to inscribe the effigy of any of the leaders of the 1857 freedom struggle in the special commemorative stamps to be issued on August 15 next, on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the struggle. The only exception will be the Rani of Jhansi, he added.

Mr. Raj Bhadur, said that only two types of commemorative stamps will be issued for the occasion. One type would have the picture of a flame inscribed on it symbolising the spirit of the 1857 revolt. The other type would have the effigy of the Rani of Jhansi. The exception is favour of the Rani of Jhansi has been made because this was a unique opportunity to make her memory inspire thousands of men and women in the country, he concluded.

Tasks Awaiting Jobless Youth

A call to the educated unemployed young men in the country to better themselves and take the precious work of building up a new society in India has been given by Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

In an appeal addressed to the "educated unemployed" in the country in "Shodhan" weekly paper of the Shodhan movement, Acharya Bhave says that the building up of a new society in the country is an urgent task. The educated unemployed should be keenly interested in creating conditions where unemployment could not exist. Shodhan and Gandhian needed their services, they should join the army of Shodhan workers and go from village to village, covering the new strata in the people.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

London

LORD LITTON is to be the new Governor of Ghana. An announcement from Birmingham Palace stated: "The Queen, on the recommendation of her Majesty's Ministers in Ghana, has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of the Earl of Litton as Governor-General of Ghana in succession to Sir Charles Arden-Clarke." Lord Litton, aged 55, was the last Secretary of State for India and for Burma. These offices he relinquished when India and Pakistan became Dominions in 1947, and became an independent state in the following year. He has been the Labour Party's secretary in the House of Lords, and for a time was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. He was Postmaster-General for 20 years he has been a London County Councillor.

Accra

The "Daily Graphic" owned and published by the Ghana Graphic Co. Ltd., the local branch of West African Press Ltd., London, appeared on June 26 in 3 pages instead of its usual 22. Its size was reduced because of a strike called in the week-end by 300 members of the employees' union in protest against the reported refusal of the management to grant certain demands made by the union. The union demanded no casual employment of journeymen to displace employees by the end of June, retrospective from April, and the establishment of a minimum monthly basic salary of £7 15s. and also bonuses and bonuses in increments based on the minimum wage it had agreed on the day demand had been raised. The union demanded had not been discussed between the management and the union. It further stated: "We do not consider the union's second ultimatum as reasonable nor is it to be made." The management also announced that entry to the strike there would be no financial advantages and no compensation would be delivered to subscribers.

London

The Nigerian constitutional conference has ended without

agreement on a date for federal self-government and independence. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Llewellyn-Beardsley, has been unwilling to concede to a Nigerian request that the U.K. should consider April 2, 1960 as the appropriate date. At the same time he has agreed to a number of important changes which will give Nigeria a greater degree of self-government now, with the prospect of fresh talks about independence in 3 years' time. Disagreement at the conference seems to have centred on three principal issues—customs, universities and natural resources. In the first two matters there was disagreement among the Nigerian delegates themselves. In the case of security the Colonial Office was not persuaded of the wisdom of having regional police forces as well as federal police. The questions of revenue and education, including an examination of the possibility of the formation of new states, have been referred to special committees. In general, it has been agreed that Nigeria will have a three-year "trial run" in the operation of a Federal Government. The framework will be set up while the British Government continues to exercise general control. Business resulting from the present Government in London will be dealt with at a resumed conference in a few months' time. This will probably be held in Lagos. The three Nigerian regional Prime Ministers and Dr. Ebigbo, London of Government in the South Government, issued the following statement: "We feel bound to express our disappointment that it had not been possible to grant independence to Nigeria on a date to be named in 1960 by the new Nigerian Parliament. The year 1959 had been unanimously proposed by the people of Nigeria, and we have given consideration to a date in 1960 only because we appreciate that the solution to the various problems that must be disposed of before independence will take longer than we thought. In the circumstances we reserve to ourselves the right to propose the latest feasible date with a view to improving upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity for granting independence

to the Federation not later than April 2, 1960.

Kampala

The Government of Uganda announced recently that it was willing to allow direct elections for the whole country to choose African representatives to the Legislative Council in 1958. Previous policy was to allow such elections at present only in the Kingdom of Buganda, one of the four provinces, and to let the others have elections in 1961. A policy statement said that the Government recognised the desirability of a uniform electoral system for the whole country. It still adhered to the aim of bringing in a common electoral law in 1961, an amended last year, and a special meeting of the Legislative Council would debate the plan before the British Government was asked to agree. The council is due to be dissolved at the end of this year, so its terms must be extended in advance for the elections. The statement said that the Colonial Secretary would have to be asked that the representation of non-Africans in Uganda was "ade-

quate and effective." Three African members of the Council's election committee have signed a minority report stating that any extension of the system must not be weighted in favour of any certain section of the population. The committee recommended a minimum age of 21 for voters, residence within their constituency, and alternative qualifications of land ownership or literacy or seven years' continuous employment, an income of £100 a year or property worth £200. Recommended qualifications for candidates included a minimum age of 27, ability to read and write and speak English, and an income of £200 a year or property worth £700. A report on discussions between the Uganda and British Governments on a system for direct elections in 1958 is agreed in 1955 was also issued. It said that agreement had now been reached on a qualified system with minor amendments to the original proposal, which was rejected by Uganda last year. The qualifications are generally similar to those now proposed for the other three provinces.

Christians, Kaffirs And Jews

(Continued from page 294)

help his memory would acknowledge the facts. Mr. G. F. van L. Praetorius (Hilbrons) was aggressive about Native religions, and Communism under the cloak of the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Mr. J. van Marth (Karoo) wanted political clergy "banned" and they fringe, for the good of their souls and because it would cause great satisfaction among the people of South Africa—a splendidly honest statement recalling Britain.

Colour Sensitivity

Mr. G. F. van den Berg (Wormsland) was neither to be caught on the "colour" argument. He saw six points of contact in politics of Britain which (curiously enough) might also "show the colour sensitivity of the White man in the country." The six were, therefore, "a matter of life and death"—an article which, with Mr. Greyling's contribution, successfully showed indignation of all racial prejudices (including, of course, mixed church articles) as "a danger in South Africa and completely opposed to Government policy."

Mr. van den Berg presented that, since the Opposition did not support the prohibition of

mixed services, it also favoured "the use of the same Communion cup and mixed marriage in Church." One could see the new "Black Muslims" in preparation, even before Dr. Vorster announced it. A little later, Dr. van den Berg went on to defend schools for the enlightenment of which by thought the ANC was "betraying" the Organisation.

The debate ended up with a colloquy from the Minister about "spiritual unity having nothing to do with being together in a physical sense," which was strongly reinforced by Mr. A. Schreiner's caustic Afrikaans speech. Dr. Vorster said "despotic worship was only possible among a homogeneous community." Apparently the Minister has not noticed St. Paul: True worship, said the Minister, did not depend on "finding a moral racial community here the same building" is strange interpretation by its architect of a house designed to have voluntary "mixed services." Brotherhood in a physical sense does not mean spiritual proximity, said in an extremely conspicuous self-illumination in testimony.

And so this high noon, with the threat of fighting the storm as it, Dr. Vorster closed the second reading debate.

Painting Without Hands

A unusual exhibition of paintings was opened in London recently by Group Captain Chubb V.C., when work for the disabled has opened up a new life for many who had thought they were doomed to hopeless inactivity. The pictures on show had been painted by artists in colony European countries as well as Britains, and, apart from their urge to express themselves in line and colour, they all had this in common—that they were products of the Association of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists and had had in work holding their brushes in their teeth or between their toes.

Reporting on the exhibition in the BBC programme 'Studio Nowhere', Haridima Scott said that some of these exhibitors had been born without arms, others were victims of poliomyelitis or had lost their arms as the result of some accident. "I watched a petite bed-headed French girl, Marie-Joelle Teyssie, painting with her feet," he said, "She's twenty-four and has been painting for only five years, but her oil paintings are fresh and vigorous. There's an expressive boldness in a stroke and a fine still life." Scott admitted, too, the bold architectural paintings of Ar-

nell Rich Stephens, an artist of international reputation who was a star pupil at the Academy of Mouth. He paints with his mouth and helped to found the Association of Mouth and Foot Painting Artists. One of the English exhibitors, Albert Baker, who is a scholarship pupil of the Association and lives at Group Captain Chubb's Foundation in Hampshire, told Scott in the broadcast interview that he had been without the use of his arms since birth and as a child he had painted with his mouth in water-colours. He found that oil painting, which he had taken up only recently, made eye strain because the brushes were longer and as the artist could work further away from his canvas.

Asked by Scott about the value of this painting Group Captain Chubb said that for people with the talent it had a very great value indeed. "Not only does it enable a disabled man to earn his own living, but also gives him the ability to express himself, he feels he is creating and therefore it gives him a completely new lease of life." The purpose of the Association was to enable disabled people to sell their products, and secondly to find potential artists and, when they showed promise, to give them scholarships to enable them to train.

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કામથી બેઠાં રહેને જાસ પતંડગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તો માત્ર પ્રુપ્ત વર્ગોને જ લેવામાં આવશે. સ્કોલરશિપમાં નવું અને આબુધુદિ હાલતું ફરનીયર શાપકમાં આવેલું છે. રેશમાં જતાં અમર તો રેશમાંથી આવતા ઉદ્યોગમાં માટે કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ આવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

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ધરતું આથિલું આચાણું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ કુંભેમાં લઈવાર લેાય છે.

ગ્રોહસ્થી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ આટે લખેલ

Religion are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that today they are so divided that they have become a power cause of strife and mutual slaughter
—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1931.

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1931-1956

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ANGLICAN BISHOPS URGE FOLLOWERS TO DISOBEY CHURCH CLAUSE

In the following letter Bishop T. G. V. Inman, of Natal, urged the clergy and the laity in his diocese not to practice apartheid in admitting people to White Churches. The full text of his letter, read in all parishes last Sunday is as follows:

"From time to time we are reminded by our statesmen and political leaders that the Union of South Africa is avowedly a Christian country. Further, it is a plain fact that one of the articles of our Constitution acknowledges the Sovereignty and Omnipotence of God.

"To this we must add that there is a duty laid upon us to acknowledge the Divine Right of the State as set forth by St. Paul in Romans xiii 1-3.

"Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall incur to themselves judgment."

No Absolute Obedience

"Thus it is laid on our consciences as Christians to obey the laws of the State. But if that were the end of the matter I should not now be addressing you. We have to inquire whether or not the State is en-

powered by God to demand an absolute obedience from us. Our Lord teaches us that the State has no such right. When asked about the Roman tribute money, He replied, Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

"There are some matters therefore which are exclusively God's, and which can in no sense fall under the competence of the State. As our Article XXXVII states: 'We give not to our Princes the ministering order of God's Word, or of the Sacraments'."

Limit of Authority

"To understand the limits of the State's authority, we have to ask to what end the State exists. Our answer to this will depend upon our view of the nature and destiny of man.

"As Christians we know that our hope can never be fully attained in this world, and that we are citizens of eternity. The individual is immortal and the State is not.

"Indeed, as the late Archbishop William Temple wrote: 'This is the funda-

mental conviction which must always distinguish Christian politics from secular politics. The end for which the Christian State exists is therefore preliminary and preparatory only. It is a kind of school, training men well or ill for eternity.' We infer that it can never belong to the Christian State deliberately to defy or deny either the teachings of the Gospel or the dictates of the Christian conscience.

Man's Obligations

"Both the Gospel and the Church have much to say on the subjects of man's obligation to worship God and his relationship with his fellows. We are all children of the one Heavenly Father and we are all redeemed by the one Incarnate Son. God is no respecter of persons, and in Christ, writes St. Paul:

"There cannot be Greek or Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, free man, but Christ is all and is all."

Likewise, concerning worship, the Epistle to the Hebrews says: 'Let us draw near with a true heart, let us hold fast the confession of our hope that it never fail, for he is faithful that promised, and let us con-

sider one another to provoke unto love and good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together as the custom of some is, but exhorting one another.

Ministers Powers

"Arising out of this teaching we cannot avoid taking note of the recent passing into law of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1955. In this Act the Minister of Native Affairs has been given the power to forbid the assembling of ourselves together under certain circumstances. The relevant clause reads as follows:

"The Minister may by notice in the Gazette direct that the attendance by Natives at any church or other religious service or church function upon premises situated within any urban area outside a Native residential area shall cease from a date specified in that notice, if in his opinion

(1) the presence of Natives on such premises, or in any area covered by Natives for the purpose of attending at such premises, is causing a nuisance to residents in the vicinity of those premises or in such area; or

(2) it is undesirable, having regard to the locality in which the pre-

(Continued on page 310)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 19TH JULY, 1957

We Congratulate The Institute

NEWS came through as we went to Press that the national committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations had decided to carry on the work it had been doing as though nothing had happened. It would not advise its African members to resign or ask for a Pass to attend its gatherings.

There are really no other honourable courses open but the dangers risked surround even the taking of the only right course with an aura of something very much like glory.

In recent years the Institute has been progressively approaching the race problem from perspectives which could inspire non-White confidence. If the Native Laws Amendment Act was designed to curb this process it is simply because apartheid dare not face the truth. It is a murky philosophy of persecution thriving in the darkest and basest corners of the human mind. The only effective answer to it is to stand up to it, to preach the truth and to follow it with courage wherever it leads.

The Institute's decision suggests that it is in mood to take this direction and in congratulating it very warmly we should like to add that in the dark and difficult times which lie ahead it will redouble to the good of all concerned if the truth is seen progressively from both sides of the colour line.

One convincing way of doing this will be to recognise the need for greater use of Institute platforms being open on a wider scale to the various non-White peoples. A case in point is the annual Hoerle Memorial lecture. It is becoming a fixed tradition that contributors from this platform should be all White. Let us make it quite plain that we have the highest regard for both the integrity of the distinguished men and women who have in the past been asked to give the Hoerle lecture and the quality of their contributions. But why should constructive thinking on a problem which affects the non-European so vitally be a monopoly of people with a White skin?

Dynamite In Rhodesian Federation

THE White Press has given very little publicity to the fears of Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia that the Central African Federation is becoming one more White trick to entrench White supremacy in the way it has been established in South Africa. The mood of the politically dominant White groups seems to be to expedite civil liberties as the opening of valves to control the release of dangerous steam, rather than an open and warm-hearted acceptance of the African as a citizen in his own right. There is dynamite there,

The Africans want neither the valves nor what Professor Pistorius calls the outlets. He wants to see his right to self-determination recognised. If the Central African Federation is slow in recognising it he will not hesitate to make a bid for sovereign independence on the Ghana model. If opposition to his aspirations in this direction continues to be unreasonable an explosion, which might rock both the Commonwealth and the ideal of partnership can be confidently said to be in the offing.

It would not be confined to Central Africa. It would reinforce very heavily our own Africanists in the Union. For this reason Black and White democrats have the duty to exert all possible pressure to ensure that political wisdom and sanity dominate as the Federation approaches 1960, when its constitution will come up for review.

Comment On Men And Events

The Bishops Have Spoken

THE clear duty of every man and woman who prizes liberty and justice is to congratulate in firm and guarded tones the Anglican Bishops who, by asking their followers to refuse to obey the Church canon, have given the most convincing reply to apartheid from the White side so far. Greater than to chant, however, is the duty every democrat or Christian has to stand solidly behind the Bishops and pay the price this will demand.

The instruction to Anglican clergy and laity to refuse to obey the Church canon of the Native Laws Amendment Act was not as set taken lightly. In supporting the Bishops I realise myself the seriousness of what I am doing. Temperamentally and by training I am law-abiding. While this is the most I can say for myself, it is certainly the

least for the Bishops. It follows from this that where as much honour, dignity and responsibility decide as a course of action which throws the law into disrepute, there must be very grave reasons behind it.

God Attacked

They lie brazenly in the very nature of the apartheid described in its captions on race as the determining factor is a people's destiny in its denial that alone. Man was created in the image of God, he is an end in himself in its implied attack on God for having created some men, white and others non-white. Yet, to support a man because he is not White, to deny him opportunities simply because he has black hair is to criticize God for having created him non-White.

More specifically and immediately the reason for this extreme action on the part of the Anglican Bishops is the Native Laws Amendment Act's Church canon which brings the Policemen between a Christian and his God. It is the Policemen who will tell the African Christian where (and therefore how and when) he must worship God. The Nazis, for all their wickedness and general depravity, did not go to these extremes of spiritual depravity. Only the implications, debated Man in the fashion proposed by the Native Laws Amendment Act. The truth here is that the success of the men of apartheid fought so valiantly against it. Today, their descendants inherit its tyranny on their followers in this part of the world.

Death Of The Rt. Hon. Agakhan

THE Rt Hon Agakhan died in Geneva on July 12. He will surely be remembered as the spiritual leader of the British Muslim Jamali Community in which belong 20,000,000 Muslims.

The Damascus Radio, sponsored by the Syrian Government announced that the leaders of the Jamali Den in Syria had proclaimed Prince Agakhan their Imam. He will be the 47th Imam of the Sect.

It is said that the late Agakhan would be buried at Aunsa but his followers have not been worked over.

Moral Content

The point I am trying to make here is that the Native Laws Amendment Act is devoid of all moral content; it is an humiliating point in a process which has been systematically destroying the moral basis on which our legislative institutions have been established. It is a law which does give violence to the human conscience, to human dignity. To obey it is to drive Man and therefore to sanction slavery. To obey it is to deny that Man was created in the image of God—it is to say that Man is a worm to an end.

When a law goes to these extremes when it runs up political thuggery as the supreme authority in matters affecting the conscience of Man, it is potentially a threat to society and a danger to humanity. The only duty of the reasonable citizen in these circumstances is to refuse to obey it and pay the price. It is in this pass that the Anglican Bishops have been brought.

But lapsing as their action is, it is not enough, in a society where political thuggery has become the order of the day, merely to refuse to obey. It is not enough to be passive in opposition. There is the moral obligation to oppose a wicked ideology actively.

Futile Gestures

By themselves the Bishops, their clergy and laity are not strong enough to defeat the moral evil of apartheid. If they stand by themselves the danger is real that a democracy which has the potential to defeat apartheid might soon turn a futile, somewhat exhibitionist gesture and an opportunity lost for attaining a decisive blow for human decency and justice.

The logical step which suggests itself from the decision of the Bishops, then, is the launching of a powerful campaign of moral protest embracing all members of the Christian Church which have not declared themselves in favour of the Church Cause.

With this in mind, may I suggest, in all humility and on behalf of the millions of fervent African Christians and just men and women that it would make all the difference in the fight against apartheid if the Anglican and Catholic Bishops seriously considered the possibility of joining or co-inducting

action in such a front.

For the Christians to get together in such a movement would be a magnificent demonstration of Christian solidarity, a concentration of the greatest power at points where it can be used to

greatest effect. Above all, it would be the most powerful force likely to remove race violence in the hatched conditions created by apartheid's inhumanity.

JORDAN K. NGUBANE.

The Contemporary Press

Misuse Of The Law

STRANGE things are happening under the pass laws and other control measures for Africans, and they call for serious attention from the authorities and the public in the interests of humanity and South Africa's good name.

In recent weeks several incidents have come to light of urban Africans, who, because of some actual or alleged irregularity in their documents, have been arrested from their normal life and hauled off to work as farm labourers. The pattern of these stories is the same.

—“The Star.”

Bishop Reeves

WHILE the new Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town has so far been careful to refrain from discussing controversial South African questions, his colleague, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, is on a preaching tour in the United States.

In that country, where there is so much need for balanced information about our country, this churchman is now—according to the reports—saying nothing but the right old-fashioned, the most infallible statements about the racial question.

If they (the Anglicans) set any value at all on peaceful co-existence in South Africa, they should Johannesburg's name help to put an end to this phenomenon of clerical fall of self-righteousness, without humility, who are imposed by them, only later on to go about finding the world against the long-established actions of the South African population.

Resistance at such a conception of loyalty and decency cannot indefinitely be held in check.

—“Die Burger.”

Professor Keet

ON Prof. D. B. Keet inquiringly asks the task of saying what is good and what is bad. The Church is the keeper of the

people's conscience. A church leader and professor at the Theological Seminary too, therefore, should not be expected to remain silent when he finds that things do not conform with his ethical and Christian norms.

New Professor Keet is against apartheid. To condemn this political doctrine he is no longer satisfied with the pulpit and the lecture-room.

First he wrote a booklet, that looks dangerously like a political brochure. Last (Wednesday) night he stepped on to the platform of the Johannesburg University, the Institute of Race Relations, to condemn apartheid loudly.

Under such a banner Professor

Keet should realize that he is deliberately sending himself apart from his fellow Africans.

It is, of course, possible that Professor Keet, in his ivory tower, is not worried about that and considers that the truth is the truth whatever you may find or consider it.

But if he had practical sense he would have realized that he would serve his cause better by working through friends of the Government. But he will certainly survive one of Professor Keet appreciates that he has closed to himself the richest friendly and influential channels—for who has greater influence than the Church?

That is the price he is paying for his extremely injudicious conduct.

In exchange for the hope of achieving truly practical results he has now won the adoration of the Institute of Race Relations.

—“Die Vaderland.”

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A Liberal South African Looks At Rhodesia—I

NO one, not even the Rhodesians themselves, more strongly hope that the Federation will develop into a real multi-racial democracy than South African. No one, except Rhodesians, would be less sure if it should fail. To the Gold Coast and Nigeria we look from South Africa for a visible demonstration of our faith that Africans grow equal status and opportunities, even in democratic administration, of a modern state. From the Federation or from probably from Kenya we hope for a practical demonstration that Black and White can work together on equal status of the same work.

Doubts

But, frankly, it seems to me just now that we are more likely to see the first demonstration successful than the second. It

C. W. M. GILL

widens our doubts about Rhodesia the risk must be taken of offending those who regard all outside criticism. We in South Africa have, after all, little to be proud of in our racial policies. But we are, together with Federal critics, inside the problem. We are not really outsiders. We have seen some of the reasons for the lamentable decline of the "traditional" South African way of life—the township-apartheid-fascism which has brought such suffering to four-fifths of our population and, by its example of bad faith and worse lies, has made the Federal task as much harder.

It, therefore, we say that it is doubtful whether the Federation is a generation ahead of a generation behind us in race relations, we deserve to be heard—on a principle proved of their own discrimination, but doubtful that others should begin to either imitate or to unwittingly down the same frightening slope. And in this article I shall continue myself for reasons of space to some of the signs in Rhodesia's political and social life which lead that doubt. There is much that can legitimately be said to the contrary.

Obvious indication

The most obvious indication, that Southern Rhodesia may be

a generation behind us was the recent motion to amend the Immorality and Sedition Suppression Act. The original Act prohibited intercourse between Africans and White women. Its prime cause being the separation of certain White prostitutes, there was some justification for its title. The recent motion, seeking to prohibit intercourse between White men and African women, would conflict the ban on sexual relations between White and Black which was imposed by South Africa's Immorality Act nearly thirty years ago. One of the first orders of the Malan Government in 1948 was to extend the ban to relations between Whites and all non-Whites.

The selective nature of the Union's Immorality Act, "in of the new suggested Rhodesian law, shows that it had nothing really to do with "immorality". It is not "strict racial intercourse" as such which is prohibited. That may still be regarded between White and White, or even White and non-White, or in Rhodesia even if the motion becomes law) between White, Indian or Coloured. Who governments recognize that not all sinners are should be made sinners, and anti-racial sexual intercourse is generally as regarded. The Immorality Act of the Union and new possibility of Rhodesia are freshly inspired by racism. Whether the Rhodesian law, if amended, will lead to the odious pricing, sweeping, harassment of people who had sometimes maintained themselves fairly law-abiding as characterized the early Nationalist administration of South Africa's Act; whether it will be dispensed by the often unscrupulous legal administration of the more vulnerable race group, as in South Africa today, remains to be seen. But even if it were to avoid those accounts for the moment, its obviously racial character would remain offensive both to the great majority of the Federal population and to the liberal-minded everywhere.

Alarmed

A South African liberal is perhaps even more alarmed by the representation of the Marikana marriage. We who are so accustomed to being asked if we would like our daughters to

many African, have that the answer is "only if she and he so desire." Differences of outward appearance added to [for the present] considerable differences of colour and background make any large number of White-Black marriages impossible. But some will occur and, as the cultural gap is closed, their number will increase. The theology of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa permits them to exclude evolution from their calculations. For Afrikaners, therefore, White and Black, Brown and Yellow were "created" separate and distinct species. Like different species of bark. But this is not the opinion of science which traces man back to an ancestor man roots (Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid) and perhaps only to man. In any case, although clearly distinct scientific work on bones and skulls, faces and figures and certain bark can be traced to interbreed, their progeny are invariably fertile (i.e. "mules"). But all varieties of human species can interbreed and produce fertile offspring, thus establishing that biologically we are one species. Moreover the Banu of the Union and Federation descend from a mixture of Hamitic (Caucasoid) with Negroid and, therefore, inevitably share a common biological ancestry with us.

Biological Reason

There is then no biological reason against mixed marriages, however against the other direction. No, outside the D.R.C., we say Christian object to those few who decide to wed for love. In South Africa, before the Mixed Marriages Act of 1948 prohibited them, such marriages numbered less than 100 a year in a population of 13 millions, of which only 3 a year were between European and African. Our racial segregation laws have not

yet really caught up with the head of lawfully contracted mixed marriages. But we are to deal with them on the principle of "grading" the latter parties to the race-status of the darker. A White Coloured couple will be treated as Coloured for the purposes of racial classification and residential segregation. A White-African one as African. This is shocking enough. But it is worse than a copy like Southern Rhodesia which legally permits mixed marriages but makes it nearly impossible for the couples to live together at all.

I have deliberately taken these two racial aspects of racism as my first examples because one our South African experience has proved that much general prejudice and discrimination derives from them. They are certainly a basic cause of racial conflict, possibly the basic cause. All South African history shows the importance of facing up to and studying our attitude towards them. If we shift that, we shall shift the rest—and so will the Federation. It is not a question of encouraging mixed marriages. One may still discourage them for a number of good and rational reasons. But one must be prepared to accept, and accept fully, those mixed unions that do occur and their children. More, if not all, the so-called "degeneracy" of mixed offspring has been traced by the social sciences to the brutal and prejudiced environment in which the children grow up and the frustration they meet with in life from one form or another of a colour bar. A multi-racial society, genuinely non-discriminatory, cannot be built on these foundations of physical repulsion and racial segregation which are embodied in laws against "immorality" and mixed marriages.

(To be continued)

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CHAPTER XIX

ONE of the most beautiful things we can learn from Gandhiji's example is willingness to forgive those who do us harm. This was especially noticeable to him during his years in South Africa.

Among the many humiliations which Indians had to suffer in South Africa at that time there was a law which obliged them to register their names with the Government and allow their finger-prints to be taken—just as if they were criminals! When this law was passed Gandhiji led a resistance movement against it. Indians quietly but firmly refused to obey the law. As a result, thousands of them were put in jail, including Gandhiji himself. This was the first jail sentence of his life. Later on he was to go jail many times for his resistance to a foreign government's oppression of his people.

So many Indians were arrested that the jails became full. It was impossible to see arrested people as there was no place to put them. General Smith, the head of the South African government, said that he would release all those had been arrested and withdraw the new registration order, if at least a

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life Forgiveness Of Enemies

good number of Indians would register of their own free will. Gandhiji felt that this was a big step in the right direction and agreed to register. He was always too wise to expect people to give in at once, so neither law wrong they were.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Merny-Correa

Little by little he would try to bring them to their sense. If they gave in on one point, he would give in on another. This generous and reasonable way of behaving seldom failed to win people's hearts in the end.

A number of Indians went with Gandhiji to register themselves, but as the way a group of Pathans stopped them. Pathans are very brave and proud people and these Pathans felt that it would degrade them to yield even an inch to the Government. They were angry with Gandhiji for giving in.

They could not understand that he was acting wisely, and for their good. They were led by a man called Mr. Almon. This man led Gandhiji as the head and he felt unconscious. Some time before he had been stoned and kicked in the streets by the mob of white people who wrongly accused him to be their enemy. Now he was being beaten by his own people who also fancied him to be their enemy. It is often so with the good people of this world. Real worldliness goodness is so uncommon that men cannot understand it when they find it. It seems too wonderful to be true, and they fear it must be evil hiding behind an appearance of goodness.

That time Gandhiji was so severely beaten and wounded that he had to be carried to a friend's house and put to bed. The police arrested the Pathans, but Gandhiji refused to accuse them of anything. He could not bear to think that the old quarrels between Hindus and Muslims might break out again

because of this incident. Humbly and sweetly he begged the two commissions to unite and to let the blood from his wounds cement their friendship. The result of this wonderful gentleness was that Mr. Almon's heart was filled with remorse and he became a close friend of Gandhiji.

Whilst still lying in bed recovering from the beating he had received, Gandhiji allowed his finger-prints to be taken by the Government.

This was not the end of the registration struggle, however. For the Government did not keep its word, but continued to order the registration of Indians. So Gandhiji, who could be just as firm as he was sweet and forgiving, wrote the Gov. another a series letter. He told them that if the registration order was not done away with, all the Indians who had registered willingly would burn their certificates of registration. At the Government was alarmed, he collected 2500 certificates and set fire to them publicly. For this act he was again put in jail.

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London, July 9.

YESTERDAY I was present at what must be one of the most successful ceremonies of the year. It was a meeting sponsored by Mr. Fergus Brockway, M.P., organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, and held in the House of Commons. Its purpose was to present to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, first Prime Minister of Ghana, a book containing greetings to the new state from many distinguished British personalities.

Present in the house at the meeting was opened by Mr. Brockway with a collection of people, both well-known and less well-known, who have for years served the cause of colonialism in India, looking around I spotted Ritchie Calder, vice-president of the National Peace Committee and out-time editor of the "News Chronicle", someone secretary of

the Independent Labour Party; Lucy Middleton, wife of one of the Labour Party's closest secretaries, James Johnson, the Labour M.P. who visited the

From Fred S. Meacham

Rhodesia earlier in the year as the guest of the African National Congress, Hugh Brock, editor of "Peace News", whose brother, Guy Clifton-Brock, is a leader of the St. Faith's Mission Farm in Southern Rhodesia; Lord Kensington, the Conservative peer who works with the Rev. Michael Scott as the Africa Bureau, and was at one time principal of Achimota College in Ghana, and many others.

Fergus Brockway declared that independence for Ghana was good for four reasons. It was good for Ghana itself. He had come to know some of the great economic schemes which Dr. Nkrumah's government intended for Ghana, and was sure they would benefit the people of that land immensely. Ghana's independence was also good for the rest of Africa. It was an example and inspiration for colonial peoples throughout the continent. It was good for the Commonwealth, which would be strengthened by every free state which was added to it. He looked forward to the time when the coloured peoples would outnumber those who were white. Finally, Ghana's freedom was important for the peace of the world. Independence for coloured countries would lead to the creation of a social force working for the peace of the world.

He was happy to present to Dr. Nkrumah the book of greetings. It contained messages from Hugh Griffith M.P. and Mr. James Griffiths M.P., Leader and Deputy Leader of the Opposition, from the National Union of Railwaymen and many other trade unions, the

Call Issued For Multi- Racial Conference

A CALL for a multi-racial conference to be held in Johannesburg from November 10th to 15th has been issued under the sponsorship of the Intercontinental African Workers' Federation; the Right Reverend Bishop Rennie of Johannesburg; Sir Alan Paton, author and chairman of the Liberal Party; Chief Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress; Dr. V. V. Dadoo, prominent Indian leader; Mr. Alec Haggis, Labour Party M.P.; Mrs. Ruth Penty of the Black Book, and Mr. Leo Margand of the Institute of Race Relations.

A statement has been issued by the sponsors and sent to prominent individuals of all races asking if they will sponsor the conference.

The conference will discuss the resolution adopted by the Intercontinental African Workers' Federation at their conference in Bloemfontein last year. This resolution stated:

"Conference re-affirms the demand of the African people for the abolition of discriminatory laws and the extension of full citizenship rights to all, which alone will guarantee peaceful and harmonious relations between black and white in South Africa."

The sponsors state that the proposed multi-racial conference will take up where the Bloemfontein Conference left off.

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Catholic Bishops Urge Whites To Think Again On Apartheid

THE Roman Catholic Bishops of South Africa have decided to appeal urgently to all White South Africans to consider the "ethic" of apartheid and seek to enter for its immediate change in the Government's racial policy before the country faces a "holocaust."

The Bishops, meeting in Pretoria at the plenary session of the South African Catholic Bishops conference, decided unanimously to condemn the church's stand against apartheid.

A statement released by the 25 Bishops attending the conference describes apartheid as "inhuman" and "a purpose deriding every 'every other' purpose, as and justifying any means."

The Bishop's statement said: "Many who suffer under the sting of apartheid find it hard to accept councils of moderation. Deterred by resentment and frustration, they demand any policy that involves a gradual change."

"Revolution, not evolution, is the slogan of the reformers. They are not content only in the reworking away of only differences and the immediate extension of full civil rights to all."

Don't Realize

"They do not realize the realization that would result—the collapse of all public order, the complete dissolution of society, and perhaps their own rapid

destruction in the holocaust."

"But a change must come, otherwise our country faces a disastrous future."

"The time is short. The need is urgent. Those smothered by apartheid must be given concrete evidence of the change before it is too late."

The change, the statement said, involved the abolition of a racialist and just policy resulting any person, irrespective of race, to qualify for the enjoyment of full civil rights.

Up To Whites

No South African Government could attempt such a change without the consent of White citizens—on whose shoulders lay squarely the burden of responsibility.

The Bishops concluded: "To all white South Africans we direct an urgent plea to consider fully what apartheid means—the evil and anti-Christian character, the fanaticism that flows from it, the resentment and bitterness it arouses, the harvest of disaster that it must produce in this country we all love so much.

together and use their united strength to defeat this iniquitous law. The Civil Rights League are a fine example by organizing a series of public meetings this year, addressed by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, and others. Now a group of 111 House citizens have formed a committee—the Group Areas Act Protest Committee. Those interested are asked to write to Box 562, Johannesburg.

African Women On Agricultural Course

Seven Kenya African women are taking a two-year professional course at the Government Training College, Kiriba, in Nyamira to qualify as Agricultural Inspectors in the service of the Kenya Government.

The women—two from the Coast Province and the rest from Nyamira—have all attained Form II standard of education (Standard 8). With them on the course are a number of men students.

Pakistan Might Send Envoy To S.A.

Mr Syed Ahmed Anzal, the Pakistan High Commissioner in Nairobi, said in Johannesburg that negotiations were under way between Pakistan and South Africa for the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Mr. Anzal was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for Mauritius.

He said: "Our quarrel with South Africa is not as bitter as India's. After all, we are a completely different people to the Indians."

Mr. Anzal said he did not know when the two countries would again exchange embassies and he was sorry that the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Ehsan Leoni, was still away, as he would have liked to discuss the matter with him.

He did not know if his sign, which covered Aden, East Africa, Central Africa, Madagascar and Mauritius, would be extended to South Africa, or whether a separate establishment would be opened in Pretoria. (Tele.)

Band Together Against Group Areas Act

IN a letter to the editor of the "Star" the Secretary of the Group Areas Protest Committee writes:—

Sir,—Pretoria is due to Mr. H. Miller, M.P.C., chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the Johannesburg City Council, for stamping the forcible removal of people under the group areas proclamation as lawless. [The "Star," July 4]. He calls on the Group Areas Board to postpone its activities. But is that enough?

The Group Areas Act is widely recognized as a piece of legislation of the basest kind. Should we, therefore, be satisfied with postponement of its implementation? Surely opponents of this Act must go further and demand its repeal?

The moment it is repealed the better it will be for the lives of all South Africans, White as well as Black.

Poisonous Fruits

The thought of our children sharing the poisonous fruits of the tree of racial hatred, so tragically nurtured by the Nationalists, makes one shudder with foreboding.

Professor E. R. Kerr, Professor of Theology at the D.R.C. Seminary at Stellenbosch, adopts the only sane attitude. He states unequivocally that it would be suicide for the Basutians group in South Africa to try to apply the policy of apartheid. The professor concludes that if there could not be a change of heart there was nothing else to do but wait the day of reckoning.

To be practical, however, one cannot be expected simply to wait and hope for a change of heart on the part of our not so benign Government.

Protest Committee

All men and women with a thought in the future must band



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when are situated, that Africans should be present on such premises in the numbers in which they voluntarily attend a service on festive occasions there.

Special Conditions

"A proviso then follows stating the conditions under which the Minister may issue any such order in the future. Valuable as these stated conditions may be under certain circumstances, they in no way allow for any appeal from the Minister's decision, and the only condition left is that this new law is a definite restriction of our God-given right to enjoy freedom of worship."

"For this reason the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa stated, in a letter to the Prime Minister dated March 6, 1957:

"The Church cannot recognize the right of an official of the secular Government to determine whether or when a member of the Church of any race (who is not giving a sentence which restricts his freedom of movement) shall discharge his religious duty of participation in public worship, or to give instructions to the Minister of any congregation as to whom he shall admit to membership of that congregation."

Anglican Bishops Urge Followers To Disobey Church Clause

(Continued from page 298)

"A further statement issued by the Bishops on April 26, 1957, reinforced this point of view, and concluded with the words: 'The Bishops reaffirm their previous statement that, if the Bill becomes law, they will be unable to obey it or to counsel their clergy and people to do so.'"

Bishop Ianman's Duty

"Now that the Bill has become law, it has also become my duty to implement for the Church in this country what I subscribed to in the previously mentioned letters of March 6 and April 29 last."

"Before God and with you as my witnesses I solemnly state that not only shall I not obey any directions from the Minister of Native Affairs in this regard, but that I solemnly counsel you, both clergy and people, to do likewise."

"I give you this counsel fully cognizant that under Section 46 of the Native Laws Amendment Act, certain penalties are laid down for those who transgress this particular law."

"I caution further that under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1955, far more severe penalties are prescribed for those who are found guilty of advising or inciting others to transgress a law by way of protest."

"If then you or I are called upon to undergo any of these penalties, we shall do so I pray remembering our Lord, who, wrote St. Peter:

"When he was reviled, when he suffered, he did not retaliate; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously." Paraphrasing, wrote St. Peter: "Inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, rejoice... If ye are reproached for the name of Christ, blessed are ye because the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God is upon you... If ye suffer as Christians for him who is suffering, but let him glorify God in this name... Wherefore let them also that suffer according to the will of God compute their

work as well-doing unto a faithful Creator."

"If any amongst us be called upon to suffer one or more of the penalties I have referred to, I solemnly counsel you further to provide that both we and our dependants are given your full support in prayer, in spirit, and in material provision. In such manner we shall fulfil St. Paul's command: 'Bear ye one another's burden and so fulfil the law of Christ.'"

Repugnant

"I would not have you think that these portions of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 which specifically concern the Church are the only ones objectionable to the Christian conscience. With virtually the whole company of Christians our Church finds the doctrine of Apartheid repugnant to the Word of God and we are in no more agreement of any law which gives expression to that doctrine."

"The purpose of this letter is not concerned with opinions however. There is a clear line before us, either to obey God or man. With St. Peter and the Apostles we rejoice in giving the names of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church: 'We must obey God rather than men.'"

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PAKISTAN'S Foreign Minister, Yousaf Khan Noon, left London recently for the United States. The Pakistani Foreign Minister Mr. N. S. Subhanwala, began a formal American tour on July 11.

Mr. Noon told newsmen before boarding his plane for New York: "Some things are better left unsaid. I cannot tell you the reasons for my visit to the United States. Nor can I tell you how long I will be there, or when I shall be going."

Senior Officer To Inquire Into Kashmir Explosions

A senior officer of the Delhi Police, connected with the Crime Investigation, has proceeded to Jammu and Srinagar to examine the explosive substances and a few live bombs recently recovered by the Kashmir Police from the possession of some alleged Pakistani nationalists at their agents.

He will ascertain whether the seizure of bomb explosives there last month had any connection with the explosion that occurred in the Capital last year.

Official sources in Delhi state that at least two bombs which exploded near Jammu Masjid on two consecutive Fridays in July last year assembled, in the main, the description given by the Inspector-General of Kashmir Police of the bombs which exploded on Jammu.

It is also noted here that the explosion started in Delhi last year on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, just as they did this year in Kashmir.

Some senior police officials in the capital, therefore, conclude that the explosion in Kashmir were probably the result of the subversive activities of one and the same gang which, according to them, operated in different parts of India with the sole object of creating panic among the minorities.

Reports have reached Delhi that a senior police officer in occupied Kashmir is directing these operations.

Asharya Bhava Suffering From An Attack Of Influenza

Asharya Vinoba Bhava is now recovering from an attack of influenza.

The news of his illness reached here from Nilambur, where he was brought by car. The report said that the Shroddan leader was running a temperature but continued on his "yaga Yatra," making a distance of eight miles. The next day, however, he broke down and had to be brought to Nilambur town for treatment and rest.

According to the President of the Culturt Shroddan Reception Committee, Asharya Bhava was now much better.

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ઘીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીયન બોજન મળી શકશે.

હાલ પ્રસંગે તેમજ ખાટામાં માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ મુખ પ્રસંગે ખાટે મળી શકશે.

મોડીંગ અને હોલંગની સગવડ

કાચખી મોડીંગને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તો માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. ચોરસોમાં નહીં અને અધુનિક હમ્બર ફ્રનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમાર તો દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાવળો માટે કુદમળને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આપશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરખની લોપડી લેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ ઘાસાની ડાઘ, ખરિકાટુંપરતા, અને ચોરેલી, વિશેષ રાખીએ છીએ.

હરદું અથિલું અચાણું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ હંમેશાં તઈવાર હોય છે.

મોડીંગથી શિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

Religion which takes no account of practical affairs and does not help to solve them is no religion.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

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INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH CONNECTION

From WILLIAM CLARK
(With acknowledgment to the London 'Observer')

New Delhi, June 22.

MR. NEHRU is going to the Commonwealth Conference in a somewhat quiescent state of mind which reflects the mood of his people. In the weeks before he left Delhi he was bombarded with questions, in and out of Parliament, about leaving the Commonwealth, and the stereotyped negative answer has had now to be modified into a promise that in the future this may be considered. The Prime Minister of India finds himself in connection with the Commonwealth rather like a British Labour Prime Minister in relation to the American alliance—frequently helped at by his own followers, and therefore anxious to prove that the doubtful policy is worth while.

There is no doubt that Mr. Nehru genuinely values the Commonwealth relationship and the exchanges of view that go with it. He and most of his colleagues have a high regard for Britain as a sane and adult Power, and this feeling of good will was never stronger than at the end of last year's Commonwealth Conference from which Mr. Nehru returned full of public praise of the British Government. But since



MR. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

then things seem to have gone wrong. Why?

Understanding

It is superficial to say that it has just been the split over Suez. Though Mr. Nehru was shocked at Nasser's nationalisation of the Canal (which had never been blessed during the British era), he was appalled at the British invasion; yet that error of judgment (as it is viewed here) was so quickly reversed that a great deal

has been forgiven. What rankles is not the act of force but the complete failure to consult or inform the members of the Commonwealth, and the apparent complete ignoring of the known views of the Asian members. Mr. Nehru needs to be reassured not that Suez was an aberration (that is accepted) but that the British Government takes its partnership with the Asian members of the Commonwealth seriously.

The spite of British cri-

ticism of India's Kashmir policy has, of course, somewhat worsened relations between the two countries. Yet it is astonishing to find how completely most Indians seem to have persuaded themselves that the criticism was not wholly sincere, but rather due to a desire to avenge the Suez humiliation, and based fundamentally on Britain's lack of interest, understanding and sympathy.

That is the nub of the problem, India wants from Britain interest, understanding and sympathy, far more than anything else. This may surprise those who think of international relations in terms of power abstractions, and who forget that Prime Ministers are human, and that democratic Prime Ministers are responsible to many millions of other very human beings.

In this demand for sympathetic understanding Mr. Nehru will be echoed by the Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Ceylon and Ghana. They want to be assured that the people and Government of Britain are interested and aware of their problems. They fear that 'recently Britain has begun to go 'isolationist,' at least in respect to countries outside Europe. London's preliminary ideas on topics for discussion at the Conference, with their emphasis on the problems of the European common market

(Continued on page 322)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 26TH JULY, 1957

Bloemfontein Challenge

MEN and women who love liberty received with satisfaction the report that a panel of distinguished South Africans from all sections of the nation had agreed to sponsor the national conference asked for by the Bloemfontein assembly last year to set up an anti-apartheid front.

That this momentous decision has been taken at once gives focus and direction to the fight against apartheid. It creates conditions amidst which it will be possible for all who oppose race oppression to stand and exert pressure together in directions which will produce maximum results. In this light it is a positive move against apartheid.

At the same time sight must not be lost of the fact that it is a launching into a new field of endeavour, one in which racial, cultural or ideological angustias could quite conceivably furnish the room of apartheid with plenty of dynamite to widen the gulfs which divide the various wings of its doctrine.

Effective Precaution

One of the most effective precautions against this will be to keep ideological aspirations out of the fray now in the process of being formed. The other will be to insist on agreement on objectives. Those goals which will bring about maximum unity should be the bases on which the front will be established.

A delicate problem which will confront the conference will be the type of action which it will resort to to ensure respect for its wishes. People should be quite clear in their minds that what the Bloemfontein conference envisaged when it asked for a united front was not a milk-and-water affair but a movement which could face apartheid with the reality of an effective challenge.

These are problems which exist to be solved. For our part we are delighted that the voice of real democracy is at last making itself heard effectively.

No More Insults To Non-Whites

THE non-European sections of the nation contribute a substantial portion of the national income. The African alone is said to bring in about a quarter. In spite of this the non-Whites continue to be treated in a humiliating manner almost in every field of endeavour. A case in point is the amusement field. As a rule circuses, merry-go-rounds, amusement parks, etc., all are supported very heavily by the non-European peoples as well and yet all, almost without exception, have the col-

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Challenge From Beyond Limpopo

EVENTS in both the Federation and Southern Rhodesia are taking a turn to which we in this part of the continent cannot be indifferent. Southern Rhodesia is debating legislation to recognise the African's right to citizenship and in this connection Mr. Gubbie Todd, the Rhodesian Premier, has brought before the Rhodesian Parliament a Bill which will extend the vote to the African in ways to enable the former to elect, initially, at least about one-sixth of the electorate.

In the Federation Sir Ray Wellesley is also in the direction of extending the vote to a larger electorate but in ways which will provide a lot of controversy. His proposal are as follows. The first, on which there will be about three-quarters of the electorate, will have very stiff qualifications—the obvious intention being to keep three-quarters of political power in White hands. The qualifications for the second roll will be much lower. But the White members of the Federation will still continue to have a leg up in the election of the quarters of representative obviously intended to speak for the Africans.

Criticised

Sir Ray's plan is being criticised very strongly by the African Alliance Board, set up by request to be the watchdog of African interests. The Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland set in it see more wish to overthrow White supremacy.

While rejecting the limitation, however, they have made what look like reasonable counter-proposals. They want parity in representation for a trial period of five years. After that they want universal adult suffrage. They are quite prepared to guarantee minority rights, including the sending aside of special seats in Parliament for minorities.

Sir Ray seems to be used to ignore African objections and counter-proposals and to insist on his White-supremacy white-hot ideas. If he has his way among the Whites, he is sure to ride into very rough weather on the African side.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Africans have made it clear that rather than belong to a Federation where White interests were paramount they would rather seek out of it and

stand the path followed by Ghana. Those in Southern Rhodesia have replied to all these developments by setting up their own National Congress.

Joint Opposition

What do these events mean? That African opinion is prevailing in directions where joint opposition to the perpetuation of White supremacy will be a unified factor. Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa all have the African National Congress. In other words both the hand of unity and the machinery to give meaning to it already exist in large parts of Africa south of the equator.

Against this background both the Africans of the Union and the Whites here will have to make a difficult but historic choice. Black Africa offers the Africans of the Union promising potentialities against race oppression. It offers them the opportunity of uniting the White minority, of a campaign which could make it seriously difficult for goods of South Africa to find a market on the continent. The price for these alliances is, of course, rejection of the ideal of Black-White partnership.

What is the African to do in these circumstances? Live up with men of his race, who suffer similar disabilities whose emotional superiority is the main guarantee of their success? And in that way make up his mind once and for all times that he must not strive for himself in rejecting White partnership—particularly in a situation where apartheid says the Whites must lead him?

The African forces now being organised are going to make it plain for Sir Ray that the Whites have been his only in Europe and not in Africa any longer.

Equally Difficult

The choice which faces the Europeans is equally difficult. In the face of these mounting pressures, which is the white course for him to take? To abandon all the assistance about White supremacy and stretch a firm and comforting hand of friendship to the African on the basis of equality? Or stick to what he has used? It is taken out of his hands by force?

(Continued on page 322)

Press Review

The Church Militant

NO European clergyman or church worker counts an offence by arranging and announcing a "mixed" service. But the Native is guilty if he attends such a service after the Minister has announced his prohibition. The true gravity of the Church's statement, therefore, lies in the fact that it has told Natives to defy the law. In doing so the Bishops may already have broken the law themselves, for this might be held to be "sachment."

Is the Church's action justified? We think that it is.

By giving his Bible finger Dr. Vorster can have as many meanings as he wants. We advise him to keep his hands to his pockets. After all, he has no intention of applying the clinic. It is simply there in case...

"The Star"

—o—

Foreign Capital

WE hear every day, especially from the English Press, that South Africa needs more foreign capital for the development of her industries, mining and commerce. Where is it going to end and what will be the eventual effect of this capital on our national economy?

We are busy making the foreign master of her own house. Once he is master, he is going to head the South African mines, and in particular the Afrikaner, to his will, for we know that the power of money is irresistible.

Moreover, it is a subtle way of getting the Nationalist Government under, instead of following our affairs with our own savings we show foreign capital, with eyes open, to secure a hold on our economy.

I appeal to my fellow-Afrikaners above all to leave their savings in our own business undertakings, industries, mines and other Afrikaner financial institutions.

We must obtain our legitimate share in our country's industrial development.

— From letter to the "Erekrans" —

—o—

Ghana's Ambassador

AT long last Mr. Eric Leese has said it. South Africa is to have a Negro ambassador from Ghana. He did not reveal when this new

diplomatic step is to be taken by South Africa. I doubt very much, from public information that has reached me, whether this will happen in the very near future.

Mr. Leese, being a diplomat born and bred—he laid the foundation of our service overseas—personally has no subsidies. As far as he is concerned he would have the money tomorrow. The sooner the better for South Africa if she wants to take the lead on the African sub-continent.

I understand that Mr. Leese and Ghana's Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, discussed the matter when they dined together at the Grosvenor Hotel in London.

Mr. Leese is, I am told, distressed that there should be no "incident" when the Black ambassador takes up residence in the Union. One ill-considered action on the part of the public towards this newcomer might set us back for years.

Knowing Mr. Leese as a sensitive man and a stickler for the correct procedure in the field of diplomacy I am quite sure that he is going to see to it that no such incident occurs before he accepts an official invitation to Ghana to be represented here.

Much good work will have to be done. The question of getting the Black ambassador a residence in Pretoria and Cape Town is the heart of Mr. Leese's worry.

South Africans, Afrikaans-speaking as well as English-speaking, will have to accept this diplomat in every sphere. There can be no half measures.

We will attend official state banquets, sit in the distinguished visitors' gallery in Parliament, and mix at cocktail parties.

"How is the general public going to take this? A single unattractive remark or a seemingly trivial action, such as denying the ambassador the use of the same lift as Whites in a hotel or a building, might cause a firestorm now. Mr. Leese wants to avoid this.

We are hands will be tied if South Africans, and particularly Afrikaners, do not support him to the hilt. I have no doubt that

my own people will side to the occasion once they understand what is at stake.

This is truly one of the most revolutionary things about to happen in the life of the Afrikaner, who for reasons of self-protection have held themselves aloof from the rest of Africa. Let us take a bold step into the future and let it be brave and well-considered, for Ghana's ambassador is to be the vanguard of others to follow soon—Nigeria, Liberia and the rest of them.

Jon Rogers is "The Star."

—o—

Bus Apartheid

FORCED racial apartheid on all buses merely for apartheid's sake is as foolish as it is unnecessary.

Yet having said so much, it needs to be added that the Corporation is not entirely free from blame for what has arisen. Past Councils have consistently neglected non-European transport, so much so that the Railways Commission of 1946 referred to what is called "a most astonishing state of affairs" in that the Council devoted 72 per cent. of its transport facilities to one-third of the population, leaving only 28 per cent. for the remaining two-thirds.

"Social Strategy,"

—o—

A Dynamic Force

IN a special profile of Mr. Nkrumah published on the occasion of

his visit, the Catholic morning paper "De Volkskrant" said on July 6:

"Gte. Jawaharlal Nehru is a dynamic force carrying a 'new' country from enforced sleep of centuries to a future in which... a worthy existence is possible."

"The fact that the West does not always understand Mr. Nkrumah does not diminish the respect and appreciation with which the Netherlands receives this visitor. Through long discussions and contradictions there emerges the fact that Mr. Nkrumah knows more about the West than the West about India."

Uncertainty At Treason Inquiry

THE accused at the Treason Inquiry returned to the Drill Hall on Monday facing uncertainty as to when the Crown case will end. There is to be no further adjournment of the hearing this month.

On Monday, the 29th of July, the defence will deal further with the question of examining Professor Murray.

Warm Clothing

The Defence Fund has taken steps to provide blankets and warm clothing where needed by the accused. In order to meet what is feared to be one of the coldest winters in the Transvaal.

No More Insults To Non-Whites

(Continued from previous page)

our bar. The time has come for the non-Europeans to realise that the weapon of defeat the colour bar lies wholly in their hands.

Amusement organisations need their money. All they need to do is to stop going to these places as long as there is a colour bar and to support only these establishments which do not discriminate against the man of colour.

This does not involve any violation of the law. It does not involve any real hardship. But it could be such a magnificent demonstration against apartheid and race oppression. If people are thinking of a boycott seriously and there are signs that they are, colour-conscious places of amusement should be the first to be taught a lesson.

India And The Commonwealth Connection

(Continued from front page)

and of purely Anglosphere defence, confirmed that impression.

From India, the world and its problems look very different than they do from Britain. The scene is not dominated, however much it may be disturbed, by the Great Power rivalries, but by unbridled energy to be called "the Asian Revolution." This is the great historic process whereby the nations of the whole are being raised political independence in the past decade and are now determined to see it to ensure for themselves a better standard of life and a larger role in world affairs. In terms of European history, the upheaval and lengthy era of the growth of Nationalism and the 19th-century Revolution are being telescoped.

Indianism

From the people of Asia, this revolution, taking place throughout the continent from China to Japan, is all-important. On its progress depends the comfort of their food, the welfare of their

work and home, the kind of nation they have, the character of their children, in fact the very total of their lives. At the same time they are fully aware that these internal changes are also altering their relationship to the rest of the world. They are aware to be only-at people, and they demand that the world should pay attention to their aims and achievements. In India this is the heart of the independence.

Because of the long period of the British Raj, Indians are particularly anxious that we should understand and appreciate their burning aspirations. The Dutch Press and Pacific Insularity have been criticised for contempt on India's place and progress, and the results are equally meagre. As a newspaper from Britain, I feel particularly being asked "What is the British people think of our Second Five Year Plan?" is no easy way to answer. Yet it is impossible for Britain and India to be real partners in

the Commonwealth unless there is this sympathetic understanding of what the Indian Government is trying to do through its Five Year Plans, which are the basis on which India's destiny is being woven.

Everything is being sacrificed to make a success of the second plan, which hopes by 1961 to raise the pitifully low standard of living by 15 per cent, to a level still, of course, far below that of the British as exemplified in the 1950s. In order to obtain capital for the industrialisation projects and the agricultural development plans, India today is being far more heavily taxed than she ever was by the British.

Indeed the income tax rates today are higher than those of any other country in the world except Britain, and it has even been suggested that the Salt Tax (against which Gandhi first raised the standard of Civil Disobedience) should be reimposed. All this sacrifice for the poorer and middle classes is justified, and even gratefully accepted, in the second sense of the Five Year Plan: the less, the remaining gap in foreign exchange income across the path forward.

But it is not a hard-sell which Mr. Nehru is evading on behalf of the Indian people at the

Commonwealth Conference. He wishes Britain to be a partner rather than a patron a country which recognises its common interest in the success of India's great experiment. For India's political leaders are convinced that their decision to work and their part of the Asian Revolution by democratic means is of great significance for the future of the whole world.

As they see it, the future course of 1,000 million people in Asia is now being decided. To the north, in China, the revolution is being swiftly carried forward by automatic means with the full support of the Communist world that stretches back through Moscow to Berlin. In India the same revolution is being carried out deliberately with the consent of the largest elements in the world. Does her experiment have the sympathy and understanding of the free world and of the Commonwealth of Nations? Do they realise that their political creed is as vital in Asia? If Mr. Nehru can find that understanding in London, he and other Asian Premiers have no doubt about the success of an experiment which they believe to be in any ultimate interest as well as in theirs.

Challenge From Beyond Limpopo

(Continued from page 320)

Ruin African

Some White people have also made a similar choice. We welcome that. But the greatest need is to make it clear to White South Africa that the real moment of decision will come in the general elections next year when White South Africa will decide whether or not the will of Africa must be in their hands who seek to ruin Africa.

This, in turn, makes the conference called for November 24-28 in Johannesburg of especial importance. And it must be many representative men and women on both sides of the colour line will give priority to the task of attending it and making their contributions towards its success. Those of us who reject such compromise have made a difficult choice. To succeed we have to work harder than all the white people.

JORDAN K. NGUBANE

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CHAPTER XX

WHEN at last Gandhiji returned again to India, the Great War of 1914 was in progress. He was determined to do as much practical work for a time, but just to study the situation in India. He wanted to be quite sure what it was that India needed most.

He had long felt the great importance of cottage industries, particularly spinning and weaving. India had to spend vast sums of money on foreign cloth to clothe her millions of people. If Indians would learn to make their own cloth, this money would no longer have to go out of India. Then there were always scores of Indians who had no employment except some little odd job now and then. If all these people could be taught spinning and weaving they would never again be without work. At the same time they would not be depriving others of jobs. In a country with so many millions of inhabitants there would always be customers for this hand-made cloth.

Spinning, too, was an occupation that could be carried on whilst obtaining. Women who spent so much time in spinning each day, could easily spin at the

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Work At The Satyagraha Ashram

same time. In this way, life here could be turned into a most useful part of the day.

The nearest city of Ahmedabad seemed to Gandhiji a good place for experimenting with this new idea. There he began to teach India the great lessons of self-reliance and self-support.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corcoran

When he believed that Indians must give a perfect example to their people in everything, he did not mean to work with ordinary people as his fellow-workers. He founded the new famous Satyagraha Ashram—a place of holiness like the hermitages of older times. In this ashram he collected twenty-five people who all made vows to lead pure and holy lives of self-denial and sacrifice for the good of others. All were to live together like one loving family.

After a time, feeling that he must set an example in this also, Gandhiji allowed a family of Gujaratis to join the Ashram. This family consisted of a father, mother and his daughter called Lakshmi. They were good, simple, hard-working people, but many of Gandhiji's Hindu friends became angry that he should take in Gujaratis. Many of these friends had been giving him money to help the good work done by the ashram. All these gifts of money now stopped and the friends would no longer come near the ashram.

Gandhiji did not mind. He knew that he was right and that God was on his side. Even though the money was badly in need of money, he did not fear. He was certain that God would not forsake him.

And God rewarded his faith. An unknown person sent him the gift of Rs. 15,000.

As time went on, the members of the ashram did wonder-

ful work. They visited villages after villages and taught the peasants to improve themselves and their homes in every way. Whenever the villagers were idle and refused to clean up the dirtiness around them, the ashram workers would clean wells and even sweep roads, remove rubbish heaps and do all kinds of unpleasant but necessary work, until the villagers got ashamed and did it themselves. Once they had learnt to do this, they did not like to go back to their old dirty ways again.

While supervising the good work of the ashram, Gandhiji also supported the British in their war effort. He firmly believed that it was India's duty to help Britain in her hour of need, by giving men to fight against Britain's enemies and defend her. He also felt certain that, in return, the British Government would give India freedom. He worked as hard as any man to defend Britain that he felt fit. It was during the illness that Kester's persuaded him to take some milk in order to recover his health.

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(To be continued)

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TRADE INQUIRIES INVITED

Nehru Tells Sudanese To Make Politica

When Prime Minister Nehru flew into Khartoum a fortnight ago from Cuba, he received a tremendous welcome. Cheers and shouting their traditional tribal songs, more than of the Sudanese capital's quarter million people turned out to give him the biggest ever reception given to any visiting leader.

Thousands of local people with tribal marks tattooed on their chests cheered and sang in the blazing equatorial heat as Mr. Nehru drove slowly past them on procession in an open car. At several places jostling car wheels stopped it.

More than a thousand Indian residents joined the Sudanese in greeting their Prime Minister, throwing rose petals and shouting "Nehru Zindabad" as he came out of an Indian Air Force plane "Rajbhon".

A special representative of the five-member Supreme Commission, the highest constitutional authority in the Sudan in the absence of the Head of the State, was present to receive Mr. Nehru.

Honour To Sudan

Welcoming him on behalf of the Sudan Government and the Sudanese people, Premier Khalil said in a speech at the airport that Mr. Nehru's visit

was a "great honour done the people of the Sudan" because which we will remember for a long time to come. The Sudanese people who struggled for and their independence owed a great deal to India for guidance leadership in their long political fight, he said.

Prime Minister Khalil added "We are happy to have with us not only a great leader of India but also the light of Asia. There was much in common between India and the Sudan and he looked forward to a long period of understanding and co-operation between the two countries."

He said the people were very proud to see Mr. Nehru, the Indian leader to visit the country. The struggle the Mahatma Gandhi launched in South Africa six years back for the memory of the people who had won their independence only two years ago and the

White Parents Forget Own Children In Bloemfontein

"FORGOTTEN" children in Bloemfontein's National Hospital are worrying the authorities. In the past month the children have been brought in to the hospital for treatment and then "forgotten" by their parents.

Three weeks ago a stranger brought two little boys to the hospital for treatment. During their stay in the hospital they were not visited once by their parents, who did not even inquire about their progress.

When the children were well again, hospital officials began an anxious search for their parents, who were traced after many telephone calls and asked to fetch their children.

The parents replied that they would come a little later.

But the two youngsters had occupied the whole day hanging about corridors waiting for their parents, who arrived in the evening.

This week a boy was brought in with an injured leg. The man who took him to hospital left neither name nor address. The boy was treated but no

one knew how to get hold of his parents. Again, after many telephone calls the parents were found—and, again, the youngster had to wait a whole day before his parents fetched him.

An official at the hospital said: "We feel sorry for the youngsters. There is little we can do to rescue them who they wait. Our hands are with other work."

A social welfare worker said: "This sort of thing borders on cruelty but we cannot get on."

"It is a sign of the times that these parents do not care about their children. They are not ready to shoulder responsibility of parenthood."

"They don't deserve to be children if they treat them this way."—*"Sunday Express"*.

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looked on Mr. Nehru as a hero to that great leader.

In his reply, Mr. Nehru said he had come with a message of goodwill from the Government of India. He had met representatives of India at the Bandung Conference and had been looking forward to this visit. He had not come to Khartoum to discuss any problems between the two countries, because there was no problem. The object of the visit was to establish India and the Sudan in a friendly relationship in the larger cause of world peace.

Freedom Of City

Later at a civic reception, the freedom of the city of Khartoum was conferred on Mr. Nehru at a colourful function on the banks of the Blue Nile.

Thanking the citizens of Khartoum, Mr. Nehru called upon African people to co-operate with each other and also with the people of other countries for their individual benefit and to the cause of world peace.

The Prime Minister told a Press conference to Khartoum that Communism is a creeping menace but most of its victims are in the Middle East were far removed from Communism and he saw no sign of a Communist invasion in the area.

"Economically and socially, many countries in the Middle East are feudal and are not advanced enough for the growth of Communist ideas. People might espouse socialism and vote against the existing systems in their countries, but this is not Communism," he said.

Mr. Nehru also rejected a suggestion that Communism was growing in India.

India, he continued, was a democratic country where all political parties, including the Communist Party, had equal freedom.

Mr. Nehru had a meeting with Mr. Hamed Abdullah Bey Khalil, Sudanese Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister.

Addressing a civic reception at Khartoum given in his honour, Mr. Nehru said: "People all over the world hunger for freedom. Every country may not be able to ensure peace in the world while bigger countries are in conflict, but if each small

country moves in the right direction and co-operates with other countries with a similar approach, they could make big constructive contributions to world peace. Let us not talk of other people's failures, but improve ourselves through co-operation."

Mr. Nehru told the audience of his conviction that it was impossible for Asia and Africa to make any progress except under conditions of peace. "How can we progress," he asked, "if we are not in a peaceful and secure world as conflicts and disturbances undermine?" And so the problem of peace and good relations becomes one of the utmost importance—more so for countries like India and the Sudan which hunger for bettering their conditions."

"Countries of Asia and Africa have become conscious of their existence and are shaking with new life and they want to make political freedom a reality for their people by striving to raise their standards of living. Freedom here is meaning without a constant threat of a higher standard of living," Mr. Nehru said.

French Women Write To Algerians

The North Congress of the Union of French Women addressed the following message to the women of Algeria:

"The war which is going on in tearing your families and your country into segments and severing from day to day it is extending and it is becoming more and more serious.

Like you we have this war which is making Algerians and French mothers and those who are men dear to them,

We do not want a gulf to be created between us. We want to preserve our kinship.

We are certain that it is possible, through negotiation, to find a solution which is in accord with the interests of both our countries.

We want an end to bloodshed.

We pledge ourselves to continue our action incessantly until peace is re-established in Algeria. We shall appeal more strongly than ever to the women and mothers of our country to take action for this aim."

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A Liberal South African Looks At Rhodesia—II

I MUST tackle two other important matters more briefly, though they have loomed larger in the press. It is possible to believe that the Rhodesian Native Council Bill was genuinely intended to develop local self-government among Africans. But one must seriously question its methods. Why in a society normally so dedicated to multi-racialism introduce the principle of "apartheid development" for African towns? We know that persistence here too will in South Africa and here already is practised. African townships are not, in any case, more than desultory suburbs of the main town they serve. Surely they should be treated as wards of

the state when the tide of race antagonism is running strongly

The Commission's qualifications for an "arbitrary" vote are higher than the existing ones. Therefore, not all the present registered 500 and estimated 1900 new qualified African voters will get the new vote. The qualifications for the "franchise" or "special" vote will, as the most optimistic estimate, be immediately available to another 10,000 Africans. It is, however, believed that perhaps 10-15,000 more could, or shortly could, prove that their tribal incomes (i.e. including wives' earnings, allowances for live medical attention, live electricity etc.) reach the £15 per month minimum. But it is admitted that there are all obstacles. Similar estimates made when the Courts petition for Kenya Africans were answered proved these things too high, and only one-third of the lower and more realistic figures actually registered as voters. High achievement of potential voters is only achieved when registration is either automatic or compulsory. In Rhodesia it will be neither. An African population, unused to electoral methods, will be limited to such measures if it can prove certain (see there) fairly complicated qualifications. In all the circumstances—a maximum potential vote about one-third of the first estimate and perhaps 35-45 per cent actual registration—the total African voting strength by 1960 is unlikely to exceed 1,000 "ordinary" and 3,000 "special". Even if I am 100 per cent out (i.e. double both totals) even if wider education and Kachas prosperity greatly raise African levels (despite my figures) still, the African vote will remain (allowing for "franchise" and "special" vote) a smaller percentage of the total electorate (probably well over 100,000 by 1960) than the African vote once was on the old Cape franchise roll. And we all know how easily that was abolished.

Africans require the first steps to practical partnership to be of such size that they are irresistible. If enough white political class require the support of enough black voters, they will never be able to abolish or curtail the African's share of partnership. In view of all that has happened elsewhere, particularly

in South Africa, this African demand is surely understandable psychologically. But present indications are that the Tregidg recommendations may be rejected not expanded. I hope Rhodesia proves me wrong.

The fact is that the word "partnership" has been deliberately kept ambiguous. It can be interpreted as African voters (and to what extent overseas) in a liberal democratic sense to Federation voters in a more restricted sense. Hence the new more frequent admission against those who "demand African domination". But does partnership mean a personal balance between the one-third white minority in Southern Rhodesia (or the one thirty-fifth white minority in the Federation) and the nine-tenths black majority? Or does it envisage a day when black voters, representing the numerically preponderant section of the population, will outnumber white voters? Sir Godfrey Huggins (as he then was) wrote in the London "Sunday Times" before federation was achieved that this problem would be tackled at the time it arose. But if "partnership" signifies that consideration to the status of a "problem", it has failed before it begins.

It is possible to argue about the pace of advance and the steps by which it should be accorded—but only if the goal is agreed. The goal in Africa, as elsewhere, must be not less than equal whole suffrage, whatever the exact form of the constitution. Nothing less than this anti-discrimination goal can win the loyalty and co-operation of the African majority without which all forms of partnership will inevitably fail. Politics indeed is

the art of the possible. But what is possible includes not only white fears, which are not enough; but African aims also, which have their own historical justification. The compromise to be reached concerns not the goal (except as regards the constitutional structure of a non-discriminatory democracy); nor is the pace to be decided between the small white progressive element and the larger cautious section of their tribe and kin. The real decision lies between the most white politicians on offer and least Africans will accept at each stage. If this lesson from contemporary history is learned and it is realised that the powers in an extraordinary case, the proper deductions will be drawn about the desirability of enacting "civilisation" activity to the Africans, not waiting for them to go "civilised" before we let them in. Only then will power be kept "in civilised hands."

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By
C. W. M. GELL

that multi-raciality, sending their representatives to sit on its council, just as Africans send their representatives to sit in the territorial and Federal Parliaments? This is what Rhodesia Africans themselves claim. But, of course, the whole scheme is threatened for the present, because the decision to defer the creation of three African councils in "local authority" (i.e. urban) areas while the subject is considered by a commission, under the Bill of its most important provision. To the extent that it curtails confers local administrative authority on urban Africans as citizens like anyone else will this Bill stand or fall as a significant piece of legislation.

The Tregidg Commission's element of promise for Southern Rhodesia have been widely acknowledged. Our report in the Union week: "Only rarely in human history have documents of this quality be shrewd and applicable because available, and their effect has been lasting and decisive." I cannot honestly believe that the Commission's report, honest and sincere effort as it may be to bridge the at present unbridgeable gap between White and Black opinion, is destined to be the Federation's *Magna Carta*. For one thing of shadow of Southern Rhodesia's comparatively mild African opinion opposes its recommendations. For a second, the figures justify their distrust, as it is not always

D-DAY For 25,000 Non-Whites In Johannesburg

THE National Government, administering national and international protection, is reluctantly pursuing with the implementation of the Group Areas Act under which areas have been proclaimed in certain parts of Johannesburg, Cape Town and other urban centres in the Union. Johannesburg is being hit "D DAY" on 2nd August 1957, the day on which evictions are scheduled to take place.

In Natal, while areas have been proclaimed in Durban, the latest move is the opening of an office by the Group Areas Development Board in Durban for administering the relocation of Indian properties in "affiliated areas," so-called areas in which Indians may have lived for generations but which must now become "white" under the apartheid policy of which the Areas Act is the cornerstone.

Eviction in Johannesburg

Under the Johannesburg Proclamations it is estimated that 8,000 Indians, 7,000 Chinese, 7,500 Coloureds and 2,000 Malays are affected—and other Proclamations deal with the Western Areas only. All those affected have to vacate by 2nd August, 1957.

With these Proclamations thousands of others will be affected.

The "D-DAY" is August 2nd, 1957. On that day non-whites possess in certain portions of Johannesburg and other Western Areas must vacate. Many Indians, in particular, have substantial homes and business in these areas and they will, if evicted, suffer huge losses. Besides, they will have to go into the wilderness as there are no shanty houses or bachelors available for Indians.

A special sub-Committee of the Johannesburg City Council has made representations to the Minister of Interior, Dr. T. E. Duggan, regarding the need of

the Proclamations under the Act be made effective until the complete plan for the City is available.

De Vos Hugo

Replying to the criticism against the Proclamations and the hardships it will entail, Mr. de Vos Hugo, Chairman of the Group Areas Board said in Pretoria: "The Group Areas Act provides for relief of hardships. The Board has in the past always been anxious to grant that relief if application is made in time. There is no reason why the Board should not do so again."

T.L.C. Reaction

In reply to Mr. Hugo the Transvaal Indian Congress has asserted that there can be no relief under the Act which was aimed primarily to solve the Indian people's economic problems.

"The fate suffered by the Chinese families in Sophiatown," say the Congress, "is too fresh in the minds of our people to get any consolation from what the

Chairman of the Board has had to say.

"The real hardship arises from the fact that evicted non-whites will be uprooted from their homes and businesses on social grounds. In these areas Indians have invested millions of pounds and already the values placed by the Group Areas Development Board on the affected properties and the offers made by the Resettlement Board have fully confirmed the justifiable fears of the Indian people.

Coercion

"Simultaneously there is a great deal of coercion on the part of the authorities to push the Indian into leaving."

Schools in Johannesburg for Indian children have been closed and even infants in some cases are now called upon to travel from 5 to 15 miles by train to reach Leidsdorp, which is largely bare wild.

"Granting of permits is no solution as it will only stir the fears of the Indian people who really reject the Act emphasizing that no justice can flow out of an Act which is inherently unjust."

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Salisbury

THE Federal Government is to establish an agricultural college for Africans in Southern Rhodesia which will train African farmers to the same standard as the European farmers are trained in the European agricultural colleges in the territory. The college will provide a three-year diploma course for between thirty and forty students. The current federal estimate allows £100,000 for the college.

In an editorial, the "Manchester Guardian" writes as follows: "The 'Kanya Weekly News' reports a striking statement recently made by Mr. Michael Woodhouse, the Minister of Agriculture in Kenya, in which he looks forward to the blurring of the line between the land which now distinguishes the land unit—that is, the European reserves and the tribal reserves. Referring to a debate in the Legislative Council, he said: 'Now, Sir, let me turn to the European aspect. I believe we are developing a type of African farmer who is within a decade, be extremely capable, intelligent and hard working, and completely suitable for small-scale (25 to 40 acre) tenancies in the Highlands where, owing to the increasing age of owners, the intensity of individual farming is dropping.' On the other side of the picture he had just previously said: 'It is no good the African demanding more and more services as long as they are content to sit on some of the best land in the world for the growing of tea and merely produce off a few banded cattle with their tails in the air.' He made it clear that it is not the Kenya Government's policy to interfere with the existing arrangement of the land which at the present time, but looking at the problem as a farmer, he thought that 'the people of this country will never get from their land the maximum productivity which lies in it until they get over this sectional division of the land into separate and different partitions.' His speech followed another by another farmer, Col. McKenna, who also took the view that 'for the country to go ahead as it should the time has come when we ought to take a look

at these land barriers.' Mr. Woodhouse's speech does not, as he made clear, betoken any immediate change in Government policy. But it is welcome as an indication of the ideas which are stirring in the minds of thoughtful men. It accords with the outlook of the Royal Commission on East Africa: much of the seed sown by that commission has fallen on stony ground but some has taken root. What Mr. Woodhouse has in mind seems to be a two-way process. It does not merely propose the transfer of chunks of the 'White Highlands' to tribal ownership. He foresees that fairly soon capable Africans will be able to lease land in what is now a European reserve, and at the same time that Africans living in the tribal reserves may lease land now 'undeveloped' to others who would make more use of it. What he looks to, in short, is not a change favouring one race against another but a move away from socialism altogether as a basis of land ownership. That will run into opposition from both wings: some Europeans will rally to defend the sanctity of the 'White Highlands', some Africans will revive the old cry, 'They want to improve your land so they can take it.' We hope that men of goodwill and good sense will not be deterred by either cry. Action on these lines clearly fits snugly into the future. But there are two immediate steps. The first is the continuation of the present process of the consolidation of African holdings until the traditions of communal ownership of land is widely understood and established among African farmers. The other, which flows from it, is the emergence of a group of 'better farmers' able to farm on a level with (if on a smaller scale than) their European neighbours.

In Southern Rhodesia a stimulus to farming of this kind has been given by the Native Purchase Areas, where Africans who have shown their ability can obtain by higher purchase holdings substantially larger than are available in the reserves. If there are any areas of unused land in the 'White Highlands', there is something to be said for setting them,

not for addition to the tribal reserves, but as a starting point for an experiment on similar lines.

London

There were tales of shame in the House of Commons when Mr. Professor (Colonel) Under-Secretary replying to Sir Leslie Froomer (Lab.) said: 'The use of legions is still permitted in 35 colonies and as a punishment, but to prevent escape during transfer or to ensure that a prisoner does not injure himself or others.' Sir Leslie: 'Are you aware that early last month the Australian Government banned the use of leg laws in New Guinea? Clearly the Australian Government regard this as a medieval and barbaric practice and agree that this is contrary to the declaration of human rights. Will you therefore use your influence to have these instruments banned in the territories for which your are responsible?' Mr. Professor: 'The important thing to remember is that these have not been used in any of the territories for the purpose of punishment. The laws which relate to the use of mechanical devices of restraint are constantly being reviewed and there is evidence to show that

legislation is being brought into line with accepted practice.' Mr. Shawcross (Lab.) asked him to consider the matter again, bearing in mind that leg laws were once used in this, and other 'so-called' civilised countries.

10,000 Sign Petition To Eisenhower

Cambridge, Mass.

AMERICAN Quakers in New England delivered to President Eisenhower recently more than 10,000 signatures on a petition urging the banning of nuclear bomb tests.

Nearly half of the signers are from New England, 30 per cent are from Massachusetts, and the rest from the other 48 states and the District of Columbia.

'Our petition campaign will continue,' said Russell Johnson, Peace Education Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and Peace News sales organizer, New England region.

'When we have reached about 20,000 people as with our limited resources we are expert to reach, we shall send President Eisenhower the additional signatures we have then received.'

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Detective Would Not Send Children To Verwoerd School If ...

SINCE the resumption of the Treason Inquiry last week, the Crown has led a large amount of evidence dealing with the agitation against the Bantu Education Act, the boycott of schools and the burning of a number of school and church buildings in the Eastern Cape.

As the inquiry entered the eighth month, the latest week is the legal history of the Union, the accused after a week's adjournment returned to a Hall which has now been fitted out with a "M-5" sound system thereby eliminating all the previous complaints regarding the amplifying system.

The Treason Trial Defence Fund has now been registered under the Welfare Act, making it now easier for it to operate as a Union wide bank. The Fund has set itself the target of £100,000.

Detective Not Satisfied

Detective Sergeant D. Sogoni, under cross-examination, said that if there was any alternative to Bantu Education, he would remove his children to Bantu Education schools. He added that he would not be satisfied if there was no place in South Africa for his children above the level of "mental forms of labour."

Dr. Solomhi

Evidence was also led at the inquiry in support of speeches alleged to have been made in Johannesburg by Dr. A. Solomhi, Mems. A. M. Khatyala, Mr. Mitha and Mrs. Amson Aeron.

Should the present inquiry result in a Treason Court trial, Bill Coates, it has been announced, will be represented by Mr. Oswald Pless, Q.C., Mr. Japelo de Vos, Q.C., Mr. W. B. Louw, Mr. D. C. Moutier and Mr. J. Tregone. Mr. Japelo de Vos, Q.C., appeared for the Government in the constitutional case. Mr. Pless has retired from practice. He is at present lecturing in the Transvaal.

Dr. Coates

Detective Sergeant P. J. Coates reading from the short hand notes of a meeting held in Johannesburg in July, 1954, said that one of the speakers there was Dr. W. Z. Coates, of the African National Congress. He was recorded as having said in his speech that, "The African people through their national organisations, the A.N.C., are pledged to free not only the non-whites but also the whites.

ing orders and deportations, he said, "we shall continue the non-violent plan and no removal of laws and deportations will stop us."

At the same meeting Mr. A. M. Khatyala, another speaker, had referred to the freedom volunteers as "a non-violent army."

Mr. Joe Slovo was recorded as having said that the Congress of the People was not an alternative Parliament attempting to legislate or replace the Parliament of South Africa. The C.O.P. had the limited aim of incorporating in the Freedom Charter the aspirations of the people.

The first non-European woman witness to give evidence at the inquiry was a teacher from Port Elizabeth—Florence Khuleni. So far in all three women have testified at the Dull Hall, two of whom have been Europeans.

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૧૮૮૧માં ત્રણ સહાય વેસ્ટમાં સ્થાપિત છે

આજ અકસ્માત તથા દરીયાઈ માલને

— વિમો —

તેમજ બધી ભત્રા વિભાગ

કામ કરે છે.

આસ હિંદી પ્રતીનીધી

શ્રીમતી [લેખી સોરાબજી રૂસ્તમજી

વધુ વિગત માટે મળેલ વ્યથા લખો

૧૦૧ મેન્સફોર્ડ રોડ — મેન્સફોર્ડ રોડ — ૨૨૭૫.

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આખો દિવસ વેલ્ટેરીયન કોઝન મળી શકશે.

લગ્ન, સંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીમાં માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ સુધા પ્રસંગે બાદે મળી શકશે.

ગેસ્ટીંગ અને હોલિંગની સગવડ

માવળી મોડરને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિજાર્થિય અને રિસ્ટોરન્ટ વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ પ્રુપ્ત વર્ગને લેવામાં આવશે. મોરપ્રાથિમાં નહુ અને આધુનિક ટપલ્ડ ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. રેસામાં જ્યાં જ્યાં અમર તે રેસામાંથી આવતા ઉત્પાદિ માટે કુદરતને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે તેથી સેવરકની લેવાની રહેશે, અને જાણી તેમજ આજની રાત્ર, ખારેક, પાણી, અને આરોગી, બિરે રાખીએ છીએ.

ઘરનું અધિભૂ અધાભૂ અને સારી જાતની પાપડ, ક્રેપ્સ, તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગેસ્ટીંગ શિર્મટ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પાર્ટીસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

God has written a line of His thought over the world of every people. That is its special mission. It cannot be overruled; it must be fully developed.

—Mahatma,

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editors: Mahatma Gandhi—1933-1956

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"BURGER" ARTICLE PLEADS FOR PARTIAL RELAXATION OF SOCIAL COLOUR BAR

THE article published below recently appeared in "Die Burger" the Saturday which supports the Government. Seen against Louw's declared intention to invite Ghana to send an ambassador to the Union, the article is of especial interest.

I want to discuss a subject that has so far been talked about only in whispers. It is a very difficult subject.

I do not expect everyone to agree with me, but it is important that our honest and open-hearted opinions should be made known. It is important for the Government of South Africa.

This subject concerns civilized contact between White and non-White in our country. We will have to modify our attitude. Not change it, modify it. And by "we" I mean the large mass of Europeans.

The social colour bar will have to be made more flexible. It is a much broader question than the reception in South Africa of representatives of Black states in Africa, but it is in some ways that new developments which has brought the matter to a head.

Exemptions

We have in the past had non-European representatives from certain countries. They were—by special arrangement—exempted from the ordinary apartheid regulations.

But these non-Europeans were not Black. If permanent contact with Ghana—and other emergent Black states—is to be achieved, then Black people will have to be made at home here—and without any colour bar.

If we make exceptions of civilized non-Europeans from outside we will have to be prepared to do the same in certain cases and in certain directions in so far as our own non-Europeans are concerned.

Otherwise we would merely look foolish. We already look foolish in the eyes of many informed non-Europeans because to drink a cup of tea with a non-European in South Africa is sometimes frowned upon, whereas overseas South Africans do not mind the necessary social traffic between the races.

Exceptions

It is certainly illogical that this inter-racial contact should take place overseas and that foreign non-Europeans should be allowed across the colour bar here while a rigid bar separates South African Europeans and non-Europeans.

I am pleading for a policy of necessary exceptions—not only for highly placed foreign Black people, but for civilized South African non-Europeans. A complete breakdown of social segregation between the races here would cause chaos. We must discriminate. In fact, we must dis-

criminate more carefully than ever before. We must distinguish between necessary and unnecessary exceptions from the apartheid regulations.

Social contact between the races takes place now, and often with undermining political by-products. No

(Continued on page 334)

REACTIONS TO "DIE BURGER" ARTICLE AGAINST COLOUR BAR

A LEADING member of the Dutch Reformed Church in Johannesburg commented on the suggestion in "Die Burger" that there should be some relaxation of social apartheid. Some lead should come from the Government, he said. "Mr. Eric Louw is primarily concerned when it comes to relationships between the Union and African States, and we would like his view," he said.

"It is important that we do not argue or enter into any controversy on the subject, and whatever decision is reached should not be legalized."

"Some form of social intercourse between Europeans in South Africa and foreign non-Whites is a natural outcome, and must be accepted. We could not exclude non-Whites in our own country from that development. That would be absurd."

In the hour that our interview lasted, the Dutch

Reformed Minister made it clear time and again that the social problems involved in the issue would have to be solved finally by the common men rather than the legislators.

Dividing Lines

I asked if he accepted that an elite Native society was developing in the Union and that it was this group that should be accepted on some sort of a social level with Europeans.

"You are trying to suggest," he said, "that there

(Continued on page 334)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1957

Franchise In The Fédératión

EVENTS in both the Fédératión and Southern Rhodesia—to make a clumsy distinction—are taking a course which must one day have a profound effect on the relations between Black and White in the Union.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Fédératión, advocates a franchise based on qualifications on two counts and on what looks very much like a thinly disguised desire to perpetuate White supremacy. His Bill A will have stiff qualifications and the electors on it will control nearly three-quarters of the votes in the Federal Parliament. Most of the people on it will, by the very nature of the qualifications, be White.

Big Say

Roll B will return about a quarter of the members of the Federal parliament. Because of its lower qualifications it would appear to have been designed to give the African majority something with the appearance, at least, of an effective say in the legislature. But the desire to entrench White supremacy has crept in, even here. White votes will have quite a big say.

Sir Roy's plan is not a convincing gesture of real goodwill. It prepares ground for a White gangling-up in the future which might do a lot of harm to genuine African progress.

In Southern Rhodesia Mr. Garfield Todd, the Premier, is pressing his people to accept legislation which might enable the African vote to constitute roughly about one-third of the electorate where before the latter voted in negligible numbers.

It is clear, from his own proposals, that he is interested more in protecting White political interests than in finding a formula which will inspire real African confidence.

Simple Terms

The problems that the two presidents to our north now face have almost come on us as well. An important conference will meet in Johannesburg next November, among other things to bring into being an anti-apartheid front—which means, in simple terms, leading the nation away from the habit of seeing problems from the perspective of race.

Very many people on the White side realize clearly now that the case for the recognition of the non-Whites right to the franchise is unanswerable. But not all people, on both sides of the colour line, are convinced that best wisdom would lie in giving the vote to everybody in a situation where race oppression had wrought

(Continued on page 12)

Afrikaner Nationalism In Trouble

THE Afrikaner Nationalists are beginning to be in trouble. One limb of the Party seems to need to move forward while the other lingers on moving in the opposite direction. In brief this is about the most glaring development in South African politics. Chancing because the growing tensions have the potential to be ultimately split on fundamentalists. At the moment they are no more than differences in strategy, but increasing pressure from the anti-apartheid side can transform these into something far more serious.

This might seem sadly apologetic. Consequently I feel called upon to outline the trends now heading for a collision in the ranks of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Mr. Buren is an extremely intelligent member of the Nationalist Party and one who goes about the world with one eye open, where most Nats shut both. He joined such a parliamentary man to Central Africa. On his return he felt he could no longer remain quiet about the doubts raised in his mind by the achievements of the side of colour in the white parts of Africa. Since then he has been progressively warning "liberal" politicians to the extent that quite already he started everybody by saying that a speeding ticket for members of Parliament should be converted into a hotel for delinquent non-White politicians.

Not Certain

At first I feared that Mr. Buren might be expelled from the Nationalist Party for this apostasy. I am not so sure that he will stay long in it if he continues to show himself to be led by reason in the direction he has already taken. But since these events have taken a turn in which he is no longer the only "liberal" in the ranks of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Speaking at Stellenbosch, only a few months ago, a couple, Mr. van Nieuwen, one of the topmost brains in Afrikaner journalism and one who holds a key position in the Southern chain of papers, told the students that it was time the Afrikaner discarded normalised concepts. This forthright attack on apartheid; this description of it as, virtually, the philosophy of the braids, could almost certainly never have been uttered without prior knowledge

of the Prime Minister's momentary thoughts on this matter.

While political astuteness tried to read the true significance of these portraits, Eric Louw had lunch with Nieuwen at Louw's and told the world that South Africa would welcome Ghana's ambassador in Pretoria. It required concept and astuteness to take that stand. Courage because Nieuwen will see in it that the man he sends here is non-White. And when that man comes he will inevitably be hostile to apartheid. Intelligence because the South Coast's General was about down in Portoria because, among other things, the Russians were reported to have loved Africans, treated them as equals and gave them liquor. To tell Nieuwen's representatives not to treat men at his own race as equals would be idiotic.

Police

I do not think the Nationalists will do that. Already, they are preparing ground to assure that if and when the men from Ghana come, so much trouble will have been removed from his way as possible. The police are pushing the Government far enough in the liquor laws to make it possible for the Africans to buy it. With that hurdle jumped, Ghana's representatives can come here with no potential source of friction removed.

On top of all these developments has now come the "Burger" article in which an Afrikaner, described variously as important, influential and important, has pleaded for a certain degree of racial equality. The fact that his name has not been given is altogether of no importance. The point which matters is that the idea has been there. Worried of none else, but less significant, is the fact that "Die Burger" was chosen as the ground from which reconciliation could be started.

The Cape Nationalists are less hidebound in their hostility to race equality than their northern brethren.

Foreword

Opposed to all these developments is the Foreword school which believes firmly that Black and White should never meet anywhere on terms of racial

equality. Those wild men have confronted the Dutch Reformed Church with a challenge it will face in extremely embarrassing circumstances in the years which lie ahead. Possibly if it were not for the elections coming next year, the DRC might have spoken its mind a little more freely against the Church clerics.

Against this vast background the real points which emerge are that our kind of the Nationalist Party is certainly beginning to move forward while the other definitely goes backward; that this is not a difference in principle, but an attempt to make rational adjustments in a situation which calls forth for adjustment in one direction or the other.

The obvious thing is that Afrikaner Nationalism is beginning now to realize that there are greater forces in the country which have the potential in power & it is dangerous not to face them. If it continues to ignore them,

This, in turn, throws into bold relief the importance of the peaceful pressure which the democratic side has been exerting against apartheid. The tide has not as yet turned; but the initiative is now in our hands and no longer in those of the men of apartheid.

Pressures

The qualifications, in the mind of Afrikaner Nationalism, have been intensified by the inextinguishable pressures we have exerted without a break since apartheid got to power. Things like the resistance movement; the support given us by our friends and sympathisers in the United Nations; the Alexandra bus boycott; the march of 20,000 women in Pretoria, world opinion; the split in the White community and the emergence of the Liberal Party.

These pressures have made the Nationalists realize that we are now strong enough to convert the White democracy that he has more in common with the African democracy than with the White Nationalists. The moral side has for us that if apartheid is beginning to get into trouble, the end of ours is in sight. Our duty is to assist that we continue to exert these pressures relentlessly at points where they will produce the maximum results.

We see that in no better way than to order the November conference in Johannesburg a screen. Its duty will be to see to it that instead of being twisted the changes going on in the Federation side become direct. Only an impressive demonstration of democratic strength can bring about this result.

Reactions To "Die Burger" Article Against Colour Bar

(Continued from front page)

would have to be some abiding line between the Natives we are prepared to meet socially and those we reject socially.

"I cannot agree that there must be any set criterion. Who is to decide where the dividing line starts and finishes? It is all a matter of human relationship."

On the subject of social mixing in the public he said:

"A non-European hotel for this specific purpose is not the answer. Where would you build such a hotel in Johannesburg, for example?"

"Europeans would not go in if it were in Orlando."

Make Arrangements

The logical thing to do is to leave it to the hotels and restaurants themselves to decide whether or not they would enter together for European and non-European.

"I have already met non-Whites from abroad in a Johannesburg hotel. If no suitable arrangement comes soon, some should be made."

On apartheid, he said, "It is traditional behaviour as the part of Whites in this country and, in fact, justified in many forms or other in other parts of the world. It need not be evil or immoral."

Our conception of apartheid will change with the years as it has already changed. Eventually, our present apartheid laws will be archaic and will have to be revised or abolished.

By The People

"The important thing to remember is that human problems, especially those in a multi-racial society, will never be finally solved by governments and civil servants, but by the people they affect."

"That is the greatest lesson in South Africa's history."

"No government and no Cabinet Minister can force upon the people something they do not want. Any government, too, must be careful of over-lightening law; it begins itself out of office."

The Minister took a short walk in the large window overlooking his garden. With his back to me he said:

"Have you ever thought about the frightening pace at which our Native population is swelling.

Any European race exposed to such a pace would be overwhelmed."

Tackle It Calmly

"The contact of the Native with the European has been too precipitous even for his rugged make-up."

"It has produced something of an artificial civilization—a sort of civilization that takes some of them by electrical appliances like washing machines and refrigerators without having electricity in their homes!"

He made one final point.

"Don't think we in the Dutch Reformed Church have solved this problem of urbanity. We haven't and we are interested in it as anyone."

As I was leaving he told my son:

"Your problem of social mixing . . . Please don't let people get too excited or too serious about it. We will get much farther if we tackle it calmly."

An Interesting Debate

THE Internationalist Public Assembly Debating Society will hold a debate on "Constitution Government," at its meeting on Wednesday, August 7, at 8 p.m. at the Main University, City Buildings, Warwick Avenue, Dartford, when Mr. A. Goldberg, will move a Government Motion.

"That in the opinion of this House, the election of South Africa does not lie in any form of Constitutional Government."

The debate is open to the Public and Visitors are welcome.

Mr Goldberg was one time Member of Parliament and represented both the Dominion and United Parties. He will therefore be speaking from wide experience of Parliament and the various Parties and a very interesting debate is anticipated.

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DETTOL

THE ANTISEPTIC DOCTORS USE

S. Rhodesia's Franchise Proposals

ABOUT the only feature of S. Rhodesia's franchise proposals to merit any serious appreciation is their refusal to countenance separate, broad electoral rolls. These S. Rhodesians have never had. The greatest qualification for the vote applies to all races—ability to read and write English, an income of £240 per annum or property worth £300 or more.

Under these qualifications 55,404 are registered voters, of whom 565 are Africans. It is claimed that another 200,000 Europeans and perhaps another 1,000 Africans could register, if they wished.

The new proposals are to extend suffrage by £25 p.m. or a house worth £500, who has passed Standard VI and has an income of £40 p.m. or a house of £1,000, who has a knowledge and an income of £30 p.m. or a house of £1,500. The intention under these heads is to include the vote in those who are well educated or prosperous, i.e., "civilised people."

Few Would Qualify

For most law, if any more, would qualify, a "special" qualification gives the vote to those with an "adequate knowledge of English" and an income of £15 p.m., provided that if the number of "special" voters in any constituency exceeds 30 per cent., the vote of such vote will be ordered proportionately. This device is known as a "fractional voting," means the "special" vote may be worth only some fraction of an ordinary vote. But it will serve its entirely wicked aim.

That is what is the intention. The suggested commission of inquiry which recommended the proposals hoped that they will provide "a reasonable compromise" for the foreseeable future.

A recent report in the South African press described them as a "great threat and real challenge, the studies in which will demonstrate clearly throughout the continent. Only truly in human history have decisions of this quality in thought and spirit ability become available, and their effect has been lasting and benevolent." But this report omitted grossly the most significant fact of all—that the proposals are opposed and opposed by all shades of African opinion in S.R., which is supposed to be calm and more cooperative than the "boobheads" in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Why this unanimous refusal?

Special Voters

Our current uneasiness lies in the commission's recommendation that consideration should be so directed that "special"

voters should not exceed a third of the total vote in any one constituency. This "fractional" system "implying" is in addition to the "fractional" vote already mentioned.

Secondly, as the "Times" stressed, the proposals "harshly punish" the white vote. To many whites the proposals so devised sound revolutionary enough and the suggested a "reasonable" minimum. To Africans, in figures which show, it must seem different.

C. W. M. GELL

The potential white vote is the existing 55,000, plus the unregistered 20,000, plus 10,000 more if the residential qualification is dropped from 3 to 2 years—a total of 85,000, plus 2,500 a month at current immigration rates.

The present proposals in the "ordinary" categories are more stringent than the existing qualification. That is, it has been harder for African to get an "ordinary" vote. At most, the present unregistered vote 1,000 might qualify, and some already registered may lose their vote.

Proof Required

The "special" qualification will be in force, though an African income of £15 p.m. in S.R. is about as common as one of £25.30 among non-Africans in S. Africa. It is estimated that perhaps 4,500 Africans may qualify for a "special" vote immediately. In addition, there are perhaps another 15,000 Africans who have the requisite basic literacy and whose income may be "shred" into the £15 p.m. bracket, if they can prove that their medical studies or clerical (or bookkeeping) or their other examples bridge the gap between the £10-12 p.m. they now earn and the £15 p.m. they need for the "special" vote.

The more realistic appreciation of the "shred" nature of the proposals usually assume that all those Africans who may be entitled to a "special" vote are, in fact, qualified and will actually register. This is highly improbable for very many years.

And even if the S.R. were fulfilled, it would mean a roll of nearly 100,000 whites by 1970, plus (at most) 3,500 African "ordinary" voters and 26,000 "special" or "fractional" in a total population of 180,000 Europeans and over 3 million Africans.

Potential Voters

It is good to see an effort to introduce a common, equal racial roll. The existence of even potential African voters may reduce the temptation to irresponsible white political tactics. But something much simpler and more straightforward is required to ensure the most friendly African population in the Federation that these proposals are intended to welcome them less "reluctantly"—not to keep them out in practice for as long as possible. And useful communications must surely be better of planning as already achieved what is surely theoretically possible or realistically approached.

(Postscript)—Since this article was written, Mr. Garfield Todd, Southern Rhodesia's Premier, has resigned from his party's cabinet a cabinet which would allow up to 10,000 educated Africans immediately the "special" vote. But in exchange he has had to insert a clause pegging the "special" vote permanently at not more than one fifth the "ordinary" vote.

The price of the short-term extension, therefore, is a long-term extension of African voters from any political say, power, share to their numbers. Until the distant day on which they will qualify in large numbers for the "ordinary" vote.

This will hardly allow African capitalists or businessmen to buy their loyalty. The need is for more liberal steps forward without steps.

"Burger" Article 'Pleads For Partial Relaxation Of Social Colour Bar'

(Continued from front page)

Government, no law can stop it.

It is specified, necessary "extra" immigration of the everyday colour bar—in clubs, hotels, cinemas—must be accepted as natural by all Whites.

I would leave this to the healthy understanding of Whites and non-Whites, under the watchful eye of the Government.

If a Negro politician travels through the country and there is no decent alternative accommodation, then he must be given a room in the town hotel.

I want Africans to take the lead in this matter. Their attitude towards the colour question is practical and to the point. The proposals which I have sketched are practical and in the past.

From a special article in the *Springbok* of the "Burger" written by a prominent Afrikaner.

Franchise In The Federation

(Continued from page 330)

so much have on the relations between the various sections of the nation.

Citizenship would seem to lie in a course which would lay emphasis on the need to agree on objectives; on the importance of working towards ultimate goals rather than on splitting the races. It is the easiest thing in the world to say everybody should have the vote. But people must realise that as happened in India and Pakistan at the time of independence, the danger is real that an African majority, suddenly given power to do as it liked, would seek, possibly, to give reality to freedom by voting for anti-Indian candidates, for example. Riots might follow as a result.

Africanists

In these circumstances we must seek for a formula which will ascertain all sections to the need to grow steadily into seeing in the survival of one the survival of all. The demand for immediate franchise rights to everybody might, in the end, turn out to be support for the Africanists and their slogan of Africa for the Africans.

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Non-Violent Rebellion

CHAPTER XI

THOUGH Gandhiji had been so full of hope that the British would reward India by giving her complete freedom, he was bitterly disappointed. When the war ended it became plain that there was to be no reward at all for the sacrifices India had made. As time went on, harsher laws came to oppress the people, until Gandhiji saw that rebellion against the country was the only way to break the British power in India.

But he would allow no violence. For years he had been preaching love, peace and non-violence. Now he called on the people to rebel non-violently. They were to refuse to obey unjust laws, but always in a peaceful manner.

Above all the people rebelled against the terms they were expected to pay. Taxes were too heavy for the masses of India, who were already on the brink of starvation. In particular there was the salt tax. This meant great hardship to millions of poor Indians whose food is often only rice or wheat flavoured with a little salt. Gandhiji encouraged them to avoid the tax by preparing their own salt from sea-water.

The Government had also forbidden the sale of a number of books which spoke of freedom. They did not want the people to read such books. Gandhiji had many thousands of copies of these books printed. These copies were carried about everywhere by Congress volunteers and offered for sale at low prices. Though the price was so low, people often gave as much as five or ten paise instead, in order to give Gandhiji money to carry on his great work. One man even gave fifty paise for one book! In this way a lot of money was collected. After a time the Government felt it forbidden the sale of the books, so it started using force.

No leader ever fought before as Gandhiji fought. However violently the Government might treat Indians, he entered only quiet civil disobedience. People were to refuse to obey unjust laws, but they were never to strike back, no matter what

they were made to suffer. If they were hurt on a bus, they were just to stand firmly in their places. They were never to run away, but only ignore orders and disobey laws quietly. They were to refuse to work, to refuse to do whatever they were ordered, but they were never to harm anyone. This refusal to work, by thousands of people at a time, meant life in the big cities completely. Everything came to a standstill. In this way, Gandhiji hoped to force the British to come to terms.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corcoran

Whenever he heard that people had forgotten his instructions and wanted or killed any British soldiers or policemen, Gandhiji was very sad. He knew and loved the British people. He had lived and studied among them, and he knew that they were just like other people. If the soldiers now fired on disobedient Indians, it was because they were obeying orders which told them to do so. It was the orders and the law which were bad, and that was why Gandhiji wanted the people to disobey them. This is hard for children to understand, perhaps, but soon as you are old enough you must read and study all that Gandhiji taught by his words and daily example. You will then understand that it is the best teaching in the world. All the great religions of the earth tell us to love a Gandhiji lived but men are blind and foolish and confuse everything. They are often very cruel and selfish, too, and twist and turn the laws of the One God and Eternal Father to suit their own convenience. Gandhiji, always prayed with all his heart that he might know and obey the true Will of God. God never allows us to answer such a prayer. That is how we know that Gandhiji was right in teaching what he did, in teaching India to be free, but he did not want even one man to be hurt for the sake of gaining freedom.

He knew that if Indians would go on quietly and never-

If showing the British that they had every right to be free, the British would be forced to understand in the end. And that was how it was. That is how and why India is free today.

The fight was a very long one, though. So many times the Indian people felt that freedom must be won, but always they were disappointed. This is easy to understand. Nobody likes to give up his treasures without a struggle. Even a child fights anyone who tries to take away his toys. So of course the British did not

even want to think of giving up a great, rich and beautiful country like India.

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(To be continued)

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as India And Egypt

some Communist countries "were sitting in the same boat in defiance of the United Nations."

Mr. Schwabacher described neutralism as a neutralist country saying, "If you press me too hard I will go over on the other side."

Action Suggested

The Prime Minister then discussed the various ways in which action might be taken against countries "flouting" the United Nations.

He said: "We have suggested

the creation of a U.N. force, but even that is difficult."

He then suggested the possibilities of reducing economic sanctions against countries disobeying the U.N. so as to make them feel that they are "non-aligned" countries. "Civilised countries should turn their faces from them when they come to international gatherings," he added.

He said that as far as Pakistan was concerned: "It was definitely decided to believe as a proper, honest and honourable member of the United Nations."

Afrikaners Would Mix Freely With Some Africans

THE idea that the upper strata of non-European in South Africa should be treated socially by Europeans on special occasions is favoured by several influential Afrikaners in Pretoria who will not allow their names to be quoted.

These Afrikaners, who occupy high positions all feel that a measure of social relaxation of the rigid colour bar is feasible particularly if the Union remains open to diplomatic approach from states Ghana.

Sways of non-European countries have, in the past, entered freely in the social-diplomatic life of Pretoria, and their presence has created no difficulties.

The Transvaal Education Ordinance, which enforces a rigid colour bar in provincial schools, makes special exceptions of the children of diplomatic representatives.

Non-White groups and their leaders have lived in the city's fashionable suburbs.

Said one prominent Afrikaner: "To me it would be merely carrying out something which was traditional in the last generation."

"My father, a Boer farmer, had a special hut on his farm where white and Indians stayed. They paid their respects at the farmhouse and then withdrew."

There was an intermingling of countries between Black and White, but no intermarriage upon each other's privacy, he said.

Such contact and intermingling of friendships had always been traditional between the Afrikaners and the Indians.

In the last 50 years, however, it seemed to have been lost.

Refreshments

Another Afrikaner said he always made a point of inviting his non-European guests

into his home but, if it was felt that they might be embarrassed they sat outside and had refreshments together there.

A business man thought that it was an excellent idea that non-European representatives should be invited from Ghana. He could see nothing against meeting such representatives, or enlightened South African non-European society on special occasions.

Another opinion was that there was a growing movement of Afrikaner liberalism, based not on superficial or academic grounds, but on a deep and growing understanding and knowledge of the Black man.

This must inevitably lead to wider social acceptance of the so-called non-White.

Ghana To Have Shipping Line

The Independent African State of Ghana has decided to have its own shipping line. Announcement to this effect was made in the National Assembly of Ghana in Accra last week. The line's name is to be "Black Star Line."

Negotiations are taking place with the local shipping line, for procuring as well as chartering their ships.



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The Truth AS I See It

THE Finance Minister has admitted that administrative expenditures are heavy for a poor country like ours and I am sure the Ministers themselves, both at the Centre and in the States, can check a good deal of waste. There are certainly too few Ministers. Deputy Ministers, etc., in both the Central and State Governments. The cutting down of salaries, however, that are by no means very high, or living in smaller houses cannot yield much in the way of saving of

are possible with simple habits and an honest abstinence of pomp and show. But a certain amount of ceremonial for the sake of the prestige of high office has to be maintained in every country, and such is not alien to the tradition and culture of India. What is far more important for everyone in office is themselves to set high and irreproachable standards of integrity and to show negotiation and compromise as a veritable poison.

Our worthy Vice-President holds an office of great prestige. Whenever he has gone abroad he has brought laurels to India's name and he has always travelled as a most unostentatious manner with no one from him to accompany him. I know how he reduced his staff in the Embassy at Moscow and how he has done likewise in Delhi. Philosophers, scholars and an authority on Hinduism as he is, he has a right to talk as he has done recently about "the crisis of character through which India is passing," but then some truths are not always palatable. It is not so much where we live as how we live that matters not so much what we get out of life but how much we give of ourselves to make life happier for all concerned.

Art Patronage

Art, in the widest sense of the term including music, dance, drama, sculpture, handicrafts, and to flourish in ancient India because they were patronised by those who could afford to buy things of beauty. Today the artist and the sculptor find it hard to exist, and with the contemplated expenditure tax they will suffer still

more and so will our handicrafts. I remember on well a long discussion in the All India Spinners' Association many years ago as to whether it was worth while to continue to produce the fine khadi of Andhra and Bihar because it was beyond the purchasing capacity of the average person and how Gandhi with his winning smile and broad-mindedness said that poverty in itself set men never be allowed to die and that there would always be those who would and could and should buy fine khadi. It was my responsibility during every khadi Jayanti to tell fine khadi to those who could afford to buy it and I had no difficulty in telling all I had given to me to tell and, what is more, in obtaining further orders. I have a presumption that the expenditure tax is going to hit our artisans.

I have also pleaded and will plead again with the Finance Minister to leave clothes and jewellery out of his taxation projects. The Indian woman's home is her castle. Any invade on it will be bitterly resented. However much he himself may try to avoid harassment by income tax officials, he will not be able to control them, jewellery is not a paying investment. Today jewellers' shops are full of second hand ornaments belonging to princely houses for sale and positively no one buys them. And as a woman I shall object very strongly indeed I shall object to allow men to examine my wardrobe. There are certain spheres in a citizen's life which are in a more secret and Governments should not violate them.

Tax On Wedding

Over in a land of universal marriages. Why cannot a small tax be levied on weddings?

This might even be graded, and because so much is spent on marriages a small levy will not be felt even by the poorest and should yield rich dividends. We hear so much about taxing the rich but there are few and far between in our country and the yield from such levies will be short-lived and cannot amount to tangible sums. It is not only the second First-Year Plan that we have to cater for but many more Plans too, and we have therefore to think in terms of what will constitute permanent revenues.

Some persons have suggested the something of the bonded trustees of temples. There is charge of them might well be asked to spend them on primary education. That certainly would be God's work.

We have rightly undertaken family planning. I do not think artificial means of contraception as practised in the West will ever lead us to our goal nor do I want it for us. But I would like us to follow China's example of raising the age of marriage of girls and boys. China has fixed 18 years for girls and 21 for boys. I would like to raise it in India to 19 and 22 respectively. Further I would suggest that after every third child the parents should pay a small sum to the Government.

I do sincerely hope, when the Lok Sabha appoints a committee to look into the ways and means programmes for raising money for the second First-Year Plan, that both they and the Central Government will give some consideration among others to these suggestions.

By

AMRIT KAUR

money, however spontaneous it may look or sound. Such might only lead to the burning of the democratic staff and an addition to the racks of the unemployed.

I do not agree that the Prime Minister's house in Delhi is something incongruous for him to live in. Whether the present house of the Prime Minister is good wholly and solely for guests or whether it is used as it is today for his own needs as well as for the guests, of whom there is a never-ending stream, is not going to make any difference and indeed the present arrangement will in the long run be cheaper and more convenient for the Prime Minister, who carries such a heavy burden. As far as security measures for him are concerned, so long as technical communications exist, such as deprived as we are from personal possession, so long will he have to have all the human protection that can be given to a valuable life.

Simple Living

I happen to know personally how simply the Prime Minister and his family live, how punctilious he is about expenditures on himself, how meticulous about paying his dues and what comparatively little has been allowed to be spent on his house. I have had the privilege of being entertained at 39 Darveling Street, the very spacious home of the British Prime Minister. The Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia have lovely houses to mention only these Prime Ministers, well I do not think that there is, comparatively speaking, much excessive ostentation in our country when either the Head of the State or the Prime Minister is concerned. They

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Lunch In Honour Of Premier

THE President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, gave an informal lunch, in honour of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, at which the Vice-President, Dr. B. Radhakrishnan, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, all Ministers and certain Parliamentary Secretaries were invited.

It has become customary with the President, in honour of the Prime Minister with a suitable house-warming party on every occasion of his return from a visit abroad.

The Prime Minister, it is understood, carried away interesting recollections of his visit to the South-Western and other countries in Europe. He did not make any political reference to either the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference or his talks with President Eisenhower or former talks with the Prime Ministers of the other countries he visited.

Mr. Nehru will speak on these subjects at a meeting of the Parliamentary Congress Party,

later in the Lok Sabha during the foreign affairs debate, and finally at a Press Conference which he will be holding shortly. The first Cabinet meeting after the Prime Minister's return was held on July 18th.

Interest In Africa

Baron E. M. Dauterle, the Indian Ambassador to Paris, writing, as the latest number of "Le Monde Diplomatique" says, could and colder diplomatic relations constitute a danger to peace as well as being a contribution of the basic principles of civilized society. For this reason India has a special interest in the African continent.

800 Homeless In Gujarat

Five hundred persons in 12 villages of Gandhinagar Taluka—the "Wheat bowl" of Gujarat—have lost their homes on account of incessant rains which flooded large tracts in the area.

Twenty seven cotton fields are reported to be under water and

134 hectares have been washed away.

The damage to property and cotton crop is officially estimated to be Rs. 15,000.

Immediate disbursement of cash relief to the sufferers was ordered.

It is stated that large tracts within 20 miles of the coast are inundated and several places where people are stranded are inaccessible.

Pak Premier Is In Favour Of H. Bomb Tests

The Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, told a Press Conference that he favoured the continued testing of hydrogen and atomic bombs.

Mr. Jinnah was wearing a 10 galon hat presented to him in Las Vegas, the gambling capital of Western U.S.

The Premier said these clothes which previously had objected to such tests would withdraw them when a "clean" bomb was invented.

"There are three aspects to this matter, economic, destruction and technological," he said.

Helicopter To Be Used To Reach The Marooned

HAJKOT: Tilled and Bhogpur, two villages in the rich wheat producing Thal area of Sindh, have been submerged by floods caused by unprecedented heavy rains.

People of the submerged villages have gathered together for shelter on elevated grounds. Relief parties failed in their attempt to reach them. It is hoped to winch them out with them by means of a helicopter.

Voluntary Cut In Salaries

Governors of all states have decided on a voluntary cut of 10 per cent in their salaries.

A press note issued from Rashtrapati Bhavan said: "The Governors of States have informed the President that they have decided voluntarily to surrender 10 per cent of their salaries in view of the present need for reducing administrative expenditures. The Chairman of Mysore has been keeping his salary silent about his assumed office as Governor of that State in November 1956.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

IN the issue of July 15, the "Herschman Gazette" writes: Zanzibar is to have its first election on July 23. The outcome is hard to predict. The two main parties contesting stand broadly for the Arab and African votes in the population. There are roughly 45,000 Arabs and 300,000 people of African descent and an appreciable number of Indians. But the total electorate is only about 100,000 voters. To be a voter one must be a man, over 25, Hindu, earning £150 a year or more, and have a subject of the Sultan of Zanzibar. There are 6 seats to be contested, four in Zanzibar itself, 2 in the island of Pemba. 34 candidates have been nominated: 5 by the Nationalists, 4 by the Afro-Sindhi Union, and there are 5 independents. In addition to the elected there will be another 6 non-official members nominated to the Legislative Council and 15 official members. In the election, important as it is as a milestone, mainly only the East will be on the mind in a democratic consideration. And this step has been a long time coming. The Nishwale party claims to have the support of both Arab and Shikhu voters (Shikhu are those born in Zanzibar). It actually began as a Shikhu body, but many of the Arabs joined it, and its present leader, Sheikh Ali Mahesh, is an Arab. It now welcomes members of all races, it has in Zanzibar, Sheikh Ali has defined his policy as "We want the British to go but we have no quarrel with the Commonwealth."

He has distasteful political links with Egypt, though he is regarded "neutral" there, and a portrait of President Nasser hangs in his room. The Afro-Sindhi Union has only recently come to the fore. A year ago the Nishwale looked like having things its own way. But after a visit from Nyerere, the leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, the Shikhu became more conscious of their African blood and of the long traditions of Arab domination. According to their spokesman, Mr. Abdul Karimu, they are most free-minded of the British conception, at any rate for the time being, than the Nishwale. They are not in their way of emancipation from Arab overlordship by what seems a strange error of judgement, the two party system are standing for the time

being only one of them can appear in the Legislative Council unless the laws accept a nominated member's place. He would probably prefer his standing as a party leader if he did. This is a pity. For both appear to be men of spirit and intelligence and likely to be better for a period in the Legislature.

London

Christian Action has announced that more than 236,000 has now been collected for the Christian Action Defence and Aid Fund. It is hoped that the fund, which is to help the 156 arrested in the South African passive trial, with their legal and family expenses, will eventually amount to £50,000. It is estimated that the total expenses of the arrested will be about £150,000. The list of the specific sponsors now includes the Bishop of Chichester, Sir Maurice Keane, Wardens of Wadham College, Oxford, St. Henry Whinnock, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Mr. James Griffiths, Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Mr. Tom Mboya, the leader of the delegation representing the African elected members of the Kenya Legislature, met in London recently that the number of African representatives must be increased from 8 to 23. That was not something that could be negotiated along with other matters in a general review of the colony's political problems. He said his ardent colleagues insist that this concession should be made in the interim, with no strings attached. Then, and only then, could further negotiations begin. Mr. Mboya has come to this country at the head of an African delegation to put the case for constitutional reform before the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd. Speaking at a Press Conference arranged by the African Bureau he said that the eight African seats were disproportionately allocated so that in Nyasaland there were three members to represent a million Africans, while in the Congo Province there was only one to represent two million. He thought it even more wrong that 50,000 Europeans should have half the number. He repeated that increasing the present number of African members from eight to 23 would give them a majority in

the Legislature, but he said he could not see how this could happen or improve good government. His real objective in Kenya was not to achieve a constitutional society so even a society dominated by Africans. He would change the word "separatist" to describe his own ideal. Mr. Mboya said that his group was opposed to the creation of a new British military base in Kenya. He wanted to explain why,

he said he preferred not to go into detail but that his objection was based on the "political implications of such a move." When a questioner suggested that he might draw a comparison with Cyprus Mr. Mboya said he had no comment to make. In his opinion the time had come for the British Government to give a firm declaration as to the ultimate form of society that it is to be created in Kenya.

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Obtainable from

'Indian Opinion' P. Bag,
Durban, Natal.

What is the secret of men that, such as age? What stops the artistic dream on the brain? To what such things are stirred from life's page, and be close on earth.—Byron.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1931

Former Editors: Manilal Gandhi—1932-1934

No. 344 Vol. 1 V.

Friday, 9th August, 1957

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DEVDAAS GANDHI DIES SUDDENLY (OF THROMBOSIS) IN BOMBAY

ARUN GANDHI, who is at the moment in India, has called the following description of the circumstances surrounding the last moments of Devdas Gandhi, the Mahatma's youngest son, who died in India last week.

The Gandhi family was preparing to go out to attend a social function on Friday evening at 7, when Devdas suddenly became ill. A specialist, Dr. M. D. Gilder was called in, together with Dr. Nathubhai Patel, who had treated Mahatma Gandhi several times. A severe attack of coronary thrombosis was diagnosed, with little hope of recovery.

His condition deteriorated rapidly; he passed through two paroxysms, the second of which culminated in his death at 2.55 am.

Present at his bedside were his wife, Lakshmi and his son Gopalkrishna with Arun. All waited anxiously while the doctor and the nurse battled against what seemed the inevitable.

"Our first intimation that thrombosis was coming was when the doctor approached his wife and said, 'I fear he is breathing his last and it would be better if you take over my place at his bedside.'"

"She broke down completely," Devdas said. "Oxygen is a last-minute remedy and my case is not that bad," history as if he

forewarned the approaching calamity he said: "If anything happens to me, I want you to be brave. My mind is at peace. I have lived my full life and I am fifty-seven which is no small age. What God wishes will happen."

Catastrophe

"We were all praying. Arun continues, 'as this was the only thing that seemed real and held a ray of hope. But our prayers could not stop the inevitable. We saw him gasp slowly while breath and life faded away."

"We were still reluctant to accept the obvious and still held on to hope—although the glances exchanged between the doctor and the nurse were all so full of meaning. They did not have the heart to break the news to us that our uncle had passed to the world beyond. Only the perfect calm of his face radiated the peace of the end."

Set Dozed

"The attack and the end had followed each other so suddenly that we all su-



Mr. Devdas Gandhi and members of family

dered around the bed 'long after the last breath."

When the attack started word had been sent to his closest relatives. His father-in-law, Mr. C. K. Rajagopalachari and Ramchandrar, the deceased's son arrived by plane in time for the funeral. The cremation ceremony took place on Saturday at 1 p.m., and was performed by Ramchandrar. Floral tributes were paid by friends from all walks of Bombay's life. The remains were collected the same evening, at 7 p.m. Later his eldest son Rajmohan arrived from New York.

Among the earliest visitors were Mr. G. D. Birla and his family, who had

been very closely associated with the Gandhi family. The Chief Minister of Bombay and his colleagues left the legislature, which was in session and called on the Gandhi family.

Messages

As I write messages of condolence are pouring in from all over India and outside. The President of the Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has written: "Devdas' death is a national loss and a personal loss to me. I had known him since the days of my earlier contact with Gandhiji. It is indeed tragic to find those whom we have seen grow and take their

(Continued on next page)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 9TH AUGUST, 1957

Devdas Gandhi

THE sudden death of Devdas Gandhi in Bombay early on Saturday, August 3, removes yet another prominent figure in Indian history and a close associate of Phoenix Settlement. In Devdas Gandhi, who was the youngest of the four sons of Mahatma Gandhi, we have lost an advocate of non-violence and Gandhism. Last year we lost our beloved editor, Manilal Gandhi who was Devdas Gandhi's elder brother and who was also a very staunch follower of Gandhiji. And so, from this world of ours, all good people who have given many years of their lives for the betterment of human society, are taking leave one by one.

Devdas, like his three other brothers did not receive any formal schooling because Gandhiji did not believe in it. Like his brothers, he worked his way through life, with hard experience as his teacher. In this way he earned for himself a distinguished position in Indian journalism as editor of "Hindustan Times," one of the most popular daily newspapers of India. He was chief editor of "Hindustan Times," and as such he played a very important role in the Indian struggle for independence. He gradually extended his paper so greatly that in recent years people overseas were receiving air-mail editions of the "Hindustan Times." Devdas Gandhi presided many times at Indian Editors' Conferences, and he also represented his paper at several World Editors' Conferences overseas.

Gandhiji was a hard taskmaster, and he launched his youngest son in the field of Satyagraha at the very early age of 17. Since then, he always took part in the various movements for freedom and served many prison sentences.

We, who have lived here in South Africa all our lives, have also lost a friend and colleague, because Devdas was born in this country and lived here in Phoenix and at the Tolstoy Farm in Johannesburg for a few years. He was here when Gandhiji first began to think of non-violence and Satyagraha, and even though he was only a child he had participated in the great struggle in the Union of South Africa.

Devdas Gandhi has departed from us at the very early age of 37, leaving behind him his wife, daughter and three sons. As those who have deep faith in the Gandhian way of life, we are deeply distressed, at losing men such as Devdas and Manilal, at such trying times as these. There are many in this country today, who remember the old days, when Gandhiji lived here and who have known Devdas in his life-time. We are sure that they all join us today in expressing our deep sorrow and sympathy to his bereaved family.

How better can we remember these great men who have past on to a better life, than by trying to derive a little from their lives of sacrifice and service to their country and their fellowmen; so that we too may learn to give a little and bring to our lives some of the glory that glorified their lives?

Time For Positive Realism

ANON J. COLLINS once described South Africa as a gay madhouse. As referred to Verwoerdism, the description was very apt, arising on the side of being generous, for the house that Verwoerd sought to build was a very grim madhouse. Elsewhere the Cason could have had another word for South Africa. But the point he sought to drive home was a very important one. People in a madhouse do not exercise the faculty to think beyond certain limits. And South Africa has wallowed in that bog for too long.

That applies to all sections of the nation. Individual and events are seen from group perspectives. We need to break away from this tradition, which is one of the most effective ways of co-operating with apartheid in its place to destroy all who oppose it. We need to set up the tradition of really independent and constructive thinking; where the facts shall be treated with respect regardless of whether or not they are palatable; regardless of whether or not they came from the side we favour. We need to cultivate the attitude of positive realism—a readiness to see good even where we least expect it to show up. Such an attitude will make it possible for our leaders to work more constructively in directions to solve the race problems more quickly. It will enable them, among other things, to realise that it is of importance, to reinforce the trend of the Afrikaans community which leans on a partial relaxation of the social colour bar.

Devdas Gandhi Dies Suddenly (Of Thrombosis) In Bombay

(Continued from previous page)

respective positions in his past way prematurely. He was temperamentally quiet, stable and persevering. These virtues won him, in the course of time, a foremost place in Indian journalism.

Nehru also paid tribute: "I am shocked and deeply grieved to learn of Devdas' sudden death. He was like a younger brother to me. Ever since his boyhood, nearly forty years ago, we had often worked together

and been imprisoned together and his passing away is a great loss to us as it is to you and your children. May you have the strength to bear this sorrow."

Fountain Of Wisdom

Religions are different roads converging to the same point. When does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

Comment On Man And Events

Crisis In Rhodesia

By JORDAN K. NGURANE

EVENTS in the Central African Federation are unfolding according to a pattern to which we dare not be indifferent. What is happening there shows, almost providently, the nature of the problems we are going to face in this country within, probably, the next year or two.

The passing by the Federation Parliament of the Windley Law has produced a crisis which forced Mr. J. Seneke, one of the African members of the legislature, to resign. This must be of great significance. On the one hand it has brought to the fore the quality of co-operation from the African side which could have made the concept of partnership attractive if reason had prevailed earlier on the ruling side. On the other it has underlined very heavily an ugly fact we shall do well to face—that the most problem in reaching the point where partnership might be so the way out.

Whatever his faults, Mr. Seneke was a firm believer in the concept of race co-operation. His deeply-considered was his loyalty to this ideal that he was prepared to accept partnership even on the Whitesman's own terms—as against the wishes of the majority of the African people. In the years he was in Parliament he consistently endeavored to do all in his power to transform his ideal into reality.

Let Down

That he has at last come to the end of the road is now his fate. He has been let down by the majority of the White people, with whom he endeavored to work closely in co-operation. For most of them, as Windley's plan clearly shows, partnership meant that the African to surrender where the White people did the surrender, to become a person from Downy Ruin. This rule from the back brought about the downfall of a man who was not afraid to face his own people in the defense of partnership.

With his fall, something else has happened. The Africans of Southern Rhodesia have, by throwing him out, made it plain that they have rejected partnership on the White man's terms. This is the first and really significant thing to occur about Seneke's resignation.

There is no valid reason to believe that this means the rejection of partnership altogether; a turning of the back on the ideal of a multi-racial community. It does mean, however, that the Africans will turn now towards Africa except partnership as his

own terms. This is of especial significance to us in South Africa—particularly against the background of the Johannesburg conference.

White Press

But what are these terms? They have not as yet formulated their clearly in Seneke's minority. At the same time the replies given further to the North is a similar question apply in this situation. In Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia the Africans reject the Windley notion of partnership. The White Press has not given their views the publicity they deserve. But these people have made it plain that they are no longer for themselves in circumstances where they shall remain potent partners for the longer term possible. For partnership to have meaning for them, representation in Parliament must be on the principle of parity. That would mean that the Africans and the White people had equal numbers of members of the legislature. In spite of the fact that the Africans were numerically minority. They were prepared to guarantee minority rights.

Windley's rejection of these extremely reasonable terms is pursuing the Northern Africans and their children far in the wrong along the road taken by Ghana, in rejecting the ideal of partnership, in favor of an Africanism society.

Road To Ghana

The Africans of the Union can do one of two things: They can jump on to the bandwagon to Ghana or take the road followed by Seneke. The first course will take him through an ugly collision with the White supermajority. But his own members here and in countries between the Limpopo and the equator make it certain that in the end he will win.

The chances are that the second might take him precisely to the dead end reached by Seneke. But at Johannesburg the Africans chose Seneke's road, though their conditions were different. They did not accept common citizenship on the White man's terms. They wanted it on the basis of race

equality, co-operation and interdependence.

At first glance it would appear that the majority of White people will reject outright these terms and in that way force us, also, to see advantage for ourselves in rejecting the ideal of a multi-racial society. But a closer view of the situation brings to light quite a number of developments to show that White reactions are not all negative.

Verwoerdian Bloodbath

The reaction accorded the Johannesburg Resolution was gratifying. The greater number of papers commented most favorably on it. Quite a number of White organizations and leading persons openly identified themselves with the African stand.

Of real significance here, however, were the reactions from those sides who would normally expect to stand by Verwoerd in the event of what he calls a bloodbath. The United Party worked with renewed energy to produce a more realistic Native policy.

If from descriptions of it are correct, I do not hesitate to say that the thing will be nothing. No African, in the present state of opinion, will even care to sell at Senate representation.

Of significance, however, is not the thoughtlessness of its terms, but the fact that they realize that the old arguments are no longer reliable as guides into the future.

At the same time even in the ranks of Afrikaner Nationalism, as I pointed out in my last article, an thing is now which deserves to be very closely watched. Apartheid has been denounced by its own advocates as an model (see Van Heerden's address to the Stellenbosch academy; Eric Louw has passed a counterpoint note on a conference is expected by visiting Kru-mach to send a diplomatic repre-

sentative "Die Burger" recently came out with an article openly pleading for partial racial equality. And that was published in one of its political sister papers.

Lot Of Faith

These developments project in the clearest terms possible the real test of the Johannesburg conference—upon which I place a lot of faith. We are a nation whose component parts are about to split irretrievably and go in opposite directions. We shall go to Johannesburg to seek a formula to keep us together. To work, such a formula must, in the first place, win the trust of those who have suffered most from race oppression—the Africans. It must promise them a future more real and near enough to be more attractive than the Ghans road. The common citizenship it must offer must not be on the White man's terms for, as Seneke's fall shows, the Africans do not want that. That is why the United Party's coming Native Policy is nearly five years behind time. The racial equality of "Die Burger's" correspondence is more realistic and certainly more acceptable. It must be a citizenship on terms acceptable to the Africans.

Events in the Central African Federation are as open book for us to learn from. If we take our lesson to heart, the Johannesburg conference can be a turning point in South African policy.

R. VITHAL

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Press Review

The Changing Climate

ONE swallow does not make summer; but it is an encouraging herald. A few swallows have been wheeling about in the South African ideological firmament recently, and observers have been drawing conclusions. Signs of the portents have been referred to from time to time in their columns; and now Dr Rabha, Representative for Native Students in the Senate, coming up in an interview published in our issue of yesterday, suggests that when together they indicate a change in the mental climate.

The "White Women."

The Case For An Inquiry

ON the ground of his own observation that the police were entirely free from blame in the case of Jim Mkhondo, Mr. Swart has stated that he is not prepared to hold an inquiry into the circumstances which, but for a fortuitous accident, would have resulted in an innocent man being hanged. For reasons of vital

importance to the future development of justice in the Union, we urge the Minister to reconsider his decision.

—(D. S. M.)—

Bishop Reeves

BAN, restrictions, exclusion—I believe that such things should only be made use of when there is no other way. But if people are now saying that the Government should let the Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, know that he is in future unwelcome in South Africa, then I can only think of rational objections to it, not of objections based on principle.

The ideal way for South Africa to get rid of Bishop Reeves and to send him packing on the same road as Sorel and Hoddinott, back to the place where he came from in 1945, is a revolt against him by English-speaking South Africa.

What a blow would now be struck for better relations of inter-racial English-speaking people

were to say: "Thus far and no further! Get out, Britches who is plundering South Africa from pulp to pulp in the United States, back to your slave communities from which you were brought here while we were looking the other way!"

From political correctness by "White" in the "Times."

God And Apartheid

GOD has appointed the White and set him apart to build a separate nation in Southern Africa and to bring the Gospel of Christ to the heathens. That is his divine mission. To carry out this mission the White man is called upon to be the master and spiritual guide of the non-White.

We shall always have enough non-White labour at our disposal, even if it first apart. We dare not make a "White Native" of the non-White.

Apartheid has been the policy and tradition of the White man for the past 100 years. The White man remains the guardian and he now White a child.

The racial problem has been recently emerged; since the Second World War, when a number of allegedly educated Black men, led by Communism, have risen to revolt against the White man.

Since then the relations between White and Black have greatly deteriorated.

It is a purely South African problem and the White man of Southern Africa must, and will with God's help, solve this problem according to the Christian creed, whether or not the world opinion agrees with it or not.

We are busy, active, able-bodied as a people of white workers and believe that God wants.

That is the end of the matter, and there are no compromises possible.

Letter to the "Volksblad."

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A Foretaste Of "Fairplay" In South Africa

THE Johannesburg City Council recently suspended the ordinary business to discuss a matter of urgent public importance. The Council then retired to ask the Minister of the Interior to postpone the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg, at least until "satisfactory alternative accommodation and trading sites have been made available to displaced persons." The Group Areas Act is designed to carve the country up into residential and commercial areas, racially divided to suit white convenience, comfort and profit.

Very probably Dr. Denys will refuse the City Council's request. After all the Act only

C. W. H. GELL

requires the Group Areas Board to "consider" alternative accommodation, not provide it. And it is patently clear about alternative trading sites, which principally affect Indian and Chinese traders. In fact, it is intended to drive these non-white traders out of business.

The action of the Johannesburg City Council is significant for two reasons, irrespective of the Minister's response. In the first place, certain Johannesburg schools are the first large ones to be postponed Group Areas under the Act. Africans are being moved from the City's Western Areas under the National Representation Act, which is a subsidiary of the Group Areas Act. They number 75,000. In addition, 75,000 other non-whites are to be moved out of Papenburg, Watburg, Albertville, Germiston and the Western Areas. Some 200,000 more by August 3 this year. Others by August 2 next year.

These Johannesburg predictions for, therefore, the first large-scale test case for what the rest of South Africa may expect under the Group Areas Act. But they have broken down before they even came into being.

For the second point of significance about the decision of the Johannesburg City Council is that it was considered by several scores of smiling hardhats which have already taken under the Representation Act. They are

now poised to apply a sort of "boot-in" Group Areas procedure to the predominantly African, occupied Western Areas. An African was removed to Meadowlands—the only Government-sponsored housing scheme for displaced Africans in the country—their old homes are demolished street by street. And the way is thus cleared for new white suburbs and industries to rise on the site of Sophiatown.

But also living in Sophiatown were a small number of Indian and Chinese merchants who served the African community. These people cannot be moved to Meadowlands which is exclusively for Africans.

The plight of a trader whose clientele are suddenly removed from him and whom he may not follow is at any time miserable. But it is rendered far worse by an almost complete absence of alternative accommodations, let alone alternative trading sites. For decades the accommodations which could legitimately be covered by Africans in Johannesburg, as elsewhere, has been far below the demand. And since it has been poured in the Transvaal and Natal in buildings hardly touched by Africans in 1945, it has nearly become more desperately inadequate.

As a result, rents in Government Areas have soared and all the devices of rationing—extraneous demands for "permits", key money etc. are rife. However desirable, this is not due to racial hatred to the racial intolerance of certain Indian landlords. It is the inevitable outcome, all the world over, of an artificially imposed

scarcity of a basic living necessity faced with an overwhelming demand. And one cannot avoid the reflection that the sudden situation now being met by the Rent Board, after all three years of neglect, in rehousing is predominantly Indian-occupied Papenburg is not unconnected with a desire to expose "intolerant" Indian living conditions immediately before thousands of Indians are to be evicted from Papenburg under the Group Areas Act.

However, Indian traders ejected from Sophiatown have apparently managed to find some sort of accommodation elsewhere either with friends and relatives in areas which will not be moved till August or come temporarily to Lenasia, the only permitted Indian Group Areas. 20 miles out of Johannesburg, it will enable few to trade, though it does provide a place to live at a fancy price to the private company capitalizing the property.

But for some of the Chinese traders of Sophiatown there is nowhere to go. Not only has no Group Area yet been proclaimed for their neighborhood, but the Chinese community of Johannesburg is so small and scattered that it can do little to help the homeless. There was a time when the Chinese had been led to believe that, if they avoided "political" and "racial" with Indian and African "agitators", the Government would treat them as non-white. The fallacy of government and of policy as whole or unwholesome "understanding" is now fully exposed.

Meanwhile the Government Representation Board with knowledge and conscience of the Government Group Areas Board offers to re-house ejected Chinese traders in houses owned by Africans in Sophiatown but not yet scheduled for demolition.

No provision is made for a new trading house, though many of the 20-odd families affected have been in trade for 15-20 years. The Representation Board originally gave them notice to quit in October. Having reached the stage of threatening to demolish their homes over their heads, it has now capitulated to a very high bidder and a newly born baby. It is now making for a worst order of eviction which will take a few weeks to achieve.

Why have some of the families refused to move? Because without a trade house they will have no livelihood. Because the alternative accommodation offered only affects another temporary respite before they are again moved on. And because it is almost unobtainable. A European could hardly have despatched his home affairs as "leave down, windows and without water or light—I would not wish my dog to live there." Another "house" on offer was "even worse—only piles of rubble for floors, no doors, windows, even the frame had been removed, the roof is sagging and disintegrated." Yet these houses were offered by the Representation Board to demolish, however middle class families as "a fair state of repair". No wonder the lady concluded her report: "These (Chinese) people have made the unbelievable mistake of being poor and frightened and not of white skin."

Not that it is the "unforgivable mistake" of hundreds of thousands of other people all over the country who are watching with agonized and dread the first tests of "justice and fairplay" promised by Dr. Denys under the Group Areas Act. And the whole world watches with them.



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Coming Of Ghana Split Nats.

It is this article "Theories" who writes for the "Sunday Express" analyses the situation which might develop from having an African diplomatic representative in the Union.

The idea of the end of the wedge that is going to crack apartheid wide open is in position. The Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, publicly acknowledged it recently when he said that the Union would encourage diplomatic representation with Ghana. Mr. Louw later amended his statement slightly, explaining that he had not said that this would come about "soon."

But, whether it happens now or later, the arrival of Ghana's ambassador in South Africa is going to show up the shyness of apartheid and the instability of its greatest ally.

The wedge was seen a little earlier—by an anonymous writer in the week-end supplement to "Die Burger" and "Die Gids." He pointed out that, when Ghana's ambassador came to South Africa, he could not be asked to return to his country's apartheid laws. He would have to be exempted from them. And that would mean all the non-White staff he brought with him would have to be exempted too. Apartheid in various ways would have to be made, as well, for the businessmen and technicians from Ghana who visited the country.

Colour Bar Must Go

The writer, described as a "prominent Afrikaner," said South Africa would just have to face up to the fact that, as far as these diplomats were concerned, the colour bar could not be maintained.

Not only would they have to be accepted at the great diplomatic functions and included in diplomatic official parties, banquets, garden parties, receptions and other such functions, but they would have to be free to move around the country without difficulty. To go into "White" churches, restaurants, hotels and so on.

But the exemptions could not end there, said the "prominent Afrikaner." "If exemptions were to be made for coloured non-Whites from other countries, there would have to be exemptions, too, for some of South Africa's non-Whites. The dip-

lomatic representatives of South Africa would want to meet with the non-Whites in South Africa as well as with the Whites. And, in any case if South Africa exempted "coloured" Ghana, non-Whites from the apartheid laws and did so give some exemptions to "coloured" South African non-Whites she would look "silly."

There would have to be "necessary exceptions" to apartheid rules so that "W" and non-White could meet have a cup of tea together in a restaurant of their choosing; that, for instance, a non-White university professor would be able to get a room in a decent hotel.

"A Whisper" Subject

The "prominent Afrikaner" article would, said Die Burger, mean something of a farce. It dealt with ticklish subjects the news normally only touches about in a whisper.

But, although "Die Burger" acknowledged the fact of the article and the fact of the issue it raised, the paper has not yet been able to pick up the courage to say something about it. "Not in a whisper."

"Die Tiessester" dealt very gingerly with the subject in an editorial on Friday. It pointed out an exchange of diplomatic representatives between South Africa and the Black States in Africa would practical questions which would require careful study. "There would have to be much well in advance, and public opinion must be 'lured' before the change took place."

But "Die Tiessester" did attempt to deal with any of obvious practical questions that will confront the Government if it tries to have apartheid and friendly relations with the Black States. Not least of these is how the exempted visitors will be distinguished from those Whites who will have to stay their side of the colour line. Will they be given white to sing, and have made read their books saying: "sup?"

ambassador Might

"An Amendment"

We cannot very well ask our visiting ambassadors to wear a uniform so that our politicians will not be tempted to ask them for their passes. But as a prominent Africanist pointed out, it would not just one little incident like that to cause a nasty spot of bother between the two countries.

Like 'Our Traveller', the 'prominent Africanist' was unable to suggest how South Africa could have its both foreign-ambassadors and apartheid. But he was careful to emphasize that, in advocating sympathy to apartheid, he was not asking for a complete change in attitude on the part of the Whites, but just 'an amendment.'

That was why he said he saw the wedge only faintly.

If we face this issue realistically it becomes plain that apartheid cannot be beat the way and that to meet the challenge. The basic principle of apartheid, as expanded clearly by Dr. Verwoerd in parliament this year, is that Whites and Blacks is

Black and of the main that with.

"Civilised" Blacks

If one accepts that there is no harm in "civilised" Blacks from Ghana meeting "civilised" Whites in South Africa, and enjoying the other amenities of Western civilization, how does one justify dropping this right to "civilised" Blacks from South Africa?

And, once one accepts Blacks from elsewhere of the colour bar as they reach a certain standard of civilization, the whole principle of apartheid based on colour differences disappears.

Discrimination on the basis of degree of civilization is not an easy proposition to defend—but it is not apartheid.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, will not need to lead a contingent from Ghana down to South Africa to "liberate" the Whites' non-Whites from apartheid.

All he need do is send an ambassador—the title and of the wedge. The rest is impossible.

Methodists To Defy Church Clause

Dr. S. SUDHURY, chairman of the Natal District of the Methodist Church of South Africa, said in Ladysmith that if ever necessary once he would refuse to obey the decision of the Native Affairs should be upon the provisions of the "Church" clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act.

Dr. Sudhury was addressing the Natal District and said in essence: "I cannot do as I please."

"It is with the utmost reluctance and yet with complete sincerity of purpose that we like this stand today, for it is our desire as Christian people to live in peace and charity with all men. But when, by act of Parliament, and after careful warnings of the consequences, we are forced to choose between the laws of God and the laws of men, our choice is clear."

Dr. Sudhury continued, "One of the things, indeed at the very heart of the apartheid policy of Apartheid is the denial of the positive approach of friendship and co-operation, would be like a sheet of light shining through the shadow of our political racial gloom."

Permanent Residents

"It needs to be recognized upon both sides of the colour bar that both Europeans and non-Europeans are permanent residents of this land. Each has a vital contribution to make to the economic, cultural, social, political and spiritual life of the country. Each places as 'White man's country' or 'Africa for the Africans' are entirely unrealistic and ignore the obvious fact that our land is and must remain a multi-racial land."

"We are all here to stay, and a feasible course is a Christian course which seeks to do justice to all as we would that they should do to us—a co-operative, understanding partnership, where each retains, maintaining its own integrity, is a partner in the building of a prosperous and progressive nation."

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life The Two Great Wars

CHAPTER XXII

IN the weary years that rolled by between the First Great War and the Second, thousands of changes came in the world outside India. Violence became a part of daily life in country after country. Everywhere men had been fighting for so long that it had almost got to be a habit with them. During the First Great War, whenever the different governments of the world found their soldiers were tired of fighting, they promised them a wonderful life if they would fight on till victory was won. When peace came at last, the poor soldiers only found that the world was a much worse place than before. There was less food, less of everything, and for millions of men there was no work at all. When they found that none of the good things promised them were going to come to them, they started fighting against their own governments. Kings and rulers were overthrown by

these rebellious subjects in many lands, while in almost every country many political parties struggled with each other for power.

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corcoran

Then strong men began to rise up in our country after another. These men seized power and became like kings. They were called Dictators and they ruled with tyranny and cruelty, killing all who opposed them. The two most terrible of the Dictators, Hitler and Mussolini, the one an Austrian and the other an Italian, made life miserable for millions of people. They ruled by violence instead of justice and men trembled at their name.

When people fear violence they generally become violent in order to protect themselves. This was how it was in Europe and in other continents too. No

man's life was safe under the Dictators, who talked only of war. They called it a glorious thing and encouraged their people to fight for the sake of fighting. They ordered their armies to invade all small and weak countries. The populations of these small countries were then treated by them as slaves.

In the end the Second Great War broke out. It was the first terrible war that the world has ever seen. Men seemed to have forgotten all the teachings of religion. Hatred and cruelty reigned everywhere.

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(To be continued)

American Isotopes For Russia

THE Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) disclosed in Washington for the first time that the Soviet Union has received a shipment of American-produced radiotelephones for cancer research. An AEC spokesman said the material was shipped last Spring by the Chesapeake Corporation of New York. He said the material, carbon 14 is one of the most popular radio-produced isotopes, and that the shipment to Moscow was in the form of B-gamma.

Disclosures that the AEC approved the shipment by the private firm was contained in

the Commission's most recent annual report to Congress, which covered American nuclear progress and co-operation with other nations in harnessing the atom for peaceful purposes.

Of the shipment to the U.S.S.R., the report stated briefly:

"The first application for a license to export radiotelephones to Soviet Russia was received and approved. It covered a small amount of carbon-14 which will be used for cancer research at the bio-chemical Institute of the Academy of Science, Moscow."

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Bombay Premier Sends Message To Non-Whites

Our correspondent in India asked Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay, to send a message to the people who live justly in South Africa. The following was the result.

Mr Chavan is one of India's most highly-respected citizens imprisoned for political offences at the age of 16, he has since played a small part in India's struggle to be free. A B.A., LL.B., he completed his studies after imprisonment. After independence he directed the underground movement for 2 years while the British placed a reward of Rs. 1,000 on his head.

Ever since Gandhi launched the campaign for human rights in South Africa in the early years of this century and raised the conscience of the civilised world to the State of affairs there, we have followed with the most intense interest and sympathy the struggle of the Indian and African populations in that territory for emancipation from a brutal yoke. During these years great changes have come over the world, and the nations of the world have drawn up a Charter of Human Rights which illustrates the path for those who wish to see.

Unfortunately, however, today the world, especially collective ones, and the struggle for human rights in South Africa has yet to come to a successful conclusion. That this will happen cannot be in doubt for the forces at work in the world today are too strong to be defeated unless for

too long. But every remedy has its price, and we in India, more than any other nation, know that no price is too heavy to pay for the gaining of liberty and fundamental human rights.

Under the leadership first of Gandhi and later his son, Indians in Africa have carried on their struggle on the right lines. It is good to see the torch lit by Gandhi still bright and unshaken by a division from the principles that he inspired; and we have no doubt at all that so will it be until victory is won—victory not for this or that group or this or that race but for Truth and Justice which has been everywhere held so dear and for which, in all lands and at all times, they have fought and died.

I wish you every success in your noble cause.

T. N. CHAVAN.

casily during the recent session of Parliament—have had no Nationalist voters, and also to demonstrate the effect of the Opposition's propaganda against apartheid.

Equally serious is the clash between Nationalist sentiments like those in the South Africa Bureau of Racial Affairs and the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. P. Verwoerd, over the discussion apartheid has raised.

Epoch-Making

Victoria West, a quiet little town and centre of a vast sheep-farming area, may become renowned in South Africa's political history as the scene of a

"peace approach" to the apartheid ideology, but as I walked down its long main street, looking under a mild summer sun, it struck me as ironical that hardly any of the inhabitants were aware of the epoch-making events occurring in their midst.

The chief actors in the drama of the parliament and Intelligence who attended the secret meeting made their acts as unobtrusively as their entrance.

And the fact that some meetings are to take place in the Cape indicates the ascendancy of Nationalism in this Province over the former.

They fear the growing strength of South's northern Nationalists.

Publishers Reply To "Amakula" Protest

Prof. C. M. Doka

THE Transvaal Indian Youth Conference has received a reply from the publishers of the Zulu Primer to which Indians were contemptuously referred to as AMAKULA (Coffins) instead of AMANDIYA (Indians).

The Publishers, Mr. van Loon, Messrs. Groot & Co., Ltd., who have a number of publishing concerns in India and Pakistan, replying from their Cape Town office say: "Thank you for your letter of 3rd July about the use of the word 'amakula' in our Zulu primer. Our printers had already been drawn to this matter and we have taken it up with Professor Coe. If the term is, as you suggest, derogatory—and you will realise that we ourselves are not ethnologically expert—we shall change it to 'le' or 'prings' of our books."

"We should like to assure you that we are entirely in sympathy with any efforts towards racial harmony in this country and that any of our references to Indians in our books is completely accidental."

Professor Doka is the editor of the Loonman's Zulu Reader series.

It will be recalled that following on the exposure by a Natal Indian Weekly of the use of the word "AMAKULA" a large number of organisations lodged their protest. Among them was the South African Indian Congress.

Nats. Get Ready For General Elections

"Sunday Times" Political Correspondent

Victoria West.

A "TOP SECRET" meeting of Nationalist M.P.s, Senators, provincial commissioners and local officials, took place in this small town on last night.

No-one outside a limited circle knew exactly where it took place, how long it lasted or what decisions were reached.

Even most of the residents of Victoria West were not aware that this top level gathering was taking place in their midst.

It was understood it was the last of several similar meetings to be held in different parts of the Cape during the next few months.

The Four Objectives

The purpose of the meeting was fourfold:

1.—To define the achievements of apartheid during the past two years and ascertain the feelings of the people towards apartheid.

2.—To draw up an action programme based on the next five years of apartheid.

3.—To try to bridge the ever-widening gap between Nationalist politicians and local officials and

4.—To try to bridge the equally serious gap between nationalists and southern Bantuists.

The fact that a meeting of this kind should have been held under conditions of the strictest secrecy reflects the doubts and dissensions within the Nationalist ranks on the eve of the General Elections.

Nationalist leaders feel that it is urgently necessary to establish accurately what impact the bitter struggle over apartheid—parti-

Unintentional

"You will see that it is quoted as such in the Zulu-English Dictionary published in 1948. This was two years after the printing of the Reader (in 1946). I very much regret this. The only thing I can say is that its use was unintentional, and I only with attention had been drawn to it years ago. Eleven years have passed since that Reader was first printed.

"My Friends"

"If the Indian community remembered my association along with my father) with Mahatma Gandhi from 1908 onwards, they would realise that I have no desire to insult my friends.

"On page 112 of the second edition of the Dictionary (published in 1953) the word *amakula* appears in the addendum. This is definitely in form that should be used."

India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

"No Cocktail Diplomacy"

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is opposed to cocktail diplomacy. He told the Lok Sabha that he did not like "diplomacy based on drinks" and had asked heads of Indian Missions abroad not to serve alcoholic drinks as a general rule.

He said that he did not agree with the view that drinks attracted people to embassy parties. Indeed, he had told Indian Ambassadors that "if drinks alone attracted people, then these people had better keep away."

There were smiles all round as he drew a distinction between street drinks and web-stomach wines.

The Prime Minister, who was speaking on the Dadasaheb Phalke Award, said it was "highly undesirable" for certain Government officials, especially those of the External Affairs and Defence Ministries, to drink at parties.

Three officials were supposed to be in possession of all kinds of secret information "and once you drink, you may not be actually drunk, but your tongue is loosed."

Mr. Nehru also expressed the view that it was "unbecoming" of Indian officials to accept drinks at various parties when they themselves did not serve liquor.

Indo-Pak Friendly Co-Operation Urged

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, once again, loftily pleaded in the Lok Sabha for friendly co-operation between India and Pakistan and expressed deep regret that military alliances and the past had encouraged "Pakistan to pursue wrong paths, preventing thereby the solution of various problems between the two countries."

It was obvious, he said, that the two neighbours should co-operate and help each other as, ultimately, injury to either

was certain to hurt the other. Unfortunately, India's past efforts to normalise relations with Pakistan continued to prove ineffectual because of all-round involvement in the cold war.

Need To Wipe Out Three Evils

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, speaking at Hyderabad, said the country's independence would remain incomplete unless the three scourges of the people—poverty, disease and ignorance—were wiped out.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was replying to an address of welcome presented to him, said, "I am glad that we are fighting these three evils with unflinching will."

Nehru Deplores Peace Congresses

Mr. Nehru said that he did not quite understand "the tremendous urge" of some people to attend peace congresses and how the cause of peace was helped by "these repeated attendance gatherings together in various parts of the world and holding aloft the banner of peace."

Replying during the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha, to complaints that participants had been denied a number of touring participants in the forthcoming Youth Festival in Moscow and in the recent Colombo session of the World Peace Congress, Mr. Nehru said: "It seems to me quite clear that we do not encourage these people. I say so because we feel that many of the Congresses, although they are held in the name of peace and although they undoubtedly desire peace, become political platforms and are like other platforms with the result that somehow the cause of peace itself becomes associated with political platforms and thereby to some extent its bright shining surface is tarnished."

"I am understood discussing occasionally, but how these peace congresses help in the cause of peace has not yet been clearly put to me," he added.

36 Villages Donated

Acharya Vinoba Bhave told a prayer meeting in Kashi on July 31 that a mass change of hands of political power "does not amount to a revolution. It becomes a revolution only when the social values in the

country change.

Over 45 workers from various parts of Kashi have been doing intensive Bhoo-dan work in this area for the past three weeks in response to the Acharya's appeal.

Thirty six villages were donated to him on one day at Kashi and in addition he received 39 acres of land and collected Rs. 1,996 as sympathy.

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આખા દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઅન બોજન મળી શકશે.

હમ પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને હોલંગની સગવડ

હાપમી બોર્ડરોને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિકર્પીઓ અને શિક્ષકોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માત્ર પુરુષ વર્ગને જ લેવામાં આવશે. બોર્ડરોમાંનાં નાનું અને આધુનિક કબજા ફર્નીચર સાજવામાં આવેલું છે. રેલમાં જતાં અથવા તે કોચમાંથી આવનારા ઉતાવળીઓ માટે કુદમ્બને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે ફેશી સેનરમની જે નાની સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણીની હાથ, ખારેકા, પેસ્ટ, અને પાણી, બિયેરે સખીએ છીએ.

હરનું આંધેલું અથાહું અને સોરી જાંતના પાપડ હંમેસાં તઈવાર હોય છે.

બોર્ડરથી શિખંડ અને કુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

Not a day pass over the earth but men and women of no race do great deeds, speak great words and suffer noble deaths.

—Charles Reade.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903.

Former Editor: Hanilal Gandhi—1938-1950

No. 32—Vol. LV.

Friday, 16th August, 1957

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MUGBASE TESTIFIES AGAINST ANC IN TREASON TRIALS

"All going to ask the Court to hold that all your evidence is a deliberate falsehood," retorted Mr V. C. Berrange, Counsel for the defence at the Drill Hall last week in a sharp exchange with Crown Witness Solomon Mgbase who had come from prison where he is serving a three years imprisonment for fraud to testify at the Treason Enquiry. He admitted that he had been a thief and a liar.

Earlier Mr. Joe Slovo who is appearing on his own behalf had told the Magistrate that the witness was "obviously mad and was living in a dreamworld of his own."

In cross-examination Mgbase admitted that he had lived a large part of his life as one of lies and that he had served a number of imprisonment for criminal offences and that he had committed other crimes for which he had not been convicted.

E.A. And Not A B.A.

Mgbase said that he was a B.A. of Fort Hare but in cross-examination admitted that he had not obtained any such degree. He had in the past held out to be a graduate in Bachelor of Science and that he had practised illegally as an advocate and had been imprisoned for three years for doing so. Here are some of the highlights of the evidence given by this witness:

In 1931 the witness said he attended an A.N.C. Con-

ference with Dr. Naleker in Bloemfontein at which the Freedom Charter was drawn up by a Sub-Committee consisting of Advocate Maitliff, Dr. Letele, Dr. Mj and two witnesses. This Charter was similar to the one adopted at Kipton in 1935 and the original was not available in Port Elizabeth where he had hidden it.

The Defence Campaign was planned in 1935 and it was decided that should the Campaign fail then the Freedom Charter Campaign would be launched.

While the A.N.C. leaders were to advocate non-violence the volunteers in the Defence Campaign were told to resist arrests and to engage in violence. The witness said he had done so as a volunteer and had taken part in burning down a house in Port Elizabeth.

The African National Congress had decided to obtain arms and ammunition from Russia, and financial support from Russia, China, India and the Gold

Coast. The ammunition and the "gas powder" were to be stored in the Transvaal. All the Europeans in the Transvaal were going to be murdered in the MAU MAU fashion.

Next, Slovo and Berrange were to be sent to Russia for the obtaining of ammunition and the "gas powder."

Professor Matthews was a "Secret Agent" and legal adviser to the African National Congress.

The ANC Conference had discussed the parrotage of Dr. Maitliff and expressed the opinion that his father was a European and his mother a Hottentot.

Cross-Examined

In cross-examination Mgbase admitted that he had referred to Dr. Letele's name a number of times and that he was keen on getting his own back on Mrs Letele who was a Crown Witness against him in a fraud case at present pending at Kimberley.

The witness further said he had asked Advocate Maitliff to appear for him when he was facing a charge at Durban, but Advocate Maitliff had declined to do so.

When asked to identify Dr. G. M. Nkomo whom the accused said he knew, Mgbase after a careful scrutiny of all the accused pointed out Accused No. 149 (Mr. Debi Singh).

The evidence of Mgbase was led by Mr. Liebenberg one of the Crown Prosecutors who had been absent from Court for some months. In cross-examination it was disclosed that Mgbase had written to the Magistrate of Kimberley on the 27th July 1955 volunteering to give this evidence.

Before leading Mgbase's evidence Mr. Liebenberg informed the Court that the Crown would lead evidence of violence committed during the Defence Campaign in 1937.

After Mgbase's evidence police witnesses dealt with murders which occurred in the Eastern Cape in 1937.

"Coolies" Not Offensive Term

Detective Sergeant Hattough told the Treason Enquiry under cross-examination that he had never heard that Indians regarded the word "Coolies" as offensive.

Mr. Berrange: It has never been brought to your attention that Indians object to the use of the word "Coolie"?

Witness: No. It has never been brought to my attention.

Mr Berrange: When do you write the word Coolie and when Indias?

(Continued on page 36)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 16TH, AUGUST, 1957

Holloway Revelations

DR. J. HOLLOWAY, the Union's ambassador to the Court of St. James, recently wrote to the London "Times" and said that one of the reasons behind the "Church" clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act was the fact that the African National Congress invited Africans to enter White churches as a means of political protest.

Dr. Holloway occupies a very responsible position as Union's ambassador in London. It is his duty to explain the policies of his government to the best of his ability and to enable the British people to see them in the best of light possible. Thus, in presenting the Government's case on the Church issue he was doing precisely what the South African taxpayer pays him to do.

But in doing what it is always his business to ensure that the facts he uses to prove or reinforce his case are unchallengeable. For his office not to be careful about the information he uses does not only add to give South Africa a bad name for unreliability, it shakes world confidence in the factuality of statements issued from South Africa House in London.

A case in point is the statement he recently issued on behalf of the Union Government in which he tried to put the blame on the African National Congress for the Church clause. His is a very ingenious argument. But it does not seem to be founded on established fact. Certainly the leading clergyman—some of whom have no connections of any sort with the ANC—who should know have denied publicly that the ANC ever had anything to do with their congregations.

External Affairs

Dr. Holloway acted obviously on information supplied to him by the Union Government. Real blame for the Holloway statement and the failure even to attempt to substantiate it goes to the Minister of External Affairs—whose job it is to see that the Union's representatives abroad are given accurate facts about the situation in this country.

But the fact to which we seek to draw attention is that as long as we have a government inspired by a desire like apartheid, the Union's representatives abroad will continue to be furnished with unreliable information. And if that continues to give South Africa a bad name, the men of apartheid will turn around and accuse their opponents for it. That is the vicious circle into which apartheid has got the country. The only cure is to throw out apartheid lock, stock and barrel. If the Johannesburg conference accelerates events in that direction it will have done South Africa a lot of real good.

Nkrumah And A Free Press

EVENTS in Ghana these days are most disturbing to the friends of this young African State. When Dr. Nkrumah was in London, spokesman of his Government said that on his return he would show all who was ruler of Ghana. That language does not come readily to a democrat. This was followed by the expulsion of Mr. Bankole Timothy, who occupied a high and responsible post in Ghanaian journalism. Government explanations of this action have been so mislead, misstated, contradictory and unconvincing they have not allayed fears that Dr. Nkrumah is now trying to show who the real boss of Ghana is.

The danger of such exuberance, if carried too far, is that it might give African democracy not too good a name at a time when it—as tested by Ghana's success—can ill afford to invite doubt on its real intentions.

Verwoerd's Latest Excuse For Church Clause

THE Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, told a National Party rally in Swaziland recently that the reason for the Churches Clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act was—the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. Andrew Reeves.

Early last week the South African High Commissioner in London, Dr. J. E. Holloway, wrote to the "Times" that the clause had been made necessary because the African National Congress had been organising the attendance of Africans in European churches to a demonstration against apartheid.

But on Saturday Dr. Verwoerd said: "Certain clergy began to admit Africans away from their churches in the White urban areas as a demonstration against apartheid. Andrew Reeves did it, and it happened at Kensington and other places I have mentioned. 'The result was we received complaints from members of these churches. I had to alter the law to meet the new situation.'"

An "Ambrose Reeves"

Dr. Verwoerd went on to describe how the Churches Clause might be applied. (It is now law, but has not yet been used.) He pleaded a small town—it might be Swaziland, though he said he did not know SW people shunned them—with an Anglican church in it that has a small congregation of 15.

"Then comes an Ambrose Reeves from overseas to take charge of the church. He soon gets tired of preaching to only 15 people. So he invites 500 Africans from the localities to come to his services. These Africans coming through the

door to this church becomes a nuisance to the people of the town. In a case like that ought not the State to intervene?"

Says-Bruce, in a message from London, says that Mr. R. E. Cooke, who was for 16 years until last November, Chancellor of the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, in a letter to "The Times" commented on the letter which that paper published last week from Dr. J. E. Holloway, the South African High Commissioner, on the Church Clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act.

Who Were They?

Mr. Cooke says: "I never heard of one of so shameful number of Bantu entering an Anglican church. Had a large number of Bantu gone to such a church by way of demonstration against apartheid in any part of South Africa, I could hardly have failed to know of this."

Mr. Cooke added: "Could your readers be told what the Anglicans were that made the complaint, which churches were invaded by large numbers of Bantu demonstrators, and where?"

"Until then, I would advise a suspension of belief. It is indeed surprising that highly placed Anglicans who have been preaching against the new Law, and even suggesting resistance, should not, at this time, have told that their adherents were Legitimate protesters against a nuisance."

Comment On Men And Events

UNITED PARTY MISSES OPPORTUNITY

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

AFTER months of propaganda designed to work up opinion to expect something constructive and realistic from the United Party in its new Native Policy this week's conference promises, by the time it ends, to have been remarkable for the way it will show how tragically the United Party has missed a golden chance to move positively in directions which could inspire African confidence and restore peace to this troubled land.

At the time of writing, Dean Kamekumane has described in broad but revealing terms the lines along which the United Party is thinking. It has in mind the idea of giving the African South African representation—though serious of it (like the North Road Division, for example) would be ready for extension of the vote to African graduates. At the same time it has reaffirmed its firm belief in a watered-down version of White supremacy, now called White leadership.

Part Company

It is precisely at this point that the Africans and the United Party will part company. White leadership was rejected by the African community at the Bloemfontein conference last year when the appeal was made for a united front of Whites and non-Whites against apartheid. And in the last days the Africans made it plain that while they continued to adhere to the ideal of co-operation and interdependence, they would co-operate on their terms: on the basis of equality.

The United Party's Bloemfontein conference has replied by treating all this as so much nonsense or childish twaddle. It leaves the African community with one real alternative: To ignore completely the United Party's proposals and continue to act as if nothing had happened.

For, what the situation calls for today is not a change in emphasis; it is a continuing change in direction. The entire revolution is to recognize the African's right to the franchise and not just the vote alone. If the White South African holds the trust of the African, it is for him to purchase the latter that Black and White are going the same direction. The United Party is definitely not going our way.

Heart-Searchings

At the same time the Africans will do well not wholly to disregard the change to emphasis. It shows that serious heart-searchings are going on in the Party. The duty of the African, as is that of the democratic non-white side of the colour line, is to encourage the United Party to pro-

ceed from superstitious doubt to democratic certainty; to shift from the sensation of attacking ignorance to the skin colour of a citizen to the reality of working for a society in which no man shall be punished for having been born the son of his parents.

This can be done, finally, by ensuring that the Johannesburg interracial conference committee (half to goals which will inspire African confidence and guarantee survival to the minorities and, secondly, by White and non-White democrats binding themselves in a front whose programme and mood will throw in the clearest outline possible the fundamental difference between an apartheid society and its democratic counterpart.

In other words the conference will need to ensure that the franchise issue becomes a matter of practical politics among Whites even at this very moment. That cannot be done easily by denouncing against apartheid in the Press or from public platforms. It can be done most effectively by co-ordinated and determined action by White and non-White democrats—a demonstration like boycotts, etc. White South Africa needs to be shocked into accepting the need for realism in its approach to the race question. Things like nationwide boycotts supported vigorously by Black and White democrats after some of the means by which the United Party, among others, might be made to carry a little more so on the democratic truth in clearer light.

New Forces

If the Johannesburg conference turned out to be a success, a new force, the United Will of White and non-White democrats, shall have been brought into being with the very real potential of bringing apartheid creaking to the ground within the next five years. As it grows in strength the shift in the White community is most likely to be away from emphasis towards structural goals.

Against this background we might say that while we are disappointed with the performance of the United Party, the initiative to move events in the direction of more realistic aims is in our hands.

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DETTOL

THE ANTISEPTIC DOCTORS USE

"White Spots" And "Black Spots"

THE fate of South Africa's most famous "black spot"—Sophiatown—is well known. It was the predominantly African-occupied suburb "has been surrounded and surrounded by expanding white Johannesburg suburbs which would dislodge non-white inhabitants, and white industrial and business areas covered an available building site it was proclaimed for "class districts" (which it partially deserved, but less than many other much worse areas) evicting the "inhabitants" of all

residential complex being owned by the Group Areas Act and related legislation. The subject is called Nurefield. It is inhabited by 600 families, most of them African. Nurefield whose 1,800-2,000 voters constitute most of the electoral majority of Mr. R. J. Schoeman, Minister of Transport. Around it is the proclaimed black township of Fordsburg, Johannesburg, Middelburg, Mowat and the large proclaimed area of East Abertown is in Johannesburg, housing today some 12,000 non-white people of them headwaters, whose future fate was undecided till the other day.

When Group Areas proposals were first called for some five years ago, the white inhabitants of Nurefield, the white people everywhere—proposed that they be located by proclaimed "White" and that non-white be moved from their vicinity. But by left choice a separate Government Commission was simultaneously founded to the men of Johannesburg's non-white in their general direction. When this was later announced, when property values in Nurefield declined sharply as a result and when the Government promised to bear 30 per cent. of the estimated loss on coloured property owners, the inhabitants of Nurefield quickly changed their minds. They asked to be declared "Black", so that they could cut their losses, will up and get out. 94 per cent. of them signed a petition to this effect.

There followed a long period of indecision, during which Mr. Schoeman promptly kept close

of his constituents in this case. But recently the issue fell. The Government proclaimed Nurefield "white". Completely they enlarged its area to include Kippure. But it is still surrounded by "black" and "brown" areas and by the municipal storage area—no direct residential advance of non-white areas in South Africa's group areas today. Minister Schoeman has tried to reverse the pill by promising to create a "buffer" of light industry between Nurefield and the ancient "black" area. He has had 12,000 of the African inhabitants of the so-called proclaimed area "moved" already to six-and-seven pence (three pence with fractions, where Africans are strict their shillings and seven pence, permanent housing provided by the Mining Companies) £3 million (lost). The last 3,000 Africans will go by July.

But there remains something over 10,000 Coloureds in Kippure and 1,000 Indians for whom no provision has yet been made, nor seems likely to be. They have to be out by April next year. The only proclaimed Indian area for Johannesburg is Lint, 22 miles from the heart of the city and within a trading zone. All the Coloured areas so far proclaimed are grossly overcrowded and slum-like Coloured families are already in town, should any sort of temporary shelter against the bitter Rand winter.

Faced with the choice of moving 2,000 Whites or 26,000 non-Whites (before Africans began to be shifted from Kippure), what possessed the Government to reject the latter against the ever-growing uncertainty with over 12,000 White inhabitants, clamouring to be moved?

First, one is forced to conclude that "White dominance" regards the removal of Whites

(even willing ones) as no obstacle and to be opposed in virtually all circumstances. Secondly, that voters (easily to desert the "left", however disgraced) are needed in the constituency. There is the polluted area of Alton Park in East Abertown North. Thirdly, the Government has its "eye" for Kippure because it staged the anti-racial Congress of the People in 1955 on precisely named non-white land (so that the police could not step in) when the Freedom Charter (a document of Victorian idealism) was drawn up.

The retention and expansion of this Nurefield "white spot" at the expense of Kippure's non-White continues unfortunately not only with the eradication of the Sophiatown "black spot". There are many other examples of the unscrupulousity of "black spots". To choose only from those in and around Johannesburg—there is the refusal to allow "brown spots" in Fagerville (1,000 Indians, 3,000 Coloureds, 2,000 Africans) or on certain Indian-owned farms between Johannesburg and Pretoria (also used for non-white political meetings and multi-racial events), and there is the impending uprooting of the Coloured middle-class suburban Alberton because (as Dr. Duggan, Minister of the Interior said) "although I quote again (his self-proclaimed conservatism of 4,000 Coloured people is of a very decent class, it is unfortunately intermingled by Europeans, the Nurefield remains as a 'White spot'."

With such contrasting examples of the working of the Group Areas Act for the world to judge, of what sort is good in "times and tides" to non-Whites," as Dr. Duggan originally promised?

By
C. W. M. GELL

ago-White. Dr. Verwoerd has declared that there shall be no "black spots" in "white areas". Sophiatown will, therefore, become a white residential and industrial suburb.

But because of the entry by the African National Congress, Father Middelburg and others, the Government decided—no later than July, not of all in "brown" areas—in to build houses (often without freehold title) for the displaced Africans before they were moved. Their Middelburg has houses the "brown-places" of Nurefield ("brown-places"). But, since the Indian and Chinese inhabitants of Sophiatown have been only some hundreds (against the 60-70,000 Africans), they are being "removed" without prior provision of alternative accommodation and without any consideration of an alternative involved for them (the majority) who had no share for the African of Sophiatown.

The plight of these African, especially the very Chinese community, has recently made headlines, especially in view of the fact that nearly 10,000 more Asians and Coloureds are to be "uprooted" from other Johannesburg suburbs scheduled for white occupation on August 3 and a further 10,000 on August 5 next year—in both cases without providing the displaced with alternative housing or land. But we find nothing of interest in the review situation of a "white spot" surrounded by "black areas".

In the south-west area of Johannesburg lies a small "white" suburb in the growing non-white

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AT YOUR
CHILDREN'S SHOES

See they get 'NUGGET' Polish every day!

United Voice Of Churches On Evil Of Apartheid

THE following review of Church opinion on Apartheid is from the current newsletter of the Civil Rights League.

With acknowledgments to the 'Cape Times', we commence the recent pressouncements by Church bodies with regard especially to the Native Laws Amendment Act, but also to apartheid as a whole.

Pastoral letters have been read in all Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in South Africa in which the Bishops of those two communions tell their people to ignore the Native Laws Amendment Act, and declare that they will give all possible help to any of those members who are persecuted under it.

A statement condemning the Bill while before Parliament was made by the Cape Priory of the Franciscan Church, and read from all its pulpits.

The Roman Catholic Bishops have called apartheid 'evil and anti-Christian' and 'disphemous,' and have urged all white South Africans to consider fully 'its evil and anti-Christian character, the injustices that flow from it, the resentment and bitterness it arouses, the hatred of disaster it must produce in the country we all love so much.'

The Anglican Bishops have said: 'We believe that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority and we believe that racial discrimination as it is practised in this country is deplorable in the extreme.'

The Baptist Union of South Africa has passed a resolution denouncing 'racial and economic injustices and the breaking of solemn pledges given to the non-European.'

The Congregational Union of South Africa has recorded its 'sincere conviction that the Government's policy of apartheid has no sanction in the New Testament scriptures and that it is in diametrically opposed to the teaching of Jesus Christ and His concept of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.'

The Methodist Church of South Africa has said: 'In the application of the principle of

apartheid through successive legislations and the sanctification of personality and the potentiality of man and woman as individuals are ignored.'

The Christian Council of South Africa (to which 23 Protestant churches, large and small, are affiliated) has said:

'The denial of freedom and association and the collection of compulsory apartheid in every sphere of life is a denial of the law of God.'

The 'Cape Times' comments: 'The Nationalist politicians surely know that the day must come when the fraud they are perpetrating in the name of apartheid will become apparent to the Dutch Reformed Church, and it will be obliged to join the "eternally changing" in their condemnation of what this Government is doing.'

U.P.'s Vote For African Graduates Only

A MEETING of the North Indian Union of the United Party, held recently, agreed by 29 votes to two that Africans holding a university degree should be given the vote.

This was not put forward as a resolution to the Union, composed of the United Party, but was introduced as a motion on a discussion to suggest should the issue of African franchise be voted.

The attitude of the division has come as something of a surprise to outside critics of the United Party, particularly as the North Indian constituency includes a large number of Afrikaner-speaking voters and also houses a wide area of small holdings. It is regarded as a well-planned act.

The suggestion has been welcomed by many United Party supporters, who said that they hoped it was the beginning of a more advanced outlook in the party.

They were told and so on a resolution of this nature with the approval of Mr. Hanley O'Connell, M.P., for a vast programme of reform in non-European affairs.

The North Road race is held by Mr. B. Coetzee (Nat) who has been awarded the race and was held again. He left the United Party after the 1953 election and joined the Conservative Party with Mr. Bailey Baker, who has been disowned.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Ruling By Love Alone

CHAPTER XXIII

ONLY one political leader speaks out for peace and brotherhood among the nations. That was Gandhiji.

He had now become so good and powerful in India that millions of men and women worshipped him like a deity and were ready to give their lives for him. Unlike the Dictators he wanted nothing for himself and ruled by love alone. His only desire was in the hearts of his followers.

He had worked tirelessly for India's freedom. He consistently told the British that if they would only set India free, Indians would gladly help Britain in all her troubles caused by the war. But the British Government would not listen. In a world so full of hatred and death they heard it hard to believe that there was one man who was absolutely truthful and honest.

Again Gandhiji told Satyagrahis by organizing a move-

ment of peaceful Satyagrahis to the Government's orders all over India, he tried to convince the British that India must be free without any more delay. But it was useless.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

The long years of hard toil had made Gandhiji an old man, though he was very healthy and still worked harder than any man.

Several times during these years of struggle he had fallen seriously ill. Many times he had been sent to jail. Many times he had fasted. But nothing had changed his determination to set India free. At the same time he had been continuously teaching Indians of all religions to live together in peace and love.

He had raised up great numbers of the poor Untouchables, making them understand that

they had every right to hold their heads up with dignity like other men. He forced Indians to respect them and allow them to enter the temples from which they had so long been shut out. He educated them, taught them handicrafts and proved that they were just as intelligent as other nations. For this alone work alone he deserves nobler fame—but it was only one of the wonderful things he did for India.

Since his head is chiefly a head of villages, he and his fellow workers taught the peasants how to make their villages into little earthly paradises. He wanted the villagers to be so content at home that they would no longer want to wander into the big cities to work in the factories and lose their health away from the green fields and pure country air. He wanted them to preserve their lovely handicrafts that they had learnt from their fathers and grandfathers, instead of learning how to work machines. He wanted them to understand the beauty of handmade cloth, pottery, furniture and even houses, and

explained how these things could all be made by themselves, so that no one could be without them, however poor he was.

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(To be continued)

"Coolies" Not Offensive Term

(Continued from first page)

Witness: It depends on circumstances how one feels about it. It is easier to write G.D.S.

Sergeant Mueller

The most famous Detective Sergeant Mueller however told the Court when questioned by Mr. Barnard that everyone knew that Indians regarded the use of the word "Coolie" as offensive.

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Judgment On Grahamstown Mixed Meeting

THE chairman of the Grahamstown Joint Council for Separation and Address, Alton Flet, was found guilty in Grahamstown Magistrate's Court of contravening the regulation which prohibits anyone from presiding at a meeting at which more than ten Africans are present. Flet was cautioned and discharged.

The proceedings followed a meeting organised by the Grahamstown Joint Council on April 11, 1957 at which 11 Africans were present. After the meeting, which was addressed by Professor R. McCleave, three members of the CID, one an African, took the names of the chairman, secretary and speaker and later Flet was charged under the regulation.

At the second hearing, the first having been adjourned, Alton F. O'Hagan, Q.C., who, like Mr. A. Kerr, was indicted for the offence, suggested that the charge was absurd since the regulation was originally passed with regard to meetings held by Africans.

The original suggestion, Mr. C. van der Woude, did not agree and the hearing was adjourned.

Unexpected

Prof. van der Woude, who is a senior lecturer in physics at Rhodes University, said that from past experience he had not expected more than ten Africans at the meeting.

"The African membership is only seven and accordingly the maximum allowed. Only six or seven members during the past two years has the African membership

exceeded ten," he said.

Advocate O'Hagan pointed out that Flet became chairman of the Council in 1955 and was not aware that the regulation affected the Council. He understood that no restriction in the number of persons was imposed by the regulations. They had been the rule in the past and had been known to be necessary. Flet would have complied with the law and applied for a permit.

Technical Offence

It was true that Flet had not checked on the numbers present at the meeting, but, if there had been 50 present he would naturally have noticed. One error, however, was not obvious and, therefore, the violation of the regulation was excused.

The case was treated by the magistrate as a technical one, but he stressed that the responsibility for knowing the number of the regulation applying to such meetings rested with the chairman and Flet was guilty of not having checked the number of Africans.

In discharging Flet, Mr. van der Woude cautioned him that in future, permission should be sought from the Native Commissioner when there was any likelihood of Africans exceeding ten at meetings.

All-India Congress Seeks Revitalisation

MR. U. N. DHAR, Congress President, recently said in Allahabad that the recent discussion on the revitalisation of the Congress organisation had a few bold new ideas.

Speaking at the Congress House, Mr. Dhar said that the two general elections had brought home the fact that unless drastic and radical overhaul was effected at the party set up, the Congress would cease to be an effective link between the people and the Government.

The obvious lesson could be ignored only at the peril of the organisation. It was overstated, the Congress would cease to be an effective link between the people and the Government.

The first aim of the proposed changes in the Congress constitution, which would come up for

discussion before the All-India Congress Committee and the primary Congress meeting, was:

1. Enlargement of local initiative and facilitating the throwing up of leadership from below.
2. Democratisation of election process.
3. Substitution of a "delegated democracy" and "proportional politics by democratic discussion and decentralisation."
4. Provision of an effective link between the people and the Government so that the defects in the would not reflect on the whole set.
5. Spreading of constructive activity from the Pradesh level to the village level.

Mr. Dhar said the proposals were not new, nor were they intended as a process for the party's organisational weaknesses.

Ghana Will Not Tolerate Subversive Activities

Accra.

ON August 4 Mr. Kofi Baidoo, the Minister of Broadcasting and Information made his first statement about the recent departure of Mr. Basil Timothy of the "Ghana Daily Graphic."

The statement declared that the Ghana Government was not prepared to tolerate subversive activities and went on to link the departure of Mr. Timothy with that of Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus. It stated "Would anyone be right to say that the departure of the Archbishop was the suppression of religious freedom? The Minister also said: "During my struggle for independence certain foreign newspapers were hostile to us and we have been led to believe that they have been special correspondents here who consistently and persistently had their papers which had and subversive news about Ghana."

"One wonders if these foreign papers which are now against the Government of Basilio Timothy wish us to be confined to our suspicion that he was not here to cause confusion in Ghana." It was also admitted that the Government had to consider the complete

over the incident in Basilio. For the British paper for which Mr. Timothy was Ghana correspondent was the "Sunday Observer," which, with Mr. Collins Lygon as its staff and frequent contributors from left wing as Foster Macdonald and Tom Molyneux, is one of the best papers one would expect of harboring hostile thoughts towards Ghana or the African liberation movements in general. Nevertheless it was good to have Mr. Baidoo reminding us now that the freedom of the press in Ghana was not in danger and that his personal welcome and valued constructive criticism.

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OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1925. Former Editor: Manilal Gandhi—1916-1929

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KAUNDA UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT AFRICANS WILL DO IF WELENSKY HAS OWN WAY IN 1960

IN the following excerpts from an interview he had with "Peace News" while in London recently, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Secretary-General of the ANC in Northern Rhodesia, explains some of the reasons behind the Africans' attitude to Federation.

"It is difficult to see the future," Mr. Kaunda told me, "and the Africans are getting more and more frustrated. When Federation was proposed there were protests but no action. It was very wrong to rely on that this time," he added quietly.

"It is very dangerous to say that Africans will do nothing when they see that their independence is going to the central Federation."

The white leaders, he insisted, do not mean well with the Africans. They speak of partnership, but every day there is apartheid.

There are 2,100,000 Africans in Northern Rhodesia, and 66,000 whites, and 7,000 Asians. Of the 30 seats in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, only four are held by Africans, and these are not chosen by direct election. They must be appointed by the Governor.

No African has a voice in how this money is spent.

The Africans do not have confidence in the selfish motives of the whites. "They have to show us that they deserve it,"

Mr. Kaunda listed a few facts on the difference between the wages and services to Europeans and to Africans.

There is discrimination in industry.

The European mine worker receives £200 per month while the African surface mine worker receives £24 per year and the African ground mine worker £95 per year.

Out of 35,000 to 4,000 Africans employed, only 270 receive £40 per month.

The ordinary African worker receives only £3 per month. There are 80 of the Africans employed by the Government who receive £30 per month, but the rest of the Africans in the civil service receive an average of £3 per month.

"The lighter ones' colour is, the better the treatment," he added.

In education, only 35,000 to 40,000 African children are well cared for. The rest often growing up in the new urban conditions will have difficulty in adjusting and developing social behaviour.

This was a deliberate policy on the part of the Government, he said, as part of the method of maintaining its supremacy.

Sir Roy Welensky the Prime Minister of the Federation, is in direct charge of the railways, and Mr. Kaunda, yet Africans are not being trained for posts, such as refuelling, which Africans are doing in Nyasaland and the Belgian

Congo. "Despite talk of partnership, the Government uses public funds to which Africans contribute—to bring in Europeans, who are no more trained than Africans" for these jobs. "Why not train the Africans?" asked Mr. Kaunda.

"Sir Roy does this because it is a political issue. These people then vote for him. He wants in ten years

(Continued on page 38)

HAJRAH BEGUM, India

"WHAT I saw at Port Said deeply shocked me. You know we have also fought British imperialism, but what we faced was arrest, prison and hanging. There was, of course, shooting and massacre but what I saw in Port Said exceeded in its barbarity and savagery anything we have ever faced. I think Port Said should be a lesson to not only the Egyptian and Arab people, but to all the Asian and African people. Somehow we have come to think that imperialism has had its teeth knocked out, and given up the direct methods of exploitation and slavery. We seemed to think that no more could the imperialists attack a people fighting

for freedom. Port said shows to what imperialism will go even when it is at its last breath. There is another aspect of this question. I have seen in Egypt the spirit of Bandung become a reality. What we dream of, what we hoped and wished for, has actually come to happen. In Cairo, when addressing a women's meeting, I was greeted with cries of "Long Live Nehru" from the audience. The simple message I had brought from the Delhi women's organisation was listed and honoured by ordinary women. Asian-African friendship is no longer a dream, it is a reality here in the streets of Cairo, in Port Said and in Delhi."

OPINION

FRIDAY, 23RD AUGUST, 1957

Franchise Problems

SOME of our readers have written to us what others have collected up in other ways to ask for an amplification of our attitude to the franchise problem as outlined in our issue of August 1.

We maintain at the very outset our belief that South Africa can survive as a viable State only if all its peoples belong to a society founded on democratic ideals whose universal adult suffrage would be based on a common voters roll. In such a society the race or colour of the citizen would be of an inconsequence whatsoever; it would certainly be no qualification for privilege nor would it constitute a bar to opportunity.

It is clear to us that in the present climate of opinion among all sections of the nation to jump from the harsh realities of the moment to the ideal just outlined would not be the wisest way of extending the area of liberty in the life of the nation. On the one hand it might give the majority group the green light to oppress the minorities while on the other it might confirm the worst fears of the latter and lead to civil war.

There are practical problems which necessitate tactical adjustments to the demands of bridging the gap between the ideal and the realities of the situation. The values which in our view do not involve compromise of principle. The problem hereafter one of finding a formula which makes possible a franchise starting-point on the march to our goal. Such a starting-point would be designed to convince the majority that that will still not be frustrated while ensuring the minorities that they are not being betrayed.

The underlying principle here is to ensure that no group was made to feel that it had been given a raw deal. The median voters roll as a starting-point would necessarily be a temporary measure, to facilitate transition to the time when such criteria would have been won.

As such a median roll would be essentially a matter of facts there is plenty of room on the democratic side for a variety of approaches. Parliamentary representation by the principle of parity could be used for a period of say, seven years. Or, qualifications could be imposed to lead the vote in favour of the minorities for a given period.

We must emphasize, these would be starting-points—to teach the various groups the habit of doing things together. It seems to us they are better ways of establishing democracy on solid foundations than giving the vote immediately to a majority which does not as yet enjoy the confidence of the minority groups.

As the matter is one of very great importance in view of the Johannesburg conference in November, we would like our readers to write in our columns and express their views on the whole franchise question.

Comment On Men And Events

Clarity On Interracial Conference

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

At the Johannesburg conference approaches the real issues which will have a bearing on future light. It is clear now, for instance, that there will be no need to agree on objectives on the part of a multi-racial society based on universal adult suffrage. It is clear also that it will not be the function of that conference to settle down to working out the details of how to get there. It will, however, be the duty of the conference to agree on a universal approach which would lead to a new constitution for a truly united South Africa. Finally, it is clear that the Johannesburg assembly will be called upon to bring the unity of Whites and non-Whites democrats into a weapon which would protect effectively before Whites South Africa's reality of diversity if apartheid is persisted in.

Most Important

The last task is perhaps the most important aspect of the conference. As Johannesburg the African delegates realised their opinion on their side had reached the point where agreement could be reached with apartheid on the African's own terms, the African side had reached the point where a coordinated the strongest single factor capable of keeping apartheid standing on its ground. For this other movement of his race, the African felt that he would as all humanly approach the other racial groups and learn from to join him in South Africa. He could approach them as an equal; as a champion of liberty who had proved in their eyes of struggle that he might as go to the future working for change the character of democratic and non-racialism influences.

His plan for an interracial conference was proof that national movements are not acceptable to the African community. It was also a warning for the creation of the second force with the potential to destroy apartheid—the unity of the Whites and the non-White democrats. That issue is the task of the Johannesburg conference to bring into being.

Questions

This raises upon a number of questions which require to be faced immediately. Are the non-apartheid forces ready for united action or as isolated elements?

Quite frankly I do not see how any realistic could ever see

that all of us who fight to oppose apartheid are ready for united action—that is, for belonging to a single organisation under one supreme commander. What I am certain we are ready for is co-ordinated action and collective leadership. I cannot ever imagine a united front where the British Colonial, for example, would agree to be led by men from the Congress of Democrats. Such, however, can belong to our front and be represented in its policy-making as given.

The real problem to be faced, against that background, will be to realize that the most important thing to do at this stage is to build up around, event to inspire, the nation groups to have confidence in the intentions of those they need to distrust and fight in this year, while openly acknowledging the reality of human differences of fundamental methods on this.

Tolerance and love adherence to democratic approaches will certainly go a long way towards removing the tensions which will inevitably creep up from time to time.

Africanists

The other systems the creation of the first crisis is. To what extent, really, will the new front have the backing of the bulk of the African people? It is quite possible that the united front might represent the feelings together of the more "liberal" sections of the African people—who necessarily set the political boundaries—and the other might groups a grouping which would not enjoy the real trust of the bulk of the African population. If the first danger as an ally group it will have played out the hands of the government—the one hand and, on the other, would give the Africanist cause as much as their own side the Johannesburg conference would matter less. As the representative who he could see the African for the African stage and face the united front with the reality of stereotypes.

The only answer is that only those men realize that not only the goals agreed upon must inspire African confidence, but the methods to reach them and the need behind all this must be inspired by the belief—which the African has long had—that non-racialism can be created in this country and apartheid destroyed.

(Continued on page 364.)

Prof Keppel-Jones Reports On Ghana

THE people of Ghana—the independent West African state—were here for South Africans to visit their country, particularly Natal, said Professor A. Keppel-Jones, Professor of History at the University of Natal, when he spoke to the Pietermaritzburg Rotary Club. Professor Keppel-Jones recently visited Ghana.

Professor Keppel-Jones said that relations between the White people in Ghana and the Africans there was the greatest obstacle to the visiting South Africans. Another great surprise was the lack of race consciousness on the part of the Africans, who, after all, was the color. In Ghana it was even realized that the African was perfectly South and was not holding South any resentment.

All the houses in Ghana were black and the White ones were often in the process of addressing Africans as "sir." But the African was not at all used by this practice of superiority.

Professor Keppel-Jones said that intermarriage was a startling thing in Ghana. One could meet an African with a British wife, or a European with a wife who came from West African stock. Yet there was no feeling in Ghana that this state of affairs was extraordinary. It was taken for granted.

Warm Welcome

Professor Keppel-Jones emphasized that for 500 years the Ghana people on the coast had been in contact with Europeans on a basis of equality.

An South African he had expected to be greeted with a somewhat hostile attitude. But that was not so at all. The

West African people were most generous and friendly, and warm in their welcome.

He pointed out that the people were critical of certain South African policies and they disapproved of some things they had heard.

Ghana was one of the few High Commissioner in South Africa, but they had some idea that such a move might result in embarrassment.

Civil Service

"Ghana is looking to South Africa for non-European for its Civil Service," said Professor Keppel-Jones. "An ordinary graduate out of university can command a starting salary of £60 a year in the Ghana Civil Service."

Dr. Mzimba's Government had made some threats about the way it intended to rule, but he thought that the people of Ghana would not accept political slavery or tyranny. Indeed, they were judging the political action very critically. He felt that the sympathy of the country was rapidly moving in support of the two opposition parties which might, he felt, have little use party later.

Professor Keppel-Jones said that one factor which had worried him was the evidence in Ghana of political corruption.

The proclamations were ready at that time but they have subsequently had to be drafted because of amendments to the Group Areas Act during the last session of Parliament.

Local Office Waits

In the meantime the local Development Board office with 14 officials, 10 of whom are on the permanent staff, is waiting for the proclamations so that it can begin its investigations. Among the Development Board functions are the making of a list of houses and occupation of affected properties on the day of proclamation. The Board was created to help control the disposal of affected properties

in group areas.

Mr. T. W. Crooke, regional representative of the Development Board in Durban, said that despite having a permanent staff of 15, the board would be hard pressed if the group areas were suddenly proclaimed in Durban. The proclamation would involve much field work by inspectors of the board, he said.

The proclamations are likely to be confined to areas announced for racial occupation after the 1957 group areas inquiry in Durban.

These include the main White residential areas of Durban North, Durban North and the Indian area of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

President's Independence Day Message

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, the President of India, called upon the people to sacrifice personal comfort for the sake of the nation's good. In a message to the nation on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of India's independence, Dr. Prasad stated that the difficulties in marshalling adequate resources to implement the second five year plan were a challenge to the people.

The hour of trial had come, he said, and India looked to each citizen to do his duty bravely and conscientiously.

The President expressed his confidence that Indians would not be bowed down by any difficulties but that the whole nation would rise to the occasion.

The following is the text of the President's message:

I send my greetings and good wishes to all my countrymen on this occasion, the tenth anniversary of our independence. This year we are also celebrating the centenary of the great Indian movement of 1857, and the close proximity of these celebrations with the independence day serves to enhance the significance of this occasion for us. This year's celebration has, therefore, been provided with an historical perspective, making our people more alive to the value of freedom and the need to preserve it.

Our country is up against some difficulties in marshalling adequate resources for implementing the second Five Year Plan. These difficulties, whatever their cause, are a challenge to our common resourcefulness and our people's determination to carry out the Plan in the interest of national development and the welfare of the country as a whole.

Let me remind you once and again of this, that political

freedom is not complete until it translates in the means to acquire economic freedom as well as that every citizen is guaranteed the maximum comfort of life and complete freedom from want.

This day is an occasion for national rejoicing. Let everyone feel happy, cheerful and buoyant. I wish you all the best of luck and greater happiness and prosperity in the coming year.

Clarity On Inter-racial Conference

(Continued from page 244)

only by a decisive demonstration of strength designed to confront apartheid with the reality of dissent.

Last Question

I have been asked the question: If the African nation is now strong, why does he want alliance with white groups? The answer is simple. If he fights alone and wins, that will be a victory for him; something he has consistently rejected since 1918. Such a fight might very well cause civil war; split the cause and distract world public sympathy. We must win war; we must peace to be able to make the best use possible of our lives. And we can get that only if we join hands with the minorities in the fight for liberty.

Durban Not Made Up Mind On Group Areas

ALTHOUGH the Durban City Council's Planning and Development Control Committee was told officially two months ago that the proclamation of the first group areas in Durban was imminent, there is still no definite indication of when the announcements can be expected.

Even the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. T. Dlamini, said recently that he was unable to give any hard date for the proclamations. He added, however, "they cannot be long now."

He said that the proclamations had been passed, but that there was a number of other considerations which might have caused the delay.

By mentioning the post-diffy

of having to make detailed surveys and the desirability of applying the Group Areas Development Act at the same time as the proclamations were made, this was Government policy, he said.

To anticipate the proclamation of group areas in Durban, an office of the Group Areas Development Board was set up in the city almost two months ago.

Devadas Gandhi: Fighter For Press Freedom

THE following article on the late Devadas Gandhi is culled from the "Times of India": Mr. Devadas Gandhi, youngest of the four sons of Mahatma Gandhi, was born in Darshan on May 25, 1905. He was brought up in the austere way of life which his father had adopted.

Gandhi refused to educate him in the conventional way and his education commenced, in the words of Mr. Devadas Gandhi, "according to the special ideas of his father."

When Gandhi returned to India, his son first joined the Gandhi in the Kagra Valley and later Rishikesh's Varanasi and Shantiniketan.

The best part of his life was spent in collaboration with Mahatma Gandhi in the political and social fields. He travelled with his father extensively to India.

In the political field, he had a special fondness for arms. He was imprisoned eight times during the freedom struggle and his own carry into prison was a pistol. He was released from a prison after the production of "Young India"

and Prof. Martin Nohel's "The Independence," both of which expounded the cause of independence ardently and campaigned for radical reforms in Hindu society.

Joining the "Hindustan Times" as secretary to its Board of Directors, he was soon elevated to the position of Managing Editor. He was then known as the man who had the authority of the nationalistic viewpoint and for the freedom of the press in the face of several restrictions imposed by the Government.

Once freed of the concept of court, he served a month's simple imprisonment but later volunteered himself before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

On another occasion, at the height of the nationalist move-

ment in 1942, Mr. Gandhi was arrested on a charge of violating a link of three columns imposed by the Government on news relating to the movement and the Government's intention to suppress it. A court discharged him on the ground that there was not sufficient material to sustain a conviction.

Besides directing the affairs of "The Hindustan Times", and its allied publications, he found time to make significant contributions to building up a nationalist press and several organisations connected with it.

Mr. Gandhi was intimately associated with the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society and the Asian Bureau of Circulation, and was at the helm of these organisations at various times. Before the Press Trust of India came into its own, he represented it on the Board of Directors of Reuters during the transition.

In the post-war years, the

Indian press faced an acute shortage of newspaper and Mr. Gandhi, as a member of a mission which toured Europe and the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, helped to secure for India a liberal quota of newspaper.

In 1950, he faced a larger forum to carry on his campaign for the freedom of the press. Mr. Gandhi was appointed member of the United Nations' Sub-Committee on the Freedom of Information, and attended its session in Moscow.

Mr. Gandhi's views on this subject are well presented in his book, "Rights and Responsibilities of the Press". His other publications include "Memories of Bapu" and "India Unconquered". Mr. Gandhi then occupied a leading position in Indian journalism for several years.

Mr. Gandhi was married to Lakshmi, daughter of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. He is survived by his wife, three sons and a daughter.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

The Ashram At Shegaon

CHAPTER XXIV

BECAUSE he always taught by example, Gandhiji went to live in a village himself to show people how they must live. He chose the tiny village of Shegaon in the Central Provinces. It was proved that there was not even a post office. It had no beauty and was terribly hot and dusty. There were no shady trees and only very little grass.

Two days after he wanted to go to make a village instead of choosing a beautiful place. His reason was simple. He wanted to show how even the poorest and ugliest village can be improved and turned into a place of

most precious value. For where Gandhiji was, all must be equal, both in the present and the simplest things.

Every member of the ashram had to work for half an hour daily. In Gandhiji's eyes spinning was one of the most important things in Indian life. He felt that if every Indian learned to spin, the problem of India's poverty would be solved. Every man, woman or child would then have a way of earning money whenever other work failed. And there would be no more starvation or distress for want of a change of clothing.

The little ashram at Shegaon described more and more. Gandhiji made it his headquarters. Slowly it had become a dispensary, a hospital, a dairy, a farm and a school. It was also the place to which thousands of people came like pilgrims, from all over the world, to see the great leader who ruled without by love alone. Great politicians and humble peasants came. Foreigners, Indians of all castes, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Some of them stayed for weeks and months. Some came to stay for ever. But no one was allowed to remain unless he agreed to lead a simple life of hard work in the service of others.

Meanwhile from this humble village, Gandhiji worked on his great work for the freedom of India. A most important part of this work was the great number of letters that had to be written daily to people all over the country, to Congress leaders, to friends, to helpers. The Congress looked up to him as their leader, teacher and father. They did nothing without consulting his views and wishes first.

As there was no post office at Shegaon, Gandhiji's secretary had to walk five and a half miles every day to the nearest post office, which was six miles called Vadga. This secretary, who was named Mahadev Desai, was one of Gandhiji's most faithful followers. Gandhiji loved him like a son.

Four Mahadev Desai mentioned to walk unconsciously to Vadga with his burden of letters every day, through the burning heat and dust of summer and the driving dews-

Place of Service

That was always Gandhiji's way. In all that he did he seemed to make things more beautiful than they were before he touched them. More beautiful—and more useful. The usefulness was what mattered to him, for he did not care at all for useless things, no matter how beautiful they were.

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(It is continued)

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beauty. Generally people don't care for anything or anybody which is ugly and poor. Gandhiji was not like that. He loved poor, ugly people and only wanted to make them into something better. Everything that was poor, weak and dirty, not touched his loving fatherly heart.

At first he did not mean that many people should be with him at Shegaon, but wherever he was, others came. He was so much loved that people would not leave him alone.

At first a little dispensary for poor folk villages was started. They could get free advice and medicines there. But more and more sick people came daily for advice, until Gandhiji felt it would be better to start a little hospital. He and his fellow workers gave the poor patients the best they had of everything and the tenderest care.

Sick people must have good milk. So a little dairy was started to provide this. There vegetables were planted and grown so that the little hospital could supply its own fresh vegetables.

Soon a new ashram was formed. An ashram, as I have told you, is a place where a number of people live together in a holy life of prayer and service to others. More and more people came to join this ashram, although the rules were very very strict. All must share in the daily household work, wash their own clothes, help with the milking and do even the house-

Kaunda Uncertain About What Africans Will Do If Welensky Has Own Way in 1960

him to justify his claim for the political power being in the hands of the Europeans."

The African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia attempts to counter this pressure. Their work is not easy. There are difficulties in raising funds and the ANC is banned in certain areas.

The future does not look very bright for the Africans, but despite this Mr. Kaunda said, "One does hope that things will change to show that the Africans' present fears are not justified."

In 1959 there will be a review of the Federation. "This Federation was imposed on the Africans because there was a political weakening among the Africans which the British wanted to stop before it got very bad," stressed Mr. Kaunda.

"If independence is granted in this multi-racial society in which only the Europeans have political power, it is difficult to see what the Africans will do."

"The ANC is carrying the people with it in the conventional

(Continued from front page)

way. We think the best way is that of non-violence, but how far we can go, with that we do not know.

"There is a growing group which thinks that the Executive of the Council is not going fast enough, and whether the present Executive will be returned in the next elections we cannot say."

"Harry Nkumbula has always insisted that the former must be non-violent," Mr. Kaunda told us. "He was under real pressure in 1955 when violence broke out in Nyasaland, but he insisted there must be no fighting."

"I am sure that that has a grip on the minds of the people now, but I am not sure how long that will continue. Others ask how much are they getting by these methods."

"If the Africans and Europeans both take extreme views, then what happens?" he asked.

The leaders of the ANC have

put proposals before the Government. Telegrams and letters have come from home to Mr. Kaunda and to Harry Nkumbula, the ANC President who was recently in London, stating that "If Mr. Bay goes on with his proposals on elections then our demand will be a vote for every man and woman."

"The leaders will be put before a meeting where we return and whatever is decided, the Executive will be bound to follow."

The ANC wants limited of the present Federation the development of constitutional and democratic forms of government throughout the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Then the people in these territories should have the right to decide whether to federate or not.

"During the next three years we will be having a real test time. If we can get through those three years there will be a lot to be said for those who have helped us to do so."

Basuto Getting Ready For Self-Government

A SPECIAL Committee of the Basutoland National Council is at present studying proposals for the granting of the Basuto people of a greater say in their own affairs.

This is the background to the announcement by the Acting High Commissioner, Mr. T. V. Sorrensen, that Basutoland might receive representative government.

A Basutoland Government spokesman in Maseru recalled that the Home Secretary's report on changes in the administration of the territory had been carried down by the council. The council was then asked to make suggestions, and it appointed a special committee to do so.

The committee, the spokesman said, was now engaged on its task. It was difficult to say when it would finish, but it would not be in time for the next meeting of the council next month.

Such proposals as are approved by the council will be submitted to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for his consideration.

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કોલકાતા અને

આપણું કુટુંબ,

કોલકાતા અને આપણું કુટુંબ,

૨૬ મેન્સફીલ્ડ રોડ, કોલકાતા ૧૦૧ અને ૧૦૨
અને ૧૦૩ નંબરોએ સેવક કરીને આપણે સેવક.

કેપીટલ્સ બાલકની હોટેલ

(ધી રોડ નંબર ૧૦૧ અને ૧૦૨)

૨૬ મેન્સફીલ્ડ રોડ, કોલકાતા ૧૦૧ અને ૧૦૨

ફોન નંબર ૨૩૪૫૩ ટેલિફોન: KAPITAN.

હોટની મોટામાં મોટી વિમાની કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

— 41 —

ન્યુ ઇન્ડિયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

ଜୁଏଲି ଶିଖରୀ

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના એક જ મુખ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

इस्तमञ्च जलभाई इस्तमञ्च

੧੪੦ ਭਵੀਨ - ਸਟੀਟ.

કરખાનું - નાટાલ

सेवां अपने निर्भरता

માટે જામને મળી.

અધી મલના વિભાગો અને ઉત્તરીયે પીએ.

પી. એ. બોક્સ ૧૬૧૦.

रेसीडेन्स : १११ एलेवनथ गिबन्स.

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मैप्लिस १' एमएम

रेखांकित : २६४१८

હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

출판사 : 9 9

अथैव नृप ?

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- તપાસી ખાતીની સમીક્ષા—અનુસંગ જમીન સર્વેક્ષણ, અનુસંગ રેલાય, મેક્સીમ, સીટીંગ, અગ્રીની, જમીનપત્રીક, હોર પાલમ, રેલી પેરામ વગેરે ઉત્પત્તિ દીક્ષામાં ખાતીની સમીક્ષા કરાશે.
- જાને અગ્રીની મેક્સીમ—અનુસંગ મેક્સીમ, રેલામી હોર પાલમ, જમીન રેલા પાલમ, જમીની હોર : રેલી પેરામ સીમેની વગેરે આજર્જી રૂપમાં ખસશે.
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- તપાસી રૂમી માટે બેસાડીક તપાસ રેલાયું કાપા થાને વિષ્ણુ રૂપમાં ખસશે.
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ଦୁଇମାସ ପରିସେ-୧୮୫୫ର ଶିକ୍ଷା
 ୩୫୫, ୩୫, ୩୫, ୩୫
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“जो नर आहूँ भी

鳴謝 李卓人 先生

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અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની શીઝા બીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખા દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઅન જોગન મળી શકશે.

વંચ પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણુંની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાટે મળી શકશે.

બોર્ડીંગ અને લોકોંગની સગવડ

કાલથી બોર્ડીંગે ખસ પર્સનની આપવામાં આવશે. વિવાધરિતિ અને રાક્ષોને વધુ પર્સનની આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે સાવ દુરુપ વર્ગની લોકોમાં આવશે. આપણીમાં નહીં અને આધુનિક ઢંગળું ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. રેરામાં જતાં જમર તે રેરામાંથી આવતા ઉતારમાં માટે કુદમળને રહેવા મળે. રહેવાની તેમજ ખાણની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે રેરાની લોકોમાંથી લોકોમાં, અને કાલી તેમજ વાચાની રાત્ર, ખારેક, પાલક, અને બાલેલી, વિશેષ સખોલિ હોય.

ધરતું અથિલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપા હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બોર્ડીંગની શીઝા અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ બાટે જાઓ.

Not a day passes over the earth but man and woman of no note do great deeds, speak great words and suffer noble sorrows.

—Charles Reade.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933

Former Editors: Manilal Gandhi—1916-1933

No. 34—Vol. LV.

Friday, 30th August 1957

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NAT OUTLINES PLAN FOR KEEPING COLOURED IN THEIR PLACE

WITH the enactment of separate representation for Coloured voters in the Cape the problem of race relations has entered a new phase, says Mr. P. W. Botha, M. P. for George, in an article in the *Kruisroep* (official organ of the Nationalist Party).

Mr. Botha stated that following the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Afrikaner would have to take stock of his own attitude toward the Coloured people and would have to choose one of five possible broad policies for the Coloured people.

Because of the malicious propaganda of the Opposition parties the protracted struggle over the question of separate representation severely damaged relations between the Afrikaners and the Coloured people, says Mr. Botha.

It had the further disadvantage of leading many Afrikaner Nationalists to the false conviction that separate political representation held the answer to the problem.

Though this notion was very stupid ("baie dwaas") it must be acknowledged that a successful conclusion of the struggle laid a new foundation for the building of healthier relations.

Entranged

Of necessity the old system of common voters roll entranged the Afrikaners and Coloured people from each other.

Among the Afrikaners it created a sense of danger and lessened their sympathy and goodwill towards the Coloured people, even in such an essential service as missionary work.

Among the Coloured people the Common Roll—especially as a result of hostile propaganda—caused a feeling that the Nationalist Afrikaner was a threat.

"The result is that two national groups who should be united by bonds of culture, religion, language and manner of living have become hostile towards each other."

Naturally, says Mr. Botha, the backwardness of the vast majority of Coloured people also created a feeling of contempt for the Coloured community in many Whites.

Advanced

"Consequently," he adds, "many Whites lost sight of the fact that, especially in the cities, there is a group of Coloured people who have advanced along the road of civilisation."

"The Afrikaner and this last group are relative strangers to each other with

the result that these Coloured people, who are the leaders of their community, have leaned increasingly towards the English culture and way of life."

Communist doctrine, especially among Coloured teachers, also contributed to the estrangement of the Coloured people from the Afrikaners.

"In the new phase introduced by the passage of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act the Afrikaner will have to take stock of his own attitude," says Mr. Botha.

"He will have to decide whether his old prejudices are still justified, whether his responsibility has not increased and, above all, whether he is prepared to accept the potential alliance of a million Coloured people."

"The Afrikaner will have to choose one of five possible broad policies for the Coloured people."

"He must reject and fight the punch of Communism which leads to revolution and a black state."

"He must reject the United Party and Liberalist conceptions of a homogeneous population in which the integration of 1,000,000 backward Coloured people must drag the Whites down

to a lower standard of civilisation."

"He must reject any policy aimed at the suppression of the Coloured people."

"He must reject also the 'apartheid-liberalism'—the current among Afrikaner intellectual circles."

Proponents of this concept proposed direct representation of the Coloured people in Parliament and Provincial Councils and "talked openly of absorbing enlightened Coloured people into the national life of the Afrikaner."

Nationalist Way

"Fortunately, however, there is a fifth way open to the Afrikaner—the way of 'parallel development'—the way of the Nationalist Party."

"This postulates that the Coloured people must be represented by Whites because of their immaturity and because they must develop as a separate group."

"The Coloured people must be helped to become independent in their own settlements and separate residential areas. Certain work must be reserved for them as the Industrial Conciliation Act envisages and they must develop a sense of their own worth."

(Continued on page 374)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 30TH AUGUST, 1957

Citizens' Duty To Treason Suspects

THE way in which the treason trials are going is creating a situation which should move every citizen out of gao! into realising that apart from the complicated legal procedures is a story of human suffering about which something must be done by citizens on both sides of the colour line.

Most of the 156 men and women facing trial are people of limited means. A large number of them have families to support. Their being involved in the trials has created a situation where their families have been exposed to great hardships. Apart from this there are the very heavy legal costs. The State alone has, according to Press reports, already lost about £30,000 on the trials. The figure on the defence side must reach staggering proportions.

Before these men have been found guilty they are presumed innocent. For this reason people should not be afraid to give help, lest they get in the bad books of the rulers.

The call of the moment is for contributions in cash—to keep the treason suspects properly fed; to cover their travelling costs to and from court; to pay their rent; to pay their lawyers and, finally, to see to it that their families at least have the necessities of living.

Appeals have been made from time to time by the Trustees of the Treason Trials Fund for help. We wish to support these very strongly and to add that those who have should give until it hurts. The appeal goes to rich and poor alike.

Apartheid Election

SOME time back the Prime Minister announced that the Nationalist Party would ask for another mandate to give the country more apartheid. In other words this sorely-tried country will be torn asunder by racial strife for the next five years.

Every reasonable man realises that this is political madness. It is fashionable because race in this country determines right and wrong. In those circumstances injustice can continue to be done to millions of human beings who do not have the vote—until when?

Political madness is the order of the day because power reposes in race and not in the hands of its true guardians the people to whom it belongs. And where this is the case political morality is often cast to the winds. The selfish interests of those with the vote alone matter. Thus, while the country is steadily losing foreign investments and poverty among the majority increases and with it disease, the lords of apartheid can waste time

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Unique Elections

By JORDAN K. NOURANE

THE general elections next year will be somewhat unique in South African political history. The ruling Party has announced that it will fight them on apartheid. The official opposition has replied by talking of Senate reform; of giving back to the Coloureds the vote on the common roll and suggesting a slightly improved form of Senate representation for the Africans.

There is not much real difference between the United Party and the Nationalist Party in very many aspects of the race question. Consequently events might develop in such a way that in the end we might find the United Party voting with the Nats in saying who should give back to the Africans—say in the form of the educational vote. All this, of course, is the usual thing which happens in South African general elections.

The new factor, which introduces the element of uniqueness is the interracial conference to meet in Johannesburg. It will not concern itself with the shibboleths of one side and the worn-out platitudes of the other. It will strike out along a new route in the history of South African political developments. It will bring into being the second mighty force with the potential to bring apartheid crashing to the ground—the united action of White and non-White democrats.

It could do more than this. It could force the franchise issue within the realm of practical politics. The Nationalists obviously want to have nothing to do with it. The United Party is not too sure about what it wants, precisely. It will be far the closest vote possible that red adjectives for South Africa lies in a multi-racial society based on universal adult suffrage as a common voter's roll.

Such a goal will certainly inspire African confidence. And one of the most important goals the front will have to set itself will be to win African confidence. To overcome the masses of Africa that working with their co-operation all race does not in any way divide their goals; that in fact, it takes them in their destination quicker, more practically and, therefore in a cheaper way.

If the Africans can mobilise—and he can—the forces he marshalled in the Alexandra boycott behind the demand for adult universal suffrage backed fully by the White and Indian demo-

crats, 1961 progress forward can be registered.

For too long a time most democrats have been concerned with the effect demands for universal adult suffrage would have on White opinion. I am one of those who have taken the line that we should temper our determination with realism. But after Strijdom's clear statement that he is going to treat us to another five years of this hated thing called apartheid, I am convinced that it is a waste of time to try and reason with his like. It is unrealistic to expect people who think as he does ever to reason at all on the race question.

These people are hostile to the franchise of any sort and there is not the slightest chance that they would ever be prepared even to consider the principle of extending the franchise to the mass of colour. Thus, whether we ask for the qualified franchise or for universal suffrage, their reaction is exactly the same. A solid wall of coercion.

I realise myself that it is not absolute waste of time to give to our goals a few acceptable to majority White opinion. That will never happen. Against this background we might as well stick to our ultimate goal.

We shall be attacked most viciously and called unending and worse. That is, if we are lucky. The chances are that a new witch-hunt for so-called "communists" will be let loose on the country and the advocates of universal adult suffrage might find themselves galled up for more serious things or the other. What will it all mean?

One thing good might be that a clear stand on the franchise issue could quite successfully drive it to the fore in the mind of the ruling community and swing opinion away from childish things in which apartheid delights, to things that really matter.

Press Review

Public Opinion In S.A. Out Of Touch With Modern World

Two important British newspapers—"The Times" and "The Manchester Guardian"—have published comments on the United Party's race policy which should be carefully studied by the U.P. leaders.

Referring to Sir de Villiers Graaff's statement, the "Times" says "something much more far-reaching is needed" if South Africans are to be freed from the disabilities of being a small minority in a multi-racial society.

Under the headline "Possibilities as First Minister," the paper says:

Graaff is the significant note of the statement made at Bloemfontein by Sir de Villiers Graaff, the leader of the United Party.

He announced that a special party meeting in closed session, had approved proposals for creating a new Senate in which non-White people would be represented. But representatives would not be elected, only Whites would be eligible as members.

Deep Malaise

As a declaration of policy by Opposition based some year with a general election this, it must be generally hoped, is no more than a first instalment.

Something much more positive and more far-reaching is needed if South African elections, when they go to the polls, are to be freed from the disabilities of their present in a multi-racial society in which they form a small minority.

Sir de Villiers Graaff is a vigorous man, well aware of the real issues that he belated the preliminary questions which have been asked about the Nationalist front last year.

The policy of the Senate and the passing of a drastic measure of franchise laws are only symptoms of a deep underlying, and growing malaise.

It is the duty of a political Opposition to bring the inevitable consequences of this malaise to the surface for public discussion.

Ostrich Policy

What was to be said there closed doors reflected, as clearly, the political nature of the defence in which the United Party stands?

In leader has the support of some colleagues who know as well as he does what is at stake. But they have, as responsible

politicians, to reckon with the stark real life of Opposition members, and with the serious, un-sentimental mind of many of their supporters in the country.

If they moved, however tentatively, in the direction of suggesting that the Black majority cannot be kept indefinitely in political subordination they would unquestionably raise a storm.

If they threw over the existing policy of arguing that the Whites are not a permanent factor in the life of the Union, they would have to face a violent attack from Natives.

Sorry Truth

The sorry truth is that South African public opinion, taken as a whole, is out of touch with the modern world. This would not matter if the modern world could be kept at arm's length. But it cannot.

"South Africa cannot even shelter her doors to India, Japan, China and elsewhere—much less from other parts of her own continent."

There is little reason to expect that Mr. Strydom and his followers will be deflected by these considerations from the political course which they are following with such unflinching self-sufficiency.

The responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the Opposition is thus grave and burdensome.

No Escapes

But there is no escape in the public life of any nation from the duty of forming convictions and of putting them to the test at the polls. If the Opposition do this, they might well face the coming general elections. But it will be surprising if they do not do that anyway.

The time for weakness is over whatever.

The atmosphere of South African affairs—hardly laden at the moment with despondency about long term prospects—would be cleared and made more healthy if these political leaders who know quite their minds.

By doing so—and in no other way—they will strengthen their claims of having, one day, a government.

Defensive

"The Manchester Guardian" is as editorial on the Bloemfontein congress, says:

"The Manchester Guardian" is distinct questioning of the Liberal spirit in its special campaign in Bloemfontein hardly as much as had been hoped, or as is needed to lead South Africa out of its present danger.

Perhaps there is more to come before the congress starts.

The party's attitude seems essentially defensive. Except for Mr. Oppenheimer's paper (the

symptoms and camouflage of a stable urban African population), it looks towards a return of the "status quo ante" rather than towards a new equilibrium.

One can understand how retreating forces within the party make it difficult to show a bolder front. But it is doubtful whether there is enough here to rally hesitant European voters, and there is certainly nothing to show what Sir de Villiers Graaff has called "the stream of Black nationalism," running ever more strongly. *Saga Reuter.*

Apartheid Election

(Continued from previous page.)

talking about apartheid buses; apartheid trains, apartheid in Nanking and apartheid where it should not be.

As long as the believers in democracy are not effectively organised, as long as they are afraid or hesitant, as long as they do not realise that they have it in their power to destroy apartheid, the fashionable political madness will continue to stalk the land unchecked until rule and chaos descend on this fair land.

The thing to do is to organise effectively and drive a little more consciousness into the thick political skulls of the men of apartheid.



Whichever, wherever infection threatens, Dettol and soaps are the effective antiseptic preparations. Nothing is left to chance. Almost every hospital and clinic, in Southern Africa, and in many countries overseas, relies on Dettol. This pleasant, non-corrosive fluid, deadly to germs, is known to the doctors because it keeps the germs away. In the home, as in the hospital, Dettol is the safe way to safety.

DETTOL

THE ANTISEPTIC DOCTORS USE

London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Accra

THE most important news from Africa to reach here this week has been of riot and anti-Government demonstrations in the capital of Ghana, and a proposal by the Government to give itself the power to deport without trial at the right of appeal.

A hostile crowd gathered outside the National Assembly building in Accra on August 26, and burned and looted at the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, when he arrived for an emergency meeting of Parliament. Despite police transactions outside the crowd gathered again to harass the Prime Minister as he left at the close of the day's session. Two sets of two other members of a Parliamentary Police Security were killed. Young men and women used placards through a long line of policemen. The placards bore such inscriptions as "Down with despotism," "Care of democratic government," and "Stop deporting strangers." The texts of this were in fact in the deportations of Basile Takyi, deputy editor of the Ghana "Daily Graphic," and a remark that the Government intended to give itself the power to arrest Opposition members and other critics and put them in security prison.

Meanwhile, on the same day in the Ghana Supreme Court, Mr. Geoffrey Blain Q.C. (until recently a Labour Member of Parliament in Britain), appearing for the Ghana Ministry of the Interior and Justice, the Attorney General, was granted leave by the Chief Justice to bring writs of habeas corpus against the editor of the "African Pioneer" and Mr. Lou Galvin, correspondent of the British Commonwealth paper the "Daily Telegraph." Mr. Blain asserted that the publication in the "African Pioneer" which is a pro-Opposition paper published in Kumasi on August 15 and 17 apparently contained contempt of court and "constituted an assault by implying imputations." His assessment against Mr. Galvin were based on a report in the "Daily Telegraph" of August 13 concerning the deportation of two Muslim leaders, Abba Sabu and Abba Lulama.

Her day after was said to be a game of soccer and large numbers

of anti-belated police with transducers were still patrolling the city in trucks. Violence on the route between Parliament House and Christ Church, the official residence of the Prime Minister, were being searched by the National Assembly. Dr. Nkrumah announced that, in view of the "displeasure" developing on the deportation proceedings against the two Muslims, the Government would introduce a bill on the following day which would deal specially with the situation. The Prime

Parsee New Year

On September 1st Parsees throughout the world will celebrate their New Year. We wish our Parsee readers and friends a 'very Happy New Year'.

Nkrumah stated that violence and anarchy had already taken place on the occasion of the previous meetings of the parliament in Kumasi, and referred to the violence and anarchy in the Assembly the previous day. Also making the announcement, in which he said that as much as the proposed bill had been passed and royal assent given, the deportation order would be revoked and the two men dealt with under the new law, the Premier left the House.

The first reading of the new bill took place in the House on August 12, after a Government motion to introduce it had been passed by 15 votes to 25. In moving it Mr. Kwe Ninsin, the Leader of the House, indicated that the programme of the House was to read in the bill being passed within two days, a guarantee being imposed if necessary. The bill itself proposes to give the Government power under which it may detain by ministerial order "without appeal or review in any court." Undoubtedly the bill tends to circumvent the difficulties which have arisen in the case of Sabu and Lulama, who have been fighting their deportation orders in the courts on the grounds that they are citizens of Ghana. The Government

claims that they are alien. In effect the bill, said Mr. Adu, the Minister of the Interior and Justice, was designed to enable him to "take such measures as are necessary." After a deportation order had been made, the deportees could be "apprehended, detained and moved in such manner as circumstances might require." No order made under the act would be subject to appeal or to review in any court.

Professor Buni, the Leader of the Opposition and the spokesman of a section of the public of which the world would take notice. The right to trial and freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment or deportation were freedom and civil liberties. Take away these liberties and there would be no democracy, for democracy rested on these fundamental liberties.

The measure of liberal opinion in Britain (and opinion was friendly to Dr. Nkrumah and Ghana at that) has been pronounced. It was eloquently expressed in a "Blackman," Guardian editorial on August 26: "If the bill is passed there seems nothing on the face of it to prevent the Minister from deciding almost anybody an alien—and nobody is to be deported. That is bad enough in it made other worse by the Ghana Government's recently created difficulty for deportations orders is a convenient way—on it looks from the outside—of getting round it to its opponents. And later Prime Minister could use the power much more cynically than Dr. Nkrumah may be tempted to do. His critics must recognize that his task is as hard as any Government leader's in the world today. He must be able and able to do by force among politicians and society. It is no affair of all Africa that democratic government shall pass worthless in Ghana, for it is a new case. The bill, besides giving openings to lawyers, will increase divisions. Dr. Nkrumah should aim to it in action or he has risked to others and get rid of it."

London

A "Blackman" Guardian editorial on August 14 said: The United Party has shown a distinct weakening of the liberal spirit as its special congress in Birmingham, lately as much as had been hoped, as it is needed to lead South Africa out of its present darkness. Perhaps there is more to come before the resolute change but so far, there main points have emerged. The first is that the Coloured voters, whom the Nationalists attack

from the common roll in the Cape, should be secured to it, and vote for members of the Assembly, so they need to do. This is sensible. The second is that the Senate should be re-constituted so that one quarter of its members should represent the Coloured people (as the point is not yet put—it is all non-European), though only white should be eligible for election. Moreover would be taken to make it harder to get constitutional amendments past the new Senate than past the old one, which the Nationalists were able to swamp. If this would be a barrier to change, it might equally be a barrier to progress. Thirdly, there is the common and racial advantage outlined by Mr. Oppenheimer a week or so ago—the acceptance and encouragement of a stable urban African population, ending their own homelands alongside the predominantly European industrial centres, and the abandonment of the outdated assumption that African industrial workers are merely migrants from the reserves and need no family housing and other social facilities. This is all, of course, much better than Nationalist policy. But the Party's attitude seems incredibly defective. Except for Mr. Oppenheimer's point, it looks towards a return of the "status quo ante" rather than towards a new equilibrium. One can understand how comforting forms within the Party make it difficult to show a bolder front. But it is doubtful whether there is enough here to satisfy honest European voters, and there is certainly nothing to show what the de Villiers Group had called "the stress of black nationalism, raising ever more strongly."

Not Guiltless Plan For Keeping Coloureds In Their Place

(Continued from front page)

To achieve this Mr. Ratha suggests the following practical steps:

Politically the Afrikaner must give practical proof of his goodwill.

Coloured education must be taken over by the sub department of Coloured affairs, which must be promoted to a full department.

A scheme must be evolved for more efficient control of the supply of liquor to Coloured people.

The Government of Northern Cape the Western Province must be stopped.

Ten Years Of Independence

13

FIRCALLY, something about the problem that has been hindering the politics of both India and Pakistan these last ten years—Kashmir. It is generally recognised that India's juridical claim through the Maharaja's accession is far stronger though usually weakened by not overlooking of similar demands on scores by the rulers of Jammu and Hyderabad. In consequence it should be said that neither of these had common features with any Pakistan territory. The Pakistan contention is that, the majority of Kashmir's population being Muslim, they do not

by potential enemy forces adds several hundred miles to the country's already vulnerable frontiers; whereas Pakistan's claims in Kashmir do not pose the same threat to India.

On the Indian side there is a great deal too much harping over the legalities involved. Far more substantial is India's fear that the issue as a whole would be bound to become communal (religious). This would necessitate the most inflammatory element into India's politics, namely which Government's policies of division (they are many and complex) would be desired. Millions of Muslims would have to be uprooted and millions of Hindus would have to be uprooted and millions of Muslims would have to be uprooted and millions of Hindus would have to be uprooted.

C. W. M. GILL

desires to be put under Indian rule by the whim of a Hindu ruler and that, since the verdict, India has been ordered by UNO (and had, indeed, agreed) to hold a plebiscite. To which India retorts that Pakistan allowed her tribes to invade Kashmir, thus demonstrating aggression, treating the Maharaja to arrest and then the cruel pogroms to welcome liberation from Indian rule by the Indian Army. Pakistan, says India, must admit that she was an aggressor and withdraw her troops deep that point of Kashmir the new India before a plebiscite can be considered. In the meantime there was not the very odious spectacle of the originally pro-Indian Sheikh Abdullah being deposed and arrested for calling 'murderers' when he betwixt India and Pakistan, and the present Bahadur Government promptly ruling by virtue of Indian bayonets and rigid elections (all pro-Pakistan and pro-Ahmadis' candidates being disqualified).

I am not here going to adjudicate between the rival claims. What is more, there was it is understood the greatest anxiety underlying the existing rigidities of attitude. On the Pakistan side it is possible that there will be some leniency, even perhaps over the Indian rule among the Kashmiris. On the national level they just for possible some favour with the handovers of the Church and British assets on which funds, no-doubt used in the Punjab depend for agitation. Even Kashmiri made red shirts too much used to South-west, symptoms of the state

Western doctrine and the politics and administration of a modern state during the last 100 years which gave them the group's superiority over the one-quarter Muslim minority of undivided India's population. And it was the selfishly acknowledged that in which the Hindu-dominated Congress put its interests in the first years of provincial self-government (1937-47) has finally decided the Muslim League to opt for partition. The British had doubtless their share of the blame, both for having said Kashmir to the Dogra ruler of Jammu after the Muslim and for having sometimes yielded (perhaps not unreasonably) to the temptation to divide and rule in between Hindus and Muslims. Nothing in the last 100 years divided India so severely as religious communalism.

In view of all that has happened before and after independence it is more than necessary to think now in terms of re-orientation. But only, I believe, along some such lines (perhaps, perhaps) will the Kashmir problem and several other communal wounds among our all provinces be ever healed. If, however, communalism is not in the place, it will require the more considerable imagination from the stronger

party—India—in order to allow the Pakistan's past fears of Muslim being a perpetually dominated and under-privileged minority.

Dalies Salutes India On Tenth Independence Day

SECRETARY of State Dalles has saluted the achievements of India during the first decade of its independence as "an inspiration to freedom-loving people everywhere."

The secretary's salute came in a personal congratulatory message sent to India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as the centennial of India's first anniversary of independence.

The text of Secretary Dalles' message reads partly by the State Department follows:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you and to the people of India, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States greetings and best wishes on the tenth anniversary of India's independence. Under past distinguished leadership the achievements of India during the first decade of its independence have been an inspiration to freedom-loving people everywhere.

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Wants To Turn Pakistan

the World Bank has put forward some proposals which must be heavy burdens on India and put her at the risk of losing what has been again accepted this subject to certain minor matters to be discussed."

Desert

The Prime Minister announced that "For the Pakistan people the USA saying that we can have an independent Pakistan into a desert or cutting off waters or making the Pakistan population suffer untold misery, it seems to be nonsense, it is going very very far from the truth. It is really a fancy idea which should not be normally brought into play when dealing with real matters of fact. I have noted this tendency on the part of the Pakistan Prime Minister."

"It is not a question of difference of opinion" said Mr. Nehru. "We differ in many ways, we differ on the whole of our outlook on life, ways of life and thought, but there are certain standards which must

ally should be kept by the people who occupy responsible positions. I regret that these standards are being repeatedly ignored."

India Appoints High Commissioner To Ghana

New Delhi.

INDIA'S new High Commissioner to Ghana is Mr. Balraj Krishna Kapur, at present Ambassador to Holland. He will take charge in October.

India has had a commission at Accra for the Gold Coast and Nigeria for a long time. But on Ghana's independence this function was raised to a High Commission.

Mr. Kapur, 47, served in the Indian Political Service to various capacities between 1936 and 1945. He was appointed Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in 1946. The same year he went to the United Nations as Secretary to the Indian Delegation.

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Qns Give Impressions On Moscow

which after attending the Moscow conference recently and for an interview by journalists from leading newspapers the young Quakers

and credit to a world-famous leading statesman, David Rapson, a 24-year-old medical student from Kingston-on-Thames, told the Press men that the group

Long Discussions

Red discussions with young Quakers, which "gave the participants a very good insight into the constructive possibilities."

He felt that many of the Russians they met didn't fully understand what was meant by "peace and friendship," a last-minute slogan, but were sincere as to they did understand.

They found quite a degree of interest in something as simple as the young Quakers' message, both in the spiritual and the political field.

Concluded that the majority appeared to be behind the regime, interested in its situation, but not a member of the government.

Concluded that young Quakers did not seem to have any

exception of what a young Christian was. They knew only of the Russian Orthodox Church, "a rather dead organisation."

Had met Victor Rapson, one of a group of young Russians who had come to Britain as the guests of British Young Friends in 1954.

Christianity And Communism

Was able to have much more informed discussions about Christianity and Communism with our Chinese delegates than with the Russians.

Rejoiced to have a work camp in Kharin in the future along the same lines as those now popular in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Other members of the group were Miss Jean Jacobi, solicitor's clerk from Hull and member of the Pacific Youth Action Group, Mr. David Bloor, analytical chemist from Leeds;

Miss Dorothy Woodall, school teacher from Birmingham; Mr. Philip Morris, school teacher from Tewkesbury; Miss Mary Field, school teacher from Fife.

David Bloor was unable to be present.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life The Gandhian Way Of Life

CHAPTER XXV

GANDHIJI did many great and wonderful things throughout the whole of his life. He was like a king among the great political men of India and so much they could not kill him. He was known to people all over the world. He was known to a thousand different ways and he always will be. But the things that we have just about him mean all to be connected with his life at Sevagram. I think this is because he was nearest to us there.

We suggest all be politicians, or lead millions of people. We suggest all be heroes and fight for the freedom of the oppressed. But we can, each one of us, make life happier for those around us. We can all look after our neighbours when he is sick, teach the ignorant, resist the oppressors, and keep all round us fresh, alive and happy. We can all be kind, patient and loving. We can all be truthful, humble and cheerful. These are the greatest things in life, because without them the world would never be

happy. And these are the things that Gandhiji did every day of his life, for years and years, at Sevagram.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corrie

We know that if we all lead a life of simple goodness and truthfulness, as he did, India would become a paradise. It would not be an easy thing, either. The only trouble is that we are too lazy. Gandhiji wanted us to do it, although he was the busiest man in India. But of all, he made people see the greatness and beauty of goodness, so that everybody who met him began to imitate him.

Those who had the happiness of being at Sevagram with him are never tired of repeating their tale of his greatness. When we hear them, we try to have been able to live there too. Now that Gandhiji is no more with us we must study these stories carefully and we learn why it was that Sevagram seemed like

heaven to earth. Then, if only we copy Gandhiji in all the little things of life and teach our dear one to do the same, we shall find our own homes turning into little Sevagrams of peace and happiness.

Gandhiji was very strict in allowing no unnecessary luxury at Sevagram. As far as possible he liked people to make for themselves whatever things they

needed.

Everything had to be spoken of aloud, too. He would not permit the smallest speech of dirt anywhere. He wore round everybody in wear white clothes so that it could be seen at once when they were dirty.

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(To be continued)

Timetable Demanded For Language Changeover In India

THE GOvt Language Commission has recommended that the Government of India should draw up without delay a "roadmap plan of action," including time schedules, for the linguistic changeover envisaged in the constitution.

The Commission, which was headed by the late Mr. B. G. Kher, in its report says, "Whatever the reasons for the confusion in this part to draw up such a specific plan of action aimed at the eventual accomplishment of the change-over envisaged in the Constitutional provisions, such a plan, and within the plan time schedules (with a due measure of flexibility) as well as definite targets, should now

be drawn up without delay, and under continuous review and urgently passed hereafter."

The commission has expressed the view that it is neither necessary nor possible for it to prescribe now whether a general changeover from English to Hindi would be found preferable by 1965. This, the Commission says, will depend on the efforts made in that direction in the meantime.

The 55-member commission, however, affirming that in the light of the fully demonstrable facts of Indian policy, as established under the Constitution, it is not possible to continue English as the language of India's mass medium. The programme of compulsory elementary education can be conceived only in terms of Indian languages.

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India Letter

[From Our Own Correspondent]

HOW OUR PRIME MINISTER SPENDS HIS DAY

DELHI: 67-year-old Nehru is a busy man's busiest person and among the first those of the world's busiest Prime Ministers. His working day, and for him all the 365 days a year are working days, stretch late 17 or 18 hours, and the pressures mounted steadily through each day month, year after year. Here is how he spent a typical day, 28th March, 1957.

Early in the morning he did his yoga exercise and went through all the Delhi newspapers.

Before 8 a.m. he was in his study to sign letters and dispatches which he had dictated late the previous night. Then he had a quick breakfast with his daughter.

At 8.45 a.m. he received a number of beautiful letters at his official residence. They had come from his wife and sons, some from his dear view of "Pondicherry" as he is affectionately known to his friends in his country; others with petitions and grievances. All get a prompt bearing.

Half an hour later he was at his desk in the Foreign Office to go through telegrams and cables to receive Dr. Von Bismarck, the German Foreign Minister.

From 9.30 a.m. to nearly 11 a.m. the two statements were read together discussing international situation, the re-establishment of Germany and discussion between the two countries in trade, commerce and industry.

At 11 a.m. the Prime Minister was in the Rajya Sabha answering questions on a wide range of subjects.

At 11.30 a.m. he was back at his desk to meet a Member of Parliament from Kerala, who belongs to an Opposition group.

At 12 noon he went into a restaurant with the Congress President, Maulana Azad and Pandit Pant about broad political matters.

At 1.15 p.m. he attended to a business given by member of the German Foreign Ministry by the Federal Republic's Charge d'Affaires in Delhi.

Immediately after lunch he was back at office in Parli-

ment House to receive a group of members of Parliament from Maharashtra in the Bombay State who are still agitated about a bill proposed for the Marathi speaking people.

Early had the Parliamentarian left his office, when at 4 p.m. he received Dr. Ganner Jaising, the U.N. Representative, who is representative of the Security Council resolution, was in India to discuss the vast question of the Kashmir State which is part of India since 1947.

44 HAVE hardly any ambition left. But there is one ambition left in me and it is this: that in the years to come, and in the few years left to me, I should throw myself with all the strength and energy left in me into the work of building up India. I want to do it to the uttermost, till I am exhausted and throw away on the scrap heap. It is enough for me that I have released my strength and energy in India's work. I do not care what happens to my reputation after I am gone. But if my people choose to think of me there, I should expect them to say, "This was a man who, with all his mind and heart loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn, were faithful to him and gave him of their lives most abundantly and unreservedly."

—Jawaharlal Nehru at the Rajpal Congress.

At 5.30 p.m. the Prime Minister hurried to a Tea Party given in honour of new Members of Parliament by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

At 5.45 p.m. the Prime Minister attended an Address by the British Labour Leader, Mr. Aneurin Bevan, to Members of Parliament.

At 6.30 p.m. he presided over a meeting of the Union Cabinet.

Back at his residence from the meeting of the Cabinet at 7.30 p.m., he received the Maharaja of Gwalior.

In between engagements the Prime Minister would take advantage of brief intervals to look through important telegrams and papers and dictate replies.

At 11.15 p.m. the Prime Minister gave a dinner to his visiting Foreign Minister of Germany. And when the last of the evening guests had departed, the Prime Minister went back to his study. Till midnight and later, he was busy reading dispatches from Indian representatives in different world capitals, dictating

replies, dealing with urgent State matters which could not break delay, and passing orders on some humble petitions which had come from an unknown peasant somewhere in India or writing a personal letter to a group of children in a distant land who had asked him for the gift of an elephant or a marriage for their school magazine.

At 1 a.m. the light in the Prime Minister's study was put out and India's busiest person had left his desk for his bedroom with a bunch of letters from newspapers and other periodicals to glance through before going to bed. He usually spends about half an hour over this. Then he retires to bed for a five-hour sleep to begin another day of constant activity.

squanders in Pakistan as compared "Arad Kashmir" are being run to the ground to provide the site for the multi-purpose Wapda dam projected to increase the river Jhelum, for irrigation of West Pakistan, according to reliable reports from across the ceasefire line.

Over a lakh of people are losing their hearts and homes as demolitions work on the dam site is gathering momentum, the reports said.

Quit notices served by the "Arad Kashmir Government" on these people, according to the reports, have touched off massive demonstrations since June last all over the district of Muzaffargarh and elsewhere in protest against the construction of the "Himal project aimed at flooding Pakistan at the cost of Kashmir."

No Allies But All Friend

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Union Defence Minister, declared that one peculiarity in India's foreign policy was that there was "nothing foreign" in it. No foreign power influenced our foreign policy, he said.

Mr. Menon was addressing a meeting held after the completion of the Gandhi Vaidya Park.

He added: "India has no allies but only friends. We specially choose to retain our concepts of freedom and democracy. We should resist any attempt by other countries to intrude in our affairs or influence the shaping of our policies."

Statement By Mr. Nehru

The Prime Minister, Mr. J. V. K. Sahaswamy, declared that he "appreciated and endorsed" Mr. Nehru's independence Day declaration that India wanted to be on the friendship terms with Pakistan and that they were bound to India was born down to Pakistan and vice versa.

Mr. Sahaswamy was making his first public appearance in Karachi after his return a fortnight ago, from his two-month tour abroad, at a public reception held by the citizens of Karachi.

His forty-minute address to the gathering was dominated by his reference to Mr. Nehru's statement and to "world appreciation of and goodwill for Pakistan."

After ruling out resort to war to solve the Kashmir issue as "illogical," Mr. Sahaswamy said the only course was to refer the matter to a "neutral party" by which he implied the U.N. The U.N., he maintained, had given its verdict and mediated "in favour of Pakistan."

Price Of Business

Says Mr. J. V. K. Sahaswamy:

"I do not know what my exact salary is but I get Rs. 1,600 per month after deducting income-tax. I have an excellent house at Alhabad. Sometimes, I or my daughter go there and stay. Some people are living there from the time of my father, like a gardener, etc., who are looking after the house. I do not want to displace them for their services. This costs about Rs. 600 per month. I am, therefore, left with only Rs. 700, out of which about Rs. 500 goes towards subscription to various Congress committees and other organisations. Only Rs. 200 remains for my personal use. But I have to spend much more than this even though my personal requirements are few like buying new clothes, tooth paste and the like."

Lakh People To Lose Homes

A major part of the city of Muzaffargarh and several villages spanning over 200 sq. miles of

American Lawyer For Russian Charged For Espionage

New York.

A LAWYER who was an assistant prosecutor during the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals has been appointed to defend Col. Rudolf Franzovich Abel, the Soviet citizen accused of being the head of Soviet espionage in the United States.

Abel's attorney chosen by Federal District Judge Abrahamson after Abel said he had been unable to procure a counsel himself, is James H. Donovan, a partner in a law firm here which deals in general practice. His name was given to the court by the Brooklyn Bar Association in the form of a "recommendation."

Donovan told reporters he was accepting the case "as a public service."

The Government has said that money for Abel's legal expenses will be made available from the \$20,000 awarded him after his arrest on June 30. His trial is to begin on September 16.

Fair Trial

Donovan, who interrupted a holiday with his family when he received the Bar Association's request to take the case,

said he would do his best to see that Abel got a fair trial.

He said he saw quite a difference between the Abel case and those of the Rosenbergs, who were American citizens convicted of spying against their own country during wartime. Abel, he said, was serving his country in a "quasi-military capacity."

Donovan was to see Abel for the last time on August 31 at the House of Detention here, where Abel has been held since he was arrested on August 3.

Donovan, who is 41 years old, is a graduate of Ford Hays College and Harvard Law School, during World War Two he was a naval officer on the staff of the director of the office of strategic services.

Donovan said he would accept any fee the court awarded him and would donate it to charity.

Indian M.P.s. Question Nehru On Export Of Monkeys

New Delhi.

INDIA exported 131,793 monkeys during 1956-57 and earned considerable foreign exchange, it was stated in Parliament.

Monkey export is a controversial subject in India and M.P.s put many questions to the Prime Minister. Replying to these questions in the Upper House, Mr. Nehru said he had been receiving a large number of letters and telegrams from the people. Some were against the export of monkeys, but a large number were in favour.

The Prime Minister said that the monkeys exported from India were a special type of the Rangan species. They were not used for any violent test experiments.

Poll Research

World opinion on the question of monkey export, he said, seemed to be divided. Nobody wanted to, and the animals for vivisection or positive eye smother on them. But certain diseases like polio and yellow fever were concerned and, apparently, were made in India, not to stop export and end exports' protests against these diseases.

The Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Henry Daman, said that about five million reports had been received as foreign exchange but that was not the main purpose of export—only incidental. The export had been reduced to the minimum essential. Kidneys were being used for preparation of serum against polio and yellow fever. Now some synthetic serum was being evolved and if successful there would be no need for using monkeys.

The Government, he added, was taking reasonable care to see that the animals were humanely treated and there was no cruelty.

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Eleanor Roosevelt Compliments India

MRS. Eleanor Roosevelt has congratulated India on her tenth anniversary of independence.

In a statement on August 13 she said: "I have moved forward steadily since her independence to increase the physical well-being of her people and set to work to bring the social and spiritual values of her civilisation. Achievements have been great, but difficult of the first few years were also great and showed up progress."

"My great hope for the future is that there will be an increase in understanding between India and the U.S.A., so that both of us may profit by the things which we have to offer in our particular spheres."

"May the next 10 years of India's existence show much increase in growth industrially and may the needs of the people be met on an ever-widening basis. May India's ideal of peace in the world become the ideal of the world as a whole and may her influence in the U.N. always be used to increase understanding between nations and to improve peaceful co-operation."

Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, former Director of the U.S. Economic Co-operation Administration, has also congratulated India on her tenth anniversary of independence. He says: "India's remarkable progress in establishing a democratic State and improving the lot of her people is most encouraging to all free nations and especially to those 39 nations which have won their independence during and since the end of World War II."

Gandhi Prominent At Independence Celebrations

A N audience of about 250 people, including Pakistanis as well as Indians, met at Nottingham in August to celebrate Indian independence. There were seven eight speakers, including a Pakistani, some secular, and documentary films.

Norman Rae writes: "What was interesting to a participant in the celebrations was that nearly every speaker spoke about Gandhi, non-violence, and India's policy of helpful non-alignment. One entire speech was devoted to Vinoba Bhave."

This was not from Indian students—they held a separate celebration—but from ordinary

Indian people among their living in Britain.

It certainly seemed that the influence of Gandhi has reached into the ordinary Indians. If it has, they have a duty to spread their ideas and to mix more than they do among English people.

What about an Indian speaker at a meeting of a group of politicians in every market square in England? Then India's independence will be a continual source of world rejoicing.

—"Pence News".

Acharya Bhave's Plea

ACHARYA VINODH BHAVE told an American student who interviewed him at his camp that the ancient maxim, "live and let live" ought to be reversed into "let live and live".

Acharya Bhave also deplored Western custom of using the capital "I" for self and said that instead of "I" the word "We" ought to begin with a capital, "I" should be written with a small letter.

Asked what was best and what was worst "in Western culture", Acharya Bhave smiled and replied, "I am not a lit judge on that. In my view the best is co-operation and the worst 'aggressiveness'. He thought the clearest of aggressiveness in Western culture might be due to its being young, compared to Indian culture which dated beyond the very dawn of history. The slogan would perhaps have away with the culture's sinning maturity, he added.

On the question of religion, Acharya Bhave said that although different religions prescribed different means to help men to hit the goal of God, they were identical in their fundamental tenets.

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MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Vol. 1

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

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“હિન્દવન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૩૦ ઓગસ્ટ, ૧૯૩૭.

દેશદ્રોહીના આરોપીઓ તરફ નાગરિકોની ફરજ

જો હોતે દેશદ્રોહીના આરોપ
કર પકડાવે હતા એવો
કેસ ચાલી રહ્યો છે તે એવા
પરિસ્થિતિ સ્થાપિત છે જે સ્વયં
છે તેને જાણી છે; આ કેસ
ફક્ત કાયદેસર નથી ચલાવ્યો;
પણ વધુ કુટુંબીઓ ઉપરે કરવા
ચકાવવાં રહ્યો છે. આ કુટુંબી-
ભરતિને દર કરવા માટે પોતાની
સનત કરવાની તૃણેક માનવની
જાગૃતી ફરજ છે.

હો અને કુટુંબી મળી ૧૫૧
દેશદ્રોહીના આરોપકર પકડાયા
છે. તેઓ મળા સામાન્ય જીવીના
નાગરિકો છે. આ બધાને કેસ
માટે હવેલા કાયદર રજીસ્ટ્રેરે ભેરવે
લેઈ તેવડા કુટુંબીઓને ધણી
આશ્ચર્યોત્કેષ લાગતો લાગી
છે. તે યીવન કાયદાની જગત
માટે પણ તેઓ પાછળ ભેરો
જાણ કરશે જો છે. વર્તમાન
જોવામાં લાગેર કલેલા દેશદ્રોહી
જણી જણુલ છે કે, સરકારને
જાણ ગુપ્તિમાં લીધે કલેર
જાઈએતે વચન થયો છે. આ
સિવા જાણ જાણે નાથ તેના
કરતાં રહેજે જુ કલેવાનો સંજ્ઞ
રો છે.

અમાં કુટુંબી આ લેઈએ લેઈએ
હાઈ કાંઈ કુટુંબી તેઓ નિરોધ
જણુલ, આથી એમને સાર
કલેઈ છે મુન્કો નથી. લે લેઈએ
‘જે આજે લીધે જુ નાજુડી
જુર છે. તે લેઈએ સજે
જુર, કાઈમાં જા માણવા
માટે જુરો નાજુ, જાવા પાંડા
સામા અને વહીવટી ડી તેમજ
જોવામાં મેલુ’ કુટુંબીએ લેઈએ
જુરો પકડ, મેલુ જુરે જણુડ
મેલેઈ, આ કેસ માટે દંડ ઉઠુ
કરવામાં લાગેઈ જણુલ સાર
કાવા સજેને આપીત કાઈમાં છે.
અને આ બધીકને સજારો કુલ
કલકાર અને કાઈએઈ લેઈએ અને

વધુમાં અજે લાગેને જણુલોઈ
લેઈએ છે; એથી નાજુ સંજ્ઞ
છે તેઓને અને તેલની વચર
કરવા પોતાની સનત કરવાની
તેમની ફરજ તેઓ જાણે,
આથી આ આપીત સજારો
જો છે.

નાતીસદ અને કુટુંબી

થો કલે વચર પહેલા જા
અને અજાને જણુલું કલું
કે, નેગરિકીક પકડે તેઓ ઉઠાવ
કાણુમાં વધુ કાઈએ કરી,
મેલે અજાં પીલટ લીએ છે કે
કલેવાજણુને દર કલેવા, માટે
આ જાઈ મેલેલા દેખાને જીલ
જીવ જઈ પાછા વાઈએઈ.

પરલેક સમજાવર જણુલ
અજે છે કે આ રાજકીય વીરપણ
છે. મેલે દેશન જઈ પડી છે.
આ દેશમાં ચાલી અને દંડ મેલ
મેલ આપજુને કલું કે પાછાલ
દેશની કલેઈ છે. જાણ હાલ
પોતે હીવે દેશન મત વચરન
સાથે લેઈએને જાનવાઈ કરી
કલેવા છે—કયાં કુટુંબી?

આ, સમગ્રીય ગાંધીજી એ
જાણને પ્રથમ થઈ પડેલો છે
કાણ, આ દેશની જાત મેલ
સાઈના કાઈમાં છે. એવા જણ
કલેકલ કાઈમાં નથી—કે એ
લેઈએ તેવા જણ કલેકલ છે.
અંઈ આજુ આજુ છે અંઈ રાજકીય
લેવામાંથી લીઈએ ઉઠાઈ કુટુંબી
માં જાણે છે. કલે પ્રતલેવાન
રજાઈને જ મેલ કલેવા જાઈ
રો છે. એજ એજ આપજુ દેશ
જાઈએને નાજુડું રાજાજી પોતે.
સરલ છે તેમ તેમ મરીલાઈ
માં જાણે’ એલે જાવ છે, અને
મજામાં પંડાવાજણુ, દેશમાં
પંડાવાજણુ, નરસીમાં કલેવાજ
પણ અને પંડાવાજણુ મીમે
કલા કયાં કલેવ દેલે નિચાર

કરવામાં પંડાવાજણુના પ્રલે-
તાથી પોતાના જુવનની સર
જાઈ કરી રહ્યા છે.
પ્રમલેવાજણુમાં પાનાના રાજો
અંઈ કુટુંબી અજાણકાર લીએ જાણ
જાવ નહીં ઉપડે અને અંઈ
કુટુંબી તેઓ જાવ રાજકીય સજારો
મકલક નહીં થતે અને મેલ નહીં
માને છે, કલેવાજણુને તાઈ
કરવાડું જાવ તેઓના કાઈમાંજ
છે, અંઈ કુટુંબી આ રાજકીય વીર

પણ આ કુટુંબી કુટુંબી ઉઠાઈ
માણવ મળાજા કરેઈ અને આ
કુટુંબી દેશને જાનવાઈએઈ અને
જાણકાર કરી કુટુંબી.
કરવાડું છે તે મેલ છે, વધુ
જાણકારીક જાણવન ઉપરે કરવાની
છે અને એલે રાજકીય જીવમાં
જાવ છે છે અને દેશવાજણુ
માં માનવાજા છે તેઓના કાઈમાં
કાઈ વધુ જાણ આપવાની
જુર છે.

ગાંધીજીની જીવન કથા

(કલેવાજાં: જણુક પ્રવેશ)

પ્રકલેજ રજાજી

સેવાત્રામ આશ્રમ

તે એ દેશક કરી જાણવામાં
પ્રાચલ લેઈએ જાણવામાં લેઈએ
જે રોઈ હોતે રજાજી મેલેલે તે જાણવા
પોતે જાણવામાં રજાજા. તેમને
જાવ કલેઈ મેલ નાજુડું સંજ્ઞ તેવા
જાવ જાઈ કરે, જે મેલુલ વચર
કલું કે અંઈ પોતે મેલેલે જાવ જોઈએ
જાણુડું જુર નહીં તેવાજ મેલે જાઈ
જાઈ કલેઈ હોતે. અંઈ જાણ કરી
નહીલ તેવાજ જાવ પકડે રજાજી.

હોતે જાણુડું કે મેલ નાઈ લેઈએઈ
કલેવાજાઈ જાઈ જાણે છે. એથી
અને મેલના સજારો પોતેની જાણ
પ્રમ આ રજાજા જાઈની એલ.
પ્રાચલે માટે જાઈ જુર મેલેલે.
આથી અંઈ મેલ નાઈ રજાજામાં
જાઈ, અને કલે જાણ રજાજા રજાજા-
વામાં જાણ કે જેથી જાણવા
જાઈએઈ અને રજાજાને જાણ કલે
જાણ અને રજાજા મેલ.

જાવ મેલ નાજા જાણવાની જાણ
ના જાવ અને અંઈ આજાણવાઈ
રજાજા તે મેલ જાણ અને જાણવા
જાઈ જાણ કરે છે જે કલેલેલે
રજાજા જાણુડું જાણવામાં રજાજા
પણ કાણ જાણવામાં કરેઈ જાઈ જાણ
અને જાવ જાણી આ રજાજાની જા-
કલેલે અંઈ રજાજા આ, જાવ જ
રજાજા રજાજા રજાજા રજાજા રજાજા
આજા, પોતે રજાજા કરવા પોતે,
રજાજા જાણ કરવા, અને જાણવા
કાણ તેવાજ રજાજા રજાજા કરવા જાણ
જાણ રજાજા જાણે કાણુડું જાણુડું. અંઈ
અંઈ જાણુડું લેલે અંઈ જાણ જાણુડું
જા જાણ કરી જાણવાજા જાણે
રજાજા જાણવા.

પ્રલેક જાણવાજાઈ જાણી કલેલ
કાણુડું રજાજા. કાણના જાણવામાં
કાણુડું મેલેલે રજાજાની રજાજા મેલે
કાણી જાણવાની મેલેલે કરી. તેમજ
જાણવા કે મેલેલે કાણી રજાજા
રજાજા અને કાણ મેલેલે રજાજાની
જાણી પ્રથમ જાણી રજાજા જાણવા
જાણી રજાજા મેલેલે કાણુડું જાણવા
મેલેલેલે રજાજા જાણવા, અને રજાજા
રજાજા ન લેલે. આથી રજાજાની
રજાજાની રજાજા જાણવા અને જાણવા
રજાજાની રજાજા રજાજા રજાજા રજાજા
જાણુડું અને જાણવામાં જાણવામાં જાણવા.

હોંકની મોટામાં મોટી વિમાની કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

—ધી—

ન્યુ ઇન્ડીયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની લીમીટેડ

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના એકજ મુખ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

ફ્રેસ્ટમણ જલભાઈ ફ્રેસ્ટમણ

૧૪૦ ક્વીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

સેવા અને નિર્ભયતા

માટે અમને મળો.

અધી જ્ઞાતના વિમાનો અને ઉડાણોએ હોય.

પી. એ. બેકસ ૧૧૧૦.

રેસીડન્સ : ૧૧૧ ઉડેવાન્ય બેવન્યુ,

ડરબન.

રેસીડન્સ

બોક્સ : ૨૫૮૪૫

રેસીડન્સ : ૩૧૪૧૩.

હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

કારણ ?

ક્યાં જવો ?

અહીં એવું છે આજકાલ,
અહીં નહીં છે ફેરવેલકા ?
આ દુનિયા અહીં પહોંચી,
તેં અહીં પોતાના સુખપાણી !
હાથમાં આપમાં તે કાનથી,
આડે કે અંધારે તે કાનથી,
મેલા ખામણ કેમ ? હી ! હી !
અંધારે તે કાનથી કાનથી !
હાથમાં કાન, તેનું મુકું ?
નાસીકા તેમનાં નાસીકામાં,
અમ, અમલ તુલે કે કાન,
અમે તે અહીં આડીયા નાં
માટે—
અહીં આપને તમે સુખમાં,
અંધારે તે કાનથી કાનથી !

- તમારી પાનીલી સારી—અમારકા જરી મિલેર, અમારકા રેલમ, મેમ્બરી, મિલેર, મેમ્બરી, જરીડીનામીક, હેર પાલમ, રેલી પોલમ નામે હેરલી ડીઝલ મા આવી અમ છે !
- તમને તમારી માર્કેટ—અમારકા મોર્ડે, રેમ્બી હેર પાલમ, જરી હેર પાલમ, જરીલી હેર : રેપરી તમા મેમ્બરી મેમ્બરી આપમાં રૂપમાં અમ છે.
- નામોઅમાં આડી મેમ્બરી રૂલ અને મેમ્બરીકા પાટી કાપક તમને મન પહાડ અમ છે.
- તમારી પુત્રી માટે મેમ્બરી તમા રૂલ કાપક અને રૂલ રૂપમાં મેમ્બરી.
- તમને તમારી રૂલ મેમ્બરી—પ્રમોલે આપ, અમ, કોલેલ મેમ્બરી માટે અમને અમે છે.
- રેલી રેલિયન્ટ મેમ્બરી આપમાં આપ મેમ્બરી કિડામત આપે અમે છે.
- તમારી રૂલ જરૂરીઅન માટે તમારી પાનીલી કાનને જ આપે :

ફામના કામો—કાનથી કાનથી,
પાલમ, અમ, નામકી, પાલમ
રેલકી કાપક, મેમ્બરી રેલકી નામકી
મેમ્બરી કાનકા અમ આપમાં
અમ છે

એક નૂર આદમી

હાથ નૂર કાપક

અમ આટ અમને મળે :

વિવરના પાલકા—વિવર તમા
તમામ અમ મેમ્બરી મેમ્બરી, તેમ
મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી
મેમ્બરી મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી
મેમ્બરી મેમ્બરી મેમ્બરી, મેમ્બરી
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and

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86 Queen Street, Durban.

Telephone : 27780 . — P.O. Box 2043.

Tel. Address : "SWEETMEATS"

અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની ચોખ્ખા ધીની બનાવેલી શુદ્ધ મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આખો દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીઅન બોક્ષન મળી શકશે.

લગ્ન પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જામજુની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ યુગ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

ગોડી"ગ અને લોલંગની સગવડ

કામથી ગોડીને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિવાહોમાં અને રજાઓને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ પ્રકાર વર્તેલ લેવામાં આવશે. ગોરખાઓમાં નડા અને અણુનિક અમરું ફરનીયર રામલામાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અમર તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉતાડીઓ મારે કુટુંબને રહેવા મારે રહેવાની તેમજ જાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે દેશી સેવરમની ચોખ્ખી ચોકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ વાજાની દાળ, ખારેક, પાસ્તા, અને માચીલી, વિગેરે સજીઓ હોય.

ઘરનું આથિલું અથાણું અને સારી જાતના પાપદ હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

ગોડીરથી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

There are too many of
people in the world who
who always divide the people
of the world into two kinds,
and these are the
—Aeneas.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1948.

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1948

No. 35—Vol. LV.

Friday, 6th September, 1957

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BRITISH LABOUR PARTY WANTS SELF- GOVT. FOR ALL COLONIES

A PLEDGE that every British colony, however small, should have the right of self-determination will be discussed at the Labour Party's annual conference at the end of next month.

The Labour Executive Committee has already issued its colonial policy statement, outlining proposals for territories which are either too small or possess insufficient wealth or manpower to become

full sovereign nations of the Commonwealth.

The statement expresses the hope that "full and timely recognition of the right of self-determination will encourage the peoples of the colonies to achieve their full democratic rights within the Commonwealth."

It also extends to them the right of succession.

Commonwealth country, or with a union outside the Commonwealth.

"An Obligation"

"Since the United Kingdom has an obligation towards all peoples in the colonies to ensure that so far as possible, they have a democratic right to representation in a sovereign parliament, we should be prepared in suitable cases (as in Malta) to consider representation at Westminster," said the Executive.

In the case of very small isolated dependencies which remain after possibilities of federation or integration have been exhausted, the

Labour Party believes that these should be recognised by the British Government as Dependencies, giving them autonomy in both internal and external affairs.

Too Small For That

The executive emphasises that the grant of Dominion status to small territories cannot, of course, make them into nations capable of looking after their own foreign policy and defence; by definition, they are too small for that.

They alone, however, would decide how and with whom arrangements should be made for the conduct of their external affairs.

"R.D.M.

"WE SHALL DEFEND OUR COUNTRY"

—KUSHAK BAKULA

Srinagar, August 23.

KUSHAK BAKULA, the Head Lama of Ladakh and Minister of State in the Kashmir Government has declared that the people of Ladakh will not spare any sacrifice to defend India's territorial integrity. He was addressing a public meeting in Ladakh to celebrate the centenary of India's first war of independence.

A resolution passed at the meeting demanded that Pakistan should vacate the west of Kashmir which she had occupied by aggression, violating all international laws. It also expressed sympathy with the people of the Pakistan-occupied areas of Kashmir who were being oppressively treated.

For The Small Ones

Federation or integration is suggested as the solution for colonies too small to maintain sovereign parliaments, as in the case of the Federation of the West Indies.

Looking some way ahead, the Labour Party executive believes that a Federation of West African States could develop which would include Sierra Leone and Gambia.

As an alternative, the people of a territory too small for independence could attain representation in a sovereign parliament by integration into an existing nation-state.

Integration could be either with the United Kingdom, as in the case of Malta, with some other

NEHRU GREET'S MALAYAN FREEDOM

New Delhi, August 21.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU in a message of greetings to Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which became independent today, said:

"On behalf of my colleagues in the Government and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in offering to Your Excellency and through you to the Government and people of the Federation of Malaya our most cordial congratulations

and good wishes on the attainment of independence.

"We look forward to increasing friendship and closer co-operation in the cause of freedom and the promotion of world peace."

(Continued on page 385)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

Mr. Strijdom And Malaya

THERE is something farcical in the way Mr. Strijdom is winning for himself the reputation of being keen to be recognised as among the first Prime Ministers to go into prison congratulating non-White peoples who achieve independence.

When Ghana became free towards the first quarter of this year, the Union Premier hastened to tell the Ottomans that they had done a very fine job and that South Africa wished them the best of luck. A few days ago Malaya attained independence and elsewhere in this issue we publish the message Mr. Strijdom sent to the peoples of the new State, assuring them that South Africa wished them the best of things.

Cynic

The cynic might say that these messages of goodwill are nothing more than an expression of the hypocrisy which makes apartheid speak of the African becoming Master in the Reserves—when sovereignty alone makes a master. The Nationalists have no real intention of making the African a sovereign master. When they say he shall be master in his area, they know very well that they are not saying what is in their hearts. The cynic might say the good wishes to the non-White States do not come from the bottom of Nationalist hearts too.

For our part we like to believe that the Nationalist Government is quite sincere in wishing the non-White Powers the best of success. But even we, find certain things very puzzling in the Union Premier's attitude. If the new States were White, we would not be puzzled. People who attach the greatest importance to the colour of a person naturally wish their race all possible success. But Ghana is African, while Malaya is Asian. There are Africans in the Union and Asians. The point which is not clear in our mind is: When does an African or an Asian qualify for the Union Prime Minister's good wishes?

Asymmetrical Logic

Within the Union the African and the Asian must be drawers of water to the apartheid overlord. Outside of the Union, they are nice fellows to be wished success in ruling themselves. The danger in this asymmetrical logic is that the time might not be very far when the peoples of Africa and Asia who will win their independence will tell Mr. Strijdom they do not need his good wishes. The force is being carried to quite absurd extremes.

There is a second danger. The Premier makes himself ridiculous in the eyes of the world when he congratulates

Comment On Men And Events

Interracial Conference Again

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SOME of the things were being done in the preparation for the November interracial conference in Johannesburg might have created insurmountable difficulties if not transcended at this stage.

Take the composition of the list of speakers. Our task is difficult to undertake, the principles adopted in choosing the names to appear on the list. On the one hand there certainly are the recognised African leaders in the top row—the Mathibane, the Luthuli, the Kuma, the Mabin, etc. While all these men are certainly the accredited spokesmen of a very large bulk of the African people, one can say, with all possible respect for them, that in very broad terms they do not represent, among themselves, viewpoints which are very divergent.

There certainly are powerful forces to the Right and Left of them in the African community whose opinions would certainly give weight to the authority of the speakers. I have to mind the more moderate groups in the ANC on the one hand and the trade unions, on the other.

Serious Divisions

It is true that there are very serious divisions in the African community at the moment. But this is no reason why the representatives of the various groups should be expected to believe the important sponsoring committees is more favourably disposed towards one section of African opinion than to another. On the contrary serious divisions for those who seek to bring together the masses of apartheid has to be being blind to the differences among the latter for purposes of sponsorship.

The second criticism I have is that the speakers seem to have been partly influenced by the need to have as many White names as possible in the speakers' list to give it added prestige. Quite frankly, I do not think they were guided by this best wisdom here. I realise the need for getting the most highly-respected names in the African to be among the speakers. But equally frankly, I do not think the necessity of there are in the White community only. To overlook the list of speakers with White names, most of whom are

of a particular persuasion, has the danger of creating in the African mind the impression that the interracial conference will be one more White show.

If this impression is not removed the divisions of the conference might lose most of the force they should have in such events in the direction of us as sincerely desire.

Indians

In the criticism, as in the list, it would have done a lot of good if not only the Left wing in the Indian community had been persuaded to protest against, but if the Right too had been brought in.

This brings us to the third criticism. At these times were written the sponsoring committees was going to meet in Johannesburg. I had the good fortune to see some of the discussions on the proposed conference and some of the proposed agenda. Two things struck me in the agenda designed to carry us from where the Nationalists supposed. The first was that I did not see, in the literature shown me, that emphasis on the need to create a united anti-apartheid front which was as extraordinary a feature of the Blackstone gathering.

The second was that the possibility was real that the conference could very well initiate the form of an impressive number of a dividing society with the various participants plucking their feathers keen. That would be a very unpleasant way of laying foundations for an effective united front.

New Leadership

The Blackstone conference was so often to give to South Africa a new type of leadership to pull the country out of the morass into which it has been thrown by apartheid. It was as often inspired deeply by the conviction that salvation for the Union lies in "co-operation and interdependence". To the extent that the coming conference will be inspired by these ideals it will certainly be qualified to capture from where the Blackstone assembly supposed. To that extent, then, will it be in the position to define the goals and programmes which will inspire African confidence.

(Continued on next page)

(Continued on next page)

Press Review

Objects To Immigrants Who Are
Critical Of Afrikaners

For the past two months I have travelled a couple of thousand miles and come into contact with many immigrants. Among them are a surprising number of Roman Catholics, which is a pity.

These, too, the immigrants from a certain country are people who know better. They talk contemptuously of our language, which they describe as a dialect, and they associate with the English-Born-Boers.

They also constantly criticise the Government and their policy and want to march on all sorts of things about the Native.

They are the people who could not go on living in their own country because of over-population, but have come to earn their bread here and then find fault with everything about the Afrikaner-speaking people.

It is not possible, if things get too bad, to send people like that back to where they came from? They are a menace to us, not an asset.

From letter in the "Volksblad."

—□—

THE picture in Britain looks particularly somber—a struggling economy that could hit not only South Africa but also a large part of the Western world.

Her wage bill already amounts to more than £900-million a year. A further increase without a corresponding rise in production might cause irreparable damage.

Extraordinary measures by the British Government will be needed, and extraordinary sacrifices by British labour and British capital, to maintain the value of the British pound.

The next few months will show if this can be achieved.

From leading article in the "Volksblad."

—□—

Whites Must Learn
To Speak The
Native's Language

THE importance—no, the utter necessity—of us Whites learning to talk the Native's language should surely require no emphasis, and yet...

How did the Afrikaner feel, and still feels, about the slightest of his language? What must the awakening Black man's feelings be towards the White man when he sees, as he must, how his language is disdained?

In order that we may learn to understand him and gain his goodwill should we not begin by learning to speak his language? We expect him to speak our language and what do we do as our part?

How often, in discussion on the desirability of teaching a Native language at school, have I not heard the question: where are the teachers to come from?

Many of us know what the Mission Society has done. A number of young ministers, who are now missionaries in the Transvaal, have been sent for a month, at the society's expense, to Umvoti, where they undergo an intensive course in Xosa.

Could our education authorities not do something similar?

We must win the Natives to our side. We must begin with his language, the gateway to his heart.

Are we going to say that we have not got the teachers and in any case that it costs too much?

From letter in the "Burger."

Interracial Con-
ference Again

(Continued from previous page)

For, I do not think any programme of reforms has any chance of real success if it does neglect African confidence.

These comments are made in the full appreciation of the difficulties facing the spearheading committee. There is an unresolvable snag in very many ways. But the issues at stake are so great that nobody can afford to keep quiet at the first signs of what might prove disastrous in the way of agreement on objectives between White and non-White.

Ghana Finance Minister In India

New Delhi, August 20. Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Finance Minister of Ghana, who is leading his country's delegation to the Malayan independence ceremony, said in Calcutta this week: "Our foreign policy aims at maintaining friendly relations with all nations. We do not belong to any power bloc."

He said: "We realise that Prime Minister Nehru has been a great force for these ten years and we propose to adopt the general policy of India."

The Finance Minister said

there had been a large volume of trade between India and Ghana and "we would be glad to have more Indian goods."

Speaking to reporters at Calcutta airport before taking off to Malaya, Mr. Gbedemah said he would visit New Delhi on his way back home and would meet Prime Minister Nehru.

He added that no date had yet been fixed for arrival in India of the Ghana Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, but it was most likely that he would visit India towards the end of this year.

Nehru Greets Malayan Freedom

(Continued from first page)

Great Day For The
World

The Indian Minister for Irrigation and Power, Mr. S. K. Patil, who has arrived in Malaya, said: "We congratulate the people and the Government of the Federation of Malaya for the statesmanlike way in which they settled their whole problem." To this act of statesmanship, he added, the British Government also contributed to a great extent.

Later addressing the Indian community, Mr. Patil said India rejoiced in the freedom of Malaya, for

India knew fully the value of independence. He said this was an occasion of happiness not only for Asia but for the whole world and it would be a great factor for international understanding and world peace.

Urging Indians in Malaya to realise their responsibility and carry out their obligations to the country of their adoption, Mr. Patil said it had always been India's policy, repeatedly stated, that Indians abroad should adopt the nationality of the country they were residing in and give their best to it as loyal citizens.

Mr. Strijdom And Malaya

(Continued from previous page)

against non-White States while doing everything in his power in his own country to oppress the non-Whites.

For our part, however, we like to believe that Mr. Strijdom is a very confused man. He realises that nothing that he or those who think like him do will stop the coloured people's march to sovereign independence. He realises, also, that in the final reckoning survival for the Afrikaner people lies in making friends with the non-Whites. At the same time he fails to realise that Afrikaner Nationalism is hated in Africa and Asia today because it thrives on the oppression of the mass of colour. It is in this failure that the tragedy of apartheid lies.

The Great Indian Revolt Of 1857

ON May 10, 1857, one hundred years ago Indian struggle for freedom began.

The events of 1857, which we are celebrating now, were not just part of a "Sepoy Mutiny"; they represented the first stage in our struggle for freedom.

The small beginnings of the Great Revolt were made on March 29, 1857, when Mangal Pandey, a soldier of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry, fired a shot at his British officer on the

troop in order to launch a lunge at his comrades.

On May 9 the "Light-brown" troops were brought to the parade ground and in the presence of their comrades stripped of their uniforms. Firearms were placed upon them. The humiliated troops, now in chains, begged for mercy. There was no place for it in the heart of the British officers. Then, to despair, they turned to their silent comrades, the silent witnesses of the humiliation. They repurchased their freedom by allowing their degrades to be cast aside in a cause which was dear to them all.

The public heard these poorer whites, even more so, than they heard the British soldiers. But so that British people heard the British had heard good and evil ready to go upon operations the minute there was any defiance of order. The Indian soldiers, wild and indignant though they were, had, therefore, in mind to be active.

However, a wild rage seized the Indian soldiers. First, they considered their religion had been defiled by the use of the pressed cartridge; secondly, their lives comrades who stood by their religion had been put to a dagger in their hands; they saw the disgrace of all that their country and religion stood for.

On May 10, 1857, the Indian soldiers rebelled that the British were had to end. They rose in revolt, against oppression, they shed their officers' heads upon the ground and assumed command. The "pressed cartridge" mutiny became a general revolt against the British as a whole in India.

The soldiers then marched to Delhi and proclaimed Bahadur Shah, the Mughal Emperor, as their king. Though feeble and feeble, he was the last of a dynasty which Alau had built. He was to be the symbol of India that belonged to Indians. And the rebels proclaimed him the emperor of Hindustan. Thus the banner of an all-India revolt was raised.

This mutiny was born of popular resistance to British rule, led by men a century by indignities and atrocities which the brutal conquerors had inflicted. It was the first stage of a national revolt.

Steps Of London

From May 23, 1857, the whole of Uttar Pradesh—the Awadh and North-Western Provinces—was in arms. At military stations soldiers rose in revolt; killed the British officers, took possession of ammunition and treasury and opened the gates of forts. The isolated elements in touch at least were never left behind.

The revolt of the soldiers became general revolt though without permanent success. The Talukdars of Awadh defied the British authorities. Some proclaimed themselves independent rulers; others became viceroy of the new Emperor of Hindustan. The revolt spread throughout U.P. Though not an organised, its strength and intensity can be judged by the fact that before it was crushed, 1,575 forts had to be taken and 716 cannons captured.

In June 1857, the army of the Great Revolt in U.P. marched on Lucknow and besieged the English in the Residency, a stage began which has few parallels in the history of wars; a siege which ended in failure for reasons difficult to understand.

In Kanpur Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi placed themselves at the head of the Revolt, and later the Rani of Jhansi joined in. It became the most important campaign which extended from Kanpur to Jhansi and Gwalior. In Bihar and what are now the eastern districts of U.P., Khusrow Beg joined the revolt and raised it to the level of a national war.

Popular Support

The revolt spread to Bengal and Bihar, in Hyderabad and Shikarpur in Cochin; to Nagpur, Bikaner, Kolhapur in Bombay; to some parts of the Punjab; to Madras, Pondicherry and Rajahmundry.

Unco-ordinated and unorganised by a central agency, this spontaneous revolt was organised to include the whole of India. It was national in the sense that all communities, including Hindus and Muslims, fought shoulder to shoulder, in that it had the support of some ruling chiefs, of many local barons and soldiers of North India, in that it had the sympathy of men from all castes and classes of society.

I need not take you through the course of the Great Revolt; how the soldiers could not organise themselves in well-disciplined leadership; how for want of leadership, the movement at places such as Lucknow, Kanpur, and other and commercial centres, lost all organising power; how the common purpose was lost sight of by local ambitions exploiting the situation; how the British overcame all resistance step by step; how under the leadership of British officers Indian soldiers showed a tenacity and steadfastness which the patriots, for want of leadership, could not attain; how atrocities, heinous barbarism, were perpetrated on both sides, and how the British won by superior strategy and leadership, by duplicity which was called diplomacy, and by savage spies as accomplices.

(To be continued)

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By R. M. MURTHI
In The "Hindustan Times"

people ground at Meerut, a soldier with a sword and was himself killed on the spot. He did it in defence of his religion which he thought was being defiled by the use of "pressed cartridges."

Mangal Pandey was the first martyr in this war fought by our soldiers for freedom. His martyrdom started a national impulse of resistance among the Indian soldiers. From Meerut the spirit spread to Lucknow, then to Delhi and then to the rest of India. It was the spontaneous reaction of the Hindu and Muslim soldiers against what they considered was a British attempt to deprive them of their religion.

Behind the "pressed cartridge" affair, which aroused the religious superstitions of Hindu and Muslim soldiers, was a deep-seated indignation against the British for ruling over the Indian way of life; against foreign mercenaries, who, retained by the State, were depriving Indians of the right to be an alien religion; against the superstitious ways of the British conquerors who treated as a pest and crushed people as well as their way of life as barbaric.

Troopers Humiliated

Mangal Pandey's martyrdom and "pressed cartridge" affair is a very important event in the history of India. It was the first stage in our struggle for freedom. It was the first time that Indian soldiers stood up to their British masters and fought for their rights. It was the first time that Indian soldiers showed a sense of national pride and a willingness to sacrifice for their country. It was the first time that Indian soldiers were treated as equals by their British masters.

Protesting Too Much

“METRICS” he deily protest too much” Shakespeare, of course, meant that such action is made to reveal a bad case. And that is exactly what the E.A. State Information Office has done over the Native Land Amendment Bill.

Five pages of its glossy “Digest of S.A. Affairs” are given over to the subject. Carefully enclosing the Ministry position approach of its attitude as the best September in “evil times” and “savage times” as its denunciations of the African

and of the word “full” from the demand of “the State, as the servant of God, shall allow the Church full freedom in the exercise of its divine calling.” The S.I.O. simply explains that “such words could create an undesirable position if taken literally.”

There follow the past criticism views of the Cape Moderator of the D.R.C., Die Kerkbode, “a small minority of the D.R.C. figures who disagreed with the denomination’s local viewpoint,” and the Natal moderator of the D.R.C. The latter laid much of the blame on “some of the Churches which consider it their calling to sweep up centuries and site up legislation.” The same error has occurred from some “public opinionists.”

In the middle of a summary of the opposition of the Christian Council of South Africa to the Church Clause, which sums up, the S.I.O. has misinterpreted by interpolating a large phrase of a Hindu Sadhu performing some earlier crisis case in Durban. Possibly its purpose is to suggest the mission of Christianity could a sea of barbarism or worse, since the previous “pass” (lead) to those who give a look-out here in the D.R.C. without campaign among non-Whites.

The remainder of the S.I.O. article comprises 10 questions to which Opposition and Government answers are given. The questions, of course, have been selected with an eye to the answer. But they are not themselves unfairly phrased, though others equally pertinent have been omitted. But what is clear is that the Opposition answer is given first and the Government one propounded as an answer to that. Naturally the paper presenting a measure has

to lead off the argument. And, usually, the Government answers are given exactly first as much space as the Opposition ones.

Only a few of the “Government” answers can be mentioned. To say that “if an order is issued whose purpose is to put an end to a situation, a State who does that order, will be liable to prosecution in the same way as would a White person who defies national regulations aimed at natives”, seems to beg all the questions. It does not even appear with the evidence later given that “it will probably not prove necessary to apply the clause, if ministers of religion do not interfere in politics or use their pulpits to preach hatred against the Government.” Nor with the minority statement, again made elsewhere, that, “if certain Churches seriously wish to undermine the social order and peace in South Africa, they should not expect the members in cross countrying their Church into a House of Lords.” The second corollary, of course, is that whether will the members permit Africans to attend their Churches outside locations, and what of an outcome.

Still other answers should well hardly fail to perceive their fatal shortcomings in the S.I.O. case. They will save how clearly their arguments reveal the only slight a more obvious flaw in the Liberal Party, when “outside that it will endeavour to break down racial segregation in all spheres of life, and the new legislation a necessary pre-condition.” They will also be surprised at the S.I.O. claim that the Bill is “to help protect the State against capitalist exploitation,” because it is apparently equally aimed at “Communist workers.”

And they may very well realize that in these typical examples of

complexity raised about the substance of large words of South attending Church orders in “White areas”—the glibest Provosts raised, the William episode and the Northern intention to African to attend the “White” church—were the only clear incidents quoted by Government supporters throughout the entire debate as factual evidence for the necessity of the Church Clause.

Uganda Leader Visits India

MR. ACHAKAR MAYANDA a prominent leader of Uganda, arrived in New Delhi over a fortnight ago.

Mr. Mayanda, who has already visited Japan, is on a two-week tour in India as the guest of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. He has been closely associated for a long time with the African National Congress of Uganda and is regarded as one who may play an important role in the future political life of his country. He has been educated in Britain.

Mr. Mayanda during his stay in India will visit important industrial centres and developmental projects in various parts of the country. He is also expected to call on the President and the Vice-President.

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By
C. W. M. GELL

National Congress and Father Modestus in “Assimilation” movement, the S.I.O. this time attempts to appeal to the Imperial.

But, of course, it is an appearance only. From the opening phrase—“This Act is a right step of a series of measures to bring about a new order in our country”—the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country” (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”) (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”).

This is an extremely public version of one of the arguments in favour of the Church Clause. Even so, not any doubt that such answers “cannot be covered” (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”) (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”).

The S.I.O. then proceeds to read the history of the Church Clause, its various amendments by Dr. Verwoerd and his various amendments of the D.R.C. department’s statement. Explaining that the D.R.C. was not “sincerely intended” in the past, that was “not a sincere intention” (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”) (the Act is clearly intended to “bring about a new order in our country”).

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D.R.C. Now Wants

THE Federal Mission Council of the Dutch Reformed (Ned. Geest. Kerk) in Bloemfontein talked of creating opportunities for Black and White to worship together on One minister said he had been very pleased to find a worshippers in a church he visited recently.

The council also discussed measures of closer contact the same over church matters.

Strijdom Sends Another Goodwill Message To Newly-Freed People

Kuala Lumpur.

M. R. J. O. STRIJDOM. Prime Minister of South Africa, in a broadcast message to the nation of Malaya said his country was filled with great sympathy for Malaya's fight against orientational Communism.

He said: "We will watch with great interest the progress of the new independent State which has been just established."

"I want to make use of the opportunity to convey the good wishes to the people of Malaya on this great occasion in their history."

"The discovery of the area on the tip of our country, the Cape of Good Hope, more than 200 years ago by Portuguese navigators, led to a greater contact between Europe and the East and the development of extensive trade relations also in those areas which today constitute the Federation of Malaya."

"It is, therefore, fitting that my message to the Malayan peoples on this occasion should be an expression of good hope—good hope for your future peace and prosperity, and we hope that you may be able to enjoy in tranquillity the independence which your country has attained and which you are now celebrating."

"In conveying the good wishes of the people and the Government of South Africa, I at the same time wish to assure you of the desire of my colleagues and myself and of our people for the maintenance of friendly relations between our two countries and co-operation in regard to matters of common concern."

Feyou were said in the mosque of the Cape Peninsula to mark the coming into being of the independent Federation of Malaya.—Sapa.

The occasion was the meeting of the council.

It was decided to write to the executive committee for more definite action.

During discussion, it suggested that it was not that non-European of the faith, and who speaks the language as Afrikaans, not given as worship in the same place where there were church facilities for them.

Louw Says: "Excep"

I FOUND considerable sympathy in Britain, because not directed against a White South Africa. Louw, Minister of Education, here, commenting on his visit.

He referred to the "morally dirty" television programme in Britain which taped Mr. Strijdom and on the apartheid question.

Mr. Louw said that he on the very highest and that the British Government had asked the B.R.C. to broadcast the programme from the Prime Minister's office, but that it should be postponed until after the election.

Refused Request

"The B.R.C. not only the request but actually the date of the ward so that it was two days before the latest conference."

"To me it is clear was done deliberately dictately."

Mr. Louw said that Prime Minister got the impression now realized that "memories on which the Commonwealth that it was best to honesty."

Casual Mixed Services

10 This was allowed in special cases, it was pointed out.

11 **Was Pleased**

12 The discussion was the subject of a report by the Commission for non-European Affairs, under the chairmanship of Dr. G.B.A. Gordon.

13 The Rev. F. S. Luty said that he was very pleased recently when he visited a church and found that there were also a number of non-European members present.

14 Some years ago this was a sad state of affairs.

15 Lastly, however, it often happened that there were non-European members in places where there were no church facilities for them.

16 Although they spoke the same language as the Europeans and

were of the same faith, they were not allowed to join the European churches.

This was a wrong state of affairs and the church should go into the matter.

Dr. H. W. Kettel of Transvaal also said it was time the church gave its attention to the question.

D.P. Won't Co-operate With Anti-Colour Groups

THESE could be no united front against the Nationalist Party in the coming election because of the policies of the smaller parties, and Mr. E. H. Greenwood, M.P., Pietermaritzburg District, and a member of the United Party's Executive Committee, in Pietermaritzburg.

Mr. Greenwood was speaking to a gathering of the United Party representatives meeting in the Supper Room of the City Hall. He said it had been proved that the United Party could defeat any opposition from the smaller parties.

The Federal Party had stated that before it could fight the Nationalist it had to wipe out the United Party. For this reason alone it would be impossible for the United Party to co-operate with the Federalists.

An East London chair candidate had lost his deposit when he fought the United Party candidate. "At least the Federal Party should realize that they are no less than they can only keep the right opinion the Nationalist, he said. The Federal Party had never won a seat in any election.

"We cannot share a platform with a people who believe in the segregation of non-European and Europeans," Mr. Greenwood continued. For this reason there would be no co-operation with the Liberal Party, which stood for an colour bar.

Referring to the Labour Party, he said it was as liberal as the Liberal Party. It had also been proved that the Labour Party was now only on the grounds of the United Party. "Where it fought the United Party it lost."

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10 Significant South Africa pretensions here. This prejudice was very far from the attitude of the South Africa, Mr. E. H. said at a Nationalist meeting.

11 In Belgium, France and France had discussed matters of mutual interest with the United of External Affairs as well as the continent of Africa.

12 The consensus of opinion was that the countries having to be in Africa should have similar discussions with each other.

13 In French With Chances

14 "I also had discussions with a Prime Minister of Ghana, Mr. Kwame, and we agreed that our two countries should make in touch with each other," said Mr. Luty.

15 Mr. Luty said that the Nationalist would fight the forthcoming general election without making any election promises.

16 "I would they would stand as far from the past as possible of a half past."

17 On part, the general election had always been held during April or May, and he predicted that it would again take place at more or less the same time.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

LIFE IN GANDHIJI'S LITTLE COTTAGE

CHAPTER XXVI

His own little cottage, built of sun-baked mud, was a model in its design and order. When guests came to visit him they could hardly believe that such a plain little cottage was the home of so great a man. There was no furniture except an ordinary wooden bed and a few bamboo chairs for holding books and papers. If he wished, he could have had a palace, because thousands of Indians would have spent all they had in the world, just to please him. But he wanted nothing that a poor man could not have also. He in that little cottage there was nothing that a poor man could not have made with his two hands. "Gharana, garibana, daya math, bahana, for the fact he used a very hot day, all were made of plain old palm leaves.

From all over the world people sent him books, manuscripts and papers, but he kept none for himself. All were given to the library of the ashram, so that all

might share in his knowledge of them.

Everything in the bed had its own particular place, and Gandhiji knew where everything was to be found. Even if only

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

a place a bit of paper was required, he could find it in his moment.

At first the bed was only one big room, but after a time small partitions were put up. In this way, while the huge space before, there were three rooms: a dressing room, a bath-room and a study or living room. In the study Gandhiji worked all day, reading his own writings, receiving visitors and discussing his plans with his friends and fellow workers, or spinning. However busy he was he never failed to do this daily half hour of spinning. This was because he knew the importance of good

cotton. How could others say they had not time for a little daily spinning when Gandhiji, with all his huge loads of work, could manage it.

Very often, important visitors would come during the spinning time. Gandhiji would receive them kindly, but continue his spinning throughout the visit. When it was so hot that any other spot men would surely have retired, he would go on weaving his villages just the same, with a cool bandage fixed with wet earth round his head, to keep him fresh.

For all who came he had sympathy and patience, no matter how humble they were. No one went away without having learned something good from him.

Once, when he was fasting as a penance for quarrels and riots between Hindus and Muslims, a couple of patients came to the Ashram, bringing for some of the water in which Gandhiji's feet had been washed. Their son was dying and they felt that if this water was given to him he might recover.

As soon as Gandhiji heard of this, he sent for the couple. Though weak from many days of fasting, he quickly explained to them how silly it was to think that dirty water could cure any-

body. Only "God can work miracles," he said sternly, and to God only must they turn. When he had made them understand their foolishness, he let them go.

His love of service is evident even before all this. He felt that it was far more important than even the very greatest political work. He used to say that if we do not serve others, life has no meaning.

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(To be continued)

Inter-Racial Schools For Uganda

Beginning with the next school year, Government secondary schools in Uganda will adopt a policy of inter-racial education. In making this announcement, the Minister of Social Services in Uganda, Mr. G. B. Cartland, said that the purpose would be gradual to avoid the lowering of standards in any of these schools.—CHINAGO.

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Arrest Us, Chant Native Women

Zerust, Tuesday.

CHANTING African women, from the Toposa reserve in the Narva district, followed policemen, armed with gas guns and rifles, and demanded to be arrested, this afternoon.

The police squad, comprising 40 members of the Porters rifle squad and police from Zerust, all under Captain J. A. Wright, of Rastenburg, had arrested about 25 African women, over the public burning of reference books in the reserve last week.

Early this morning the police arrived at the reserve and ordered African women to quarantine the women. An African, who had seen the burning of the books, accompanied them.

As the prisoners were being taken away, a large crowd of women followed them and demanded to be arrested.

A crowd of African men also followed the police and were threatening. Some of the Africans cited the police to fire on

them, but there was no violence.

Refused To Leave

Through an interpreter, Captain Wright asked the African women to disperse. The police had evidence only against those that had been arrested, he said. The African women refused to leave.

"If you arrest our sisters, you must arrest us, too," they chanted. Eventually 513 of them were placed under voluntary arrest and transported to Zerust about 30 miles away, in police trucks and a bus.

All were detained in the courtyard of the Zerust Police Station. Many still had their young children with them.

Meanwhile, their menfolk, back at the reserve were grilling 10 youth inmates.

At the reserve a strong police guard was retained and Captain Wright remained there till late at night.

Violence On The Screen

HOLLYWOOD film star, Dee Marney, currently appearing in the film "Bachelor Party," has turned down the lead in "Hell Bent Kid," the Charles C. Locke novel.

Reporting this decision, the influential US newspaper, the "Philadelphia Inquirer," said:

"Not often do you find an actor so scrupulous about his principles that he identifies his screen roles with them, but Dee Marney, for this reason, turned down the lead in 'Hell Bent Kid,'" the Charles C. Locke novel.

"The character Dee was asked to play was that of a killer forced by circumstances into a life of violence."

"He told producer Robert Becker that his spiritual beliefs would not allow him to take on the portrayal, and, believe it or not, 25th (Twentieth Century-Fox) is not paying him an suspension."

Last December Dee Marney gave an exclusive interview to "Peace News" in which he told of his stand as a conscientious objector to military service and of his work with his wife, her refugees in Italy.

India Appoints High Commissioner To Free Malaya

ON August 31, the day Malaya became independent, India raised its mission in Kuala Lumpur to a High Commission and Mr. V. M. V. Malvankar took charge as High Commissioner.

The Federation of Malaya will be a full and equal member of the Commonwealth. Mr. Padi, leader of the Indian delegation to the independence celebrations, said before leaving: "The peaceful transfer of power to the Malayan people is a great act of statesmanship on the part of both the U.K. Government and Malayan leaders."

"The people of India are happy over the attainment of freedom by the Malayan people. Malaya, like India, is achieving independence after a great struggle and sacrifice," he said.

The status of the office of the Malayan Commissioner in New Delhi has also been raised to that of a High Commission. Mr. Subbalingam Narayana has been selected for appointment and he is expected to arrive to take up his new duties early this month.

Mineral Deposits Discovered In Pakistan

RECENT surveys made by geologists in the Quetta and Kuno regions of West Pakistan have revealed deposits of chromite, high quality iron ore, copper and manganese ore, as well as indications of gold in the Chagai district, on the borders of Afghanistan.

The geologists are carrying out an extensive survey for the Pakistan Government to find mineral resources for the country's growing industries. They have been assisted in their work by scientists from the Geophysical Institute in Quetta, established by the Government with the assistance from United Nations experts under the United Nations programme of technical assistance.

Other minerals discovered include vanadium, used in an industry, boron, which is necessary for iron and steel industries, bauxite, a heavy mineral used in drilling and aluminium. These discoveries have yet to be processed to determine their commercial value.

During their operations, the Pakistani geologists have used aerial photographs taken by the Photographic Survey Corporation

of Canada, under the Colombo Plan. The photos make it possible to distinguish various rock formations and define possible mineralised areas. Maps now being prepared in Canada from the photographs will provide a basis for planning future surveys.—UNESCO.

Botanical Gardens For The Blind Created In Holland

Gardens specially laid out for blind people have been created in several countries in recent years. The Hague, in the Netherlands, is the latest city to provide this amenity for the sightless. A botanical garden counselling plants and flowering shrubs with particularly distinctive perfumes has been laid out, with specially devised borders so that visitors can touch the plants as they wander round. Plants with names in Braille characters are placed beside such specimens.—UNESCO.

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Bangkok Seminar Discusses Asian Women's Role In Public Life

Indian Bank Sends Two Africans For Study On Scholarship

WOMEN leaders from 15 Asian countries meeting in Bangkok recently stressed that good citizenship starts at home, and agreed that duties to the family and community responsibilities were inseparable.

All well-known figures in public life, the women leaders were attending a United Nations seminar on the civic responsibilities of Asian women and their greater participation in public life. The seminar reviewed educational, economic and health conditions, and religious attitudes that might help or hinder the role that Asian women play in their countries' affairs.

Visiting and standing for election are part of citizenship, and the Bangkok meeting deplored the speedy generation among women in Asian countries in exercising their political rights. Economic bonds which prevent many women entering the public scene must be broken by giving them vocational training and opportunities for part-time work, it was stated in the final

report.

Several speakers pointed out at the seminar that in many cases Asian women have been given rights by law which have not, however, been translated into practice. Women have an important part to play in influencing public opinion, and men would have to be made fully aware of women's rights as citizens. It was emphasized that a great responsibility rests on educated women to ensure that customs and traditions do not continue to be a drag on the recognition of women's rights.

A highlight of the meeting was the wide support given to family planning as necessary to several Asian countries. Delegates said that more information on this subject should be made available.

Action was proposed to provide better conditions of health, and particularly measures to improve sanitation and nutrition which helps the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies was recognized. (UNESCO).

Nairobi.

MR. DAVID LUBANGA from Lugazi, Uganda, has arrived in Bombay to study banking on a scholarship given by the Bank of India, an Indian bank which has several branches in East Africa.

Another student, Mr. Joseph Ruvwanda of Port Pearl, has also been selected and will leave for India shortly for the same training.

Two new men were chosen from over 15 applicants from all parts of East Africa. They will receive a stipend of Rs 300 a month and after their prescribed training in Bombay, will be eligible to appear at the Indian Institute of Bankers examination.

These are the first selections for the two scholarships instituted through the efforts of Mr. C. T. Shah, the Bank's Manager in Nairobi, and Mr. R. C. Shah, Manager in Kampala. Valuable assistance to one of the students for his additional expenditure was

given by Mr. Mahendra Mehta of the Uganda Sugar Factory, Lugazi.

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It is an interesting question how far men would retain their relative rank if they were divorced of their clothes. Could you in such a case tell a study of any company of civilized men which belong to the rejected class—Thoreau

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920

Former Editor: Maxwell Gandhi—1912-1944

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WHAT IS NKRUMAH'S GOVERNMENT REALLY UP TO?

From Our Own Correspondent

CONFLICTING reports about events in Ghana have caused a good deal of anxiety to people in many parts of the world. In the following article our special correspondent in Great Britain describes some of the latest Ghana situation.

Events in Ghana remain as puzzling today as they did some two weeks back. The two Moslem leaders whose proposed deportation set the ball rolling have been deported. Dr. Nkrumah has announced the introduction of conscription, he has proposed one of the strongest members of his Party to be Minister of the Interior, revealed the formation of a new intelligence service responsible directly to himself, and called for more self-discipline amongst the parliamentary Opposition. And still the particular reasons for the recent deportations are covered by a fog of misnomer.

During the week-end August 24-25 Mr. Kofi Aboke, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, told the Christian Council of Ghana, which had earlier protested against the deportation of the Moslem leaders, that the Government had been compelled to make the deportations because of disturbances and hooliganism in Accra which had been organised by the two men. Mr. Aboke asserted

that there had also been "numerous attacks...on the integrity and good faith of the judge hearing the case" in which the Moslems had been contesting the deportation order on the grounds that they are actually Ghana citizens. He continued: "The extent to which these supporting the two men wished to rely upon this method of dealing with the matter is shown by the fact that a front-bench member of the Opposition actually repeated in the Assembly on the day before the debate on the bill one of the allegations against the judge which is subject to proceedings for contempt in the High Court. Since reports of Parliamentary proceedings are privileged, it was thus possible for newspapers supporting the men's case once again to reprint what had already been alleged as contempt and which otherwise would have been sub judice." The Government, he said, was not prepared to yield to threats of force and the Premier was surprised that the Christian Council should have sug-

gested that they should have done so.

Uproar

On August 29 there were scenes of uproar in the Ghana Parliament. Dr. Nkrumah angered the Opposition when he replied to their constant demand for "facts" concerning the deportations by declaring that "if the facts were to come all Opposition members would be in prison." The most disturbing elements of his speech to the Assembly, however, were those in which he announced a plan to split the Ministry of the Interior and Justice and to establish an intelligence service which would give the Government "a comprehensive picture of the local and international situation." He also said that the Government contemplated introducing compulsory military National Service alongside the establishment of a territorial force. He did not elaborate on what he meant to convey by the statements that in Ghana it was necessary "to impose by positive discipline what in older democracies is done subtly and indirectly."

Wild Declarations

There have been a number of wild declarations in Ghana that the Government is attempting to establish a dictatorship. As yet we may safely say that the de-

clarations are wild in the sense that they are not founded on established fact. Nevertheless the situation and the developments must give rise to concern. Mr. James Marris, of the "Manchester Guardian," who was recently in South Africa and has now gone to Ghana, wrote on August 31, "Every eye is cast with curiosity upon Nkrumah, who sometimes reminds me as he sits in Parliament among his volatile associates of Tenzing Sherpa surrounded by the jabbering politicians of Nepal when he returned from the summit of Everest. Certainly there is in the current attitudes of this unusual man a distinct suggestion of totalitarian trends. What does he mean when he talks so incessantly of 'discipline'?"

What is the real purpose of a worker's brigade? Why conscription? Why does he refuse to see foreign correspondents or give press conferences?

It may well be that he is being forced into these unfortunate attitudes by the pressure of events, by the appalling problems of imposing a modern democratic system upon a society so riddled with tribal traditions and prejudices. Perhaps he is not so all-powerful within his party as the world supposes him to be, but is be-

(Continued on page 405)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 13TH, SEPTEMBER, 1957

SABRA'S Interracial Conference

It has been announced that the South African Bureau of Race Relations (Sabra) is planning to convene a national conference of all the races to enable the various groups to know each other at closer range. This is an overdue step in the right direction.

It has always seemed odd to us that Sabra should claim that it was a scientific body out to find the real facts about the race situation and yet barred its doors against the men of colour—the persons involved on the other side of the race problem. As long as Sabra has its doors to non-White members it will remain nothing more than a propaganda for the Nationalist Party.

Attention

The recent announcement would suggest that some people in the organisation realise that Sabra cannot help the Afrikaner Nationalist much if it does not give attention to how those affected most by apartheid react to it. If the conference is the first step to get to know how the other people feel about apartheid, we think it is something to be encouraged.

While welcoming the idea of a mixed conference as sensible, we should like to strike a note of warning as well. Whenever race gatherings are mentioned from the Afrikaans side the non-White cannot help feeling a little anxious. Prejudice in the past has tended to give the non-European the impression that from the Afrikaans side there is not always that genuine readiness to appreciate how the non-Whites feel about the way they are treated. The non-European is expected to see nothing but virtue from the Afrikaans side. When he is critical, he is either a communist or a scoundrel of the Jews or the English.

Independent Minds

While welcoming the coming conference, we should like to add that attempts to invite to it people who will say what the Nationalists would like to hear will doom it before hand. Sabra must invite men and women from many walks of life who will speak their minds freely. From our knowledge of non-European opinion, the Afrikaner Nationalist must be ready for plain speaking from the non-White side as well. If Sabra is ready for that, then the conference can hope to achieve real good to bridge the gulf between the Afrikaner in particular and the non-White.

At the same time we should like to appeal to leaders of non-White opinion to be a little more flexible in their approach to what Sabra and others are beginning to do in the Afrikaans community. In spite of Verwoerd and the persecution of our leaders, thoughtful people in the Afrikaans community are beginning to realise that there is a lot that is wrong with apartheid. These should be encouraged to see the truth in clearer light.

Comment On Men And Events

Erasmus And The Communists

By JORDAN K. NGURANE

THE South African Minister of Defence has been saying a lot in London to warn both America and Great Britain of the danger of communism from the Middle East. If present trends are any guide, the warnings are certainly not unwarranted. But we must be quite clear about what the Minister has in mind when he roars around the capitals of the West raising the anti-communist cry.

The Ministerialists are uncompromisingly hostile to communism. Firstly, most of them are churchmen. Calvinists and loyal members of their Church. Secondly, the Ministers are sturdy individualists and have with all their being the sort of regeneration (for themselves) without which communism loses much of its meaning. But their greatest opposition springs from communism's blindness to race as colour; to its insistence on regarding all men as equal.

Brand Him

The African or European or Indian who advocates race equality in South Africa might be a very staunch capitalist. If he advocates race equality the Nationalists will not hesitate to brand him a communist.

Against this background the anti-communist cry raised by the Union's Minister of Justice has a suspicious ring. While keeping our eyes open against communism, we must at the same time know who is speaking when Erasmus declaims against the communists. He wants Whites to act only against the agents of Moscow but against the non-White democrats.

This places us, as it does the West, in a difficult position. The British regime is so dangerous an enemy of democracy as are the communists, if given the opportunity. When it stands against the communists, we know that it is really working up opinion to justify its attacks on greater democrats in this country. To us, white people like me are as friends of communism, it becomes impossible for us to trust the Nationalists in their war on communism.

Face Danger

Great Britain and America might wish to help Erasmus in his war on the agents of Moscow. But they, too, must face the

danger that in doing that they might be allying themselves with the enemies of genuine democracy in this part of the world. For, help given to the Nationalist government against so-called communists is really help given to crush genuine democracy in this country.

Each we and the West must realise that arms and bombs and money is themselves are no real defence against communist infiltration. The real defence lies in the minds of men. Consequently, if the Union Government genuinely fights communism, it must hit at points where only positive results will be obtained—it must convince the mass of colour that it no longer wants democracy to be enjoyed by people with a White skin only.

It must go further. It must realise that the only effective form of defence against communism is to convince four-fifths of the South African population that democracy offers them, too, the greater better than what communism promises. In other words, it must give them a vested interest in defending democracy against all comers.

Boastings

Unfortunatly Erasmus is not thinking in this direction. He wants support for White domination; he wants the White people in England and America to rally to stand by him because he is also a White man. Communism is branded above largely because it will frighten very many people in the West less forgetting apartheid's wickedness and less believing that communism is a greater evil than apartheid.

For our part we must take the point well known into the mind of the West that we shall regard support for apartheid as an unfriendly Whites act against the victims of apartheid. If all we can look for from the West is support for apartheid in the guise of support against communism! If all we can look for from the West is to be told about the evils of communism while little is done to help us wipe apartheid from the face of the earth—then the West should not be surprised if we do not think it is worth a friend to us.

Britain and ourselves are definitely going in opposite and

(Continued on page 404)

Press Review

Attacks On Bishop Reeves

SOMETIMES I think that we are a people of Gns. Piet Justens. If we have an enemy as the can we do not keep on making him run. If we have the chance to settle accounts with him for good by not letting go, we break off the fight. Then we sit down so that he can bind his wounds and bury his dead. Then we give him the opportunity to dig ourselves instead of graves, or to slip away.

It does not matter what our enemies are. Our Piet Justens was inspired by the highest of motives.

I am thinking here of the case of Reeves, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg who said in America that apartheid in Anglican schools exist because a "racial education" is necessary for the school integration between White and Black.

He has exposed himself, his fellow-bishops and the churches who defend him, apartheid but practice it exclusively in their schools, among many other places, to being called by ugly names.

He has also given the Nationalists the chance to carry on the political struggle far worse on

that point and to force the Supra still further on to the defensive.

But apart from the "Burger" it is only Mr. Eric Louw who hangs on. The others have evidently let Bishop Reeves get away.

I hope Mr. Louw will go on keeping the matter alive so that it may play its proper role in the general election.

From: political, secretary of "Truth" in the "Supra."

— 0 —

Who Said "No"?

SINCE there is an official explanation as to why Mr. Patrick Cavanagh has been refused a renewal of his passport we are left to draw our own conclusions. And the conclusion that seems valid is that Mr. Cavanagh is regarded as a "political enemy" by the Government and is being treated as such. Because Mr. Cavanagh is the national organizer of the Liberal Party, and because there is reason to suppose that he will take every opportunity of criticizing the policy of the Government, he is not to be allowed to go abroad.

"West-India Mail."

Commonwealth countries as India and Ghana) was from Britain, was being a Conservative M.P. and the other a Labour member; and two Britishers appointed by the Barotsi National Council.

The congress says that as written of the Commonwealth is related with the findings of a previous commission inquiry officer.

It alleges, concealed misrepresentation, and it adds that until the new commission has reported, no draft amendments should be passed in each case.

The letter is signed by King Mwanika, secretary-general of the congress, and a copy has been sent to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Australian Paper Says India's Case Strong

UNDER the caption "On Kashmir India's Case is Strong," the "Daily Post," of Calcutta, correspondent city of Queensland, Australia, published an August 15 despatch from Nicholas Temple, giving an assessment of the respective positions of Pakistan and India on Kashmir.

Giving the background of the dispute, Temple said references favored Kashmir, following which the story accented to India and thereafter the Pakistan Army caused the rift.

Referring to the Pakistan Government's decision to reject the latest offer again in the United Nations, Temple said Pakistan would do this by raising the report of Dr. Jerning of Sweden, and added: "This report goes a long way towards recognizing the strength of India's case on Kashmir and may form the key issue before settlement."

"Finally, it recognizes for the first time that the military situation in the area has materially altered during the past few years, solely because of arms shipments from the United States to Pakistan. This is in direct contravention of the many-day agreements and various other United Nations resolutions. On the other hand, Indian forces have

stayed pretty much as they were."

Glaring Contrast

Referring to progress made on the Indian side of Kashmir and in the Pakistan-occupied part, the correspondent told the "contrast between the two halves is glaringly in India's favor."

The correspondent posed the question "What would the future of Kashmir be if it were to accede to Pakistan?" and gave the answer himself. He said: "It would take Pakistan many years to bring 'Azad' Kashmir to the standards of the Indian side. Indeed, the standard is considerably higher than that prevailing in many parts of Pakistan proper, and age is left with the suspicion that they would have to slow down the rate of progress. It is doubtful if the Indian Kashmiri would accept that and who (with the experience of the poverty of the Kashmiri) can blame him?"

Basuto Demand Abolition Of Colour Bar In Their Land

Bloemfontein.

THE Basutoled African Congress has written to the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Education, and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and asking him to demand the immediate termination of a legislative council in Basutoland.

The Congress also urges that the demand for the removal of the office of the President, Commissioner, Mr. A. G. T. Chapple, go a declaration that Basutoland will never be incorporated in the Union unless it is approved by a two-thirds majority of the Basuto; the abolition of colour discrimination in the territory; and the appointment of a commission to inquire into "white" abuses.

On the question of a legislative council, the congress letter says: "The majority of the Basuto feel that it is long overdue and the glaring misbehaviour, administrative and political, which are detrimental to the welfare of the country, can be remedied only by a legislature of this kind."

It asks that such a legislature should have the sole right of dealing with all domestic matters and that there should be "no unrepresented conference from the British Government."

Mr. Chapple's removal from office is "urged on the grounds that he is a South African and 'we fear that South Africans bring with them anti-Basuto Union laws and pave the way for incorporation.'"

The request for a declaration about incorporation and for the abolition of colour discrimination are not embodied in the letter.

The request for an inquiry into "white" abuses is also for a six-year commission, consisting of two members chosen from the United Nations by each

Votes For The Monogamous

By R. T.

I'm an African who studied for a medical degree, Help all who seek the services of doctors such as we. My rebel comes though her ways be, polygamy And then I cannot vote, by parliamentary decree.

I read and write in several tongues. Can speak my six or seven. And as a child I was a maid, she must have been eleven. Our sides hearkened to their gods to make this nation in heaven. But if I want to vote today, this nation I must leave.

As I developed and the time of puberty appeared, I took a wife. This same bed-come for marriage to be stored. And now I must enter here and the family we must guard. No cloud on our horizon till the voting roll appears.

To vote it seems a man must not ride his kick and lie. Do not offend the dignity of man. A vote is a gift to win From power that he who rule and order and then say with a grin, "A vote for you! About! Look at the colour of your skin!"

Dr. Schweitzer—A Re-Assessment—1

TWO recent books on Africa provided a refreshingly unorthodox approach towards the Albert Schweitzer myth from which all of us who have written about him have suffered no long. Just as in his reconstruction of the historical Jesus Dr. Schweitzer questioned the accepted human fallibility of the man, so he questioned his own religious achievement, as John Gaudin can write that "Schweitzer would be intolerable if, together with his overwhelming

of truth. They provided a spontaneous and dramatic quality to his practical example of self-sacrificing compassion and attention for life, without which his impact on European thought and sympathy would have been less effective.

My own serious doubts about the inevitable fabric of the Schweitzer legend began with the reading of the Nobel Peace Prize speech, delivered on November 4, 1954. The full text was only reached on 10 January 1955, a few days before Dr. Schweitzer's 70th birthday for which I had written articles for British, South African and Indian papers. After reading the speech I was not surprised to hear that all but one of the dozen or so Indian papers which had originally accepted the article finally refused to print it—not because of anything I said, but because of some derogatory remarks made by Dr. Schweitzer in his Oslo speech about the indifference of merely independent countries underscoring "a long history of pain in many regions."

Anyone who starts to turn back to the speech will see that the passage appears in the context of a denunciation of nationalism is general, on grounds of racism and morality that can hardly be refuted. Many of the best minds in the newly independent Asian countries, where the deepest offences were committed, would agree with Schweitzer's argument philosophically. The real cause of offence was his obvious inability to see that the period of colonial rule in Asia was hardly unique as "a long history of pain" by the commonly admitted principle, and the apparent lack of understanding that a period of a far more extensive colonialism is inevitably part of the price and the cost of modern-

ization, however ethically reprehensible it may be. And I remember thinking how naive it was that so many read a message as I believe Schweitzer's to be, should be inspired by such small and easily corrected lapses.

But further reflection on other passages in Schweitzer's works—especially the essay "Our role in Colonial Africa" (1), and parts of his two books from the personal front—convinced me that there were not momentary shortcomings but derived from a fundamental defect in Schweitzer's outlook, an over-emphasis on the civilizing mission of the European, an intellectualized version of the "White man's burden", and a lack of sympathy for human nature, at least with non-Whites.

Against this view, as we pass to references of evidence now to be added, I have myself in earlier articles quoted the opinion of a young Kikuyu studying in America three years ago who wrote about the great gulf of suspicion between white and black in Africa today.

"This discrepancy between the White man's professed democracy and religion and his behaviour towards Africans has become so glaringly evident that precisely anything proposed by my White man is at once subject to suspicion and mistrust. Only such remarkable Whites as Albert Schweitzer and Father Michael Sene (a would surely not see Father Trosen Mudiambi) rise with African exceptions. They are very few."

But that, though the verdict of an African, was said by someone who had never met Schweitzer and was probably under the influence of the legend.

Again, there is much that can be quoted from his books about African respect being earned only by goodness and moral worth, about every White man in Africa being in constant danger of moral ruin, about the hopeless-

ness of remedying a selfishness in the face of Africa's human and physical trials and so being a standard-bearer of civilization, about the solemnity of speaking about and dealing with Africans as if they were earth or stone, about anything we can give these being momentary for our past also terrible Africans, not least, however, the discharge of a great debt with which our conscience is burdened. But by for the larger part of this category of evidence against my perspective has to be drawn from Schweitzer's earlier books. And even there, quite a lot of the "older brother" philosophy is to be found.

As we read on through the writings and speeches of his later years this moral emphasis recedes and is replaced by a greater insistence on "non-driving mission", an independence itself not being a hurdle but a temptation, a mid-decade off the main thoroughfare of progress through hard manual work and hardihood to self-sufficiency under kindest treatment. Of course, the true conception of moral duty and a striving towards it are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, the latter, if sincere, must depend on the former and is in itself to depend by Schweitzer. It is never easy, though it is not impossible, to look his logic, even if some of his basic premises seem more open to question today than when he first associated them forty years ago. But I do not think it can seriously be disputed that there is a marked shift of emphasis in his later writings and repeated attacks on White-Black relations.

(1) A. Albert Schweitzer (Dordrecht).

(2) From The African of Albert Schweitzer, by C. B. Jay and H. Arnold (A. and C. Black).

(To be continued)

By
C. W. F. GILL

intellectual and moral virtues, he did not have defects." In all circumstances he is a great good figure—and much more truly admirable for having done what he has despite failures which only a dispassionate observer on the part of his admirers can kindly be so long.

These failures have little to do with old age in which he has, in fact, made few concessions. His himself has admitted having been "irregular" and having "been lost"; and so these failings lie Gaudin's words that he is often disoriented, particularly in a personal Testament, memory, health, and, on some points, relatively old-fashioned. And it is such a defect that appears in part from a certain immaturity of mind, and inability to realize that changing times require a changing application of the eternal moral principles he has so strongly preached, that I wish to deal here.

Hayden Faurer has persuaded it. In his second volume of biography (1) he found Dr. Schweitzer "a little out of touch with the African and in his feeling that the Black world is still a child and that 'White hands lead'". He has done a noble service of good, but his influence in the greater world in Africa. That is the way I think he intended it to be. "Here are two faces of the same coin—that the human mind in European is more impressed in Schweitzer and his life work than vice-versa, and that his attitude to Africans looks warm and loving. To say that he had used them, as parents for their respect of his own would be a very exaggerated and unfair conclusion. But it contains an element

PEOPLE
LOOK
AT YOUR SHOES

See they get "NUGGET" Polish every day!

The Great Indian Revolt Of 1857

(Continued from last week)

THE HEROES

As we look back upon the heroic days of the Great Revolt, we see many signs of heroes and martyrdom. Of them, three heroes and one martyr have been authorized in the posthumous of those who lived and died for the Reichland.

The first of these was doubtless Mangal Pandey. His distance was the spark, his martyrdom the flame which ignited the fire of revolt.

The second was Kamwar Singh of Jagdishpur. Though 40 years old, he placed himself at the head of the soldiers in revolt at Dimpur and Assah. Untrained in military strategy, he displayed bravery, skill and strategy. From Assah he led

49yr. "he slipped through them all—through's meaning watching every item of the jungle in which he lay concealed."

At last he was betrayed by the traitor Max Hagh, himself a refugee and a trained hussar, and delivered to the British. The brave Taita was tried by the British at Singapore April 13 1857, and hanged three days later. Thus ended the life of the most resourceful and determined leader of the Revolt.

The Brave Band

The last in this galaxy of heroes was Leishman, the Red of Jeannette. Of her it is difficult to speak in terms without emotion. Though a Bankers' woman, Leishman was married, once she placed herself as the leader of the Revolt, she showed an indomitable spirit rarely given to men or women.

Under her leadership, Jhansi steadily defied the siege of the British. Her "gait never seemed being except at night, even women were seen working at the batteries and distributing ammunition."

When Jhaol eventually left, the Hasi joined Yanti Topi at Kalpi, and aided by the Nawab of Banda, succeeded in settling the intermarriage differences of the reports. She heavily insured the attack on Kalpi until it fell and her forces withdrew. She then remained a daring play to reoccupy Gwalior, which she later did.

But, what when Gessler had been captured, Ruz Sakhe, the deputy of Hann Saker, began to get busy with his emissaries to tempt him. Finally, cynically enough, they remained inactive. The King always protested against the waste of time and money in these meaningless ceremonies when they should be concentrating their resources against the imminent danger of British attack.

The British troops held aloof in Gwalior. When the Gwalior troops were unwilling to be led by Tantia, the Rani rose to the occasion. She took the lead, prepared for the battle and herself led the troops into action.

The Last Battle

Then I showed a grain battle,
Devoted to a man and a moment.

so home-ward, the Earl led the troops. With lightning swiftness she moved from place to place, inspiring them.

The British troops, however, proved hard and won the day.

When the British Hussars made the final charge, it was the Red who, in the confusion of whatever was left of his troops, bare the brunt. The commander had been overwhelmed. Some of these died. The Red was carried along by his horse with the fiercest struggles. Foezy willy have me set off in pursuit. At a canal, the Red was killed, his horse jumping. A Mexican came along upon horse. He said from a shot which wounded him and then cut off his nose. He said so. A little later, went with bleeding, the left, the British Hussars rushed past, their horses trampling the remains of one of the nobles. The British were and the most potent weapon in the history of mankind.

The Great Revolt led to the emergence of our Will for Freedom, intellects and faith's though it was. The first step towards integration had been taken. It was left to the succeeding decades, to Dayanand Saraswati to the founders and leaders of the Congress, to Tilak, Aurobindo and Gandhi.

to translate the will of a disarmed and overwhelmed country into a universal movement of resistance, which ultimately, under the leadership of the Mahatma, blossomed into the non-violent war of civil disobedience, and led to the freedom of India on August 15, 1947.

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AIR India International has pleasure in announcing the introduction of a third service on the Mumbai/Delhi route, with effect from the end September, 1999.

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DETTOL

THE ANTISEPTIC DOCTORS USE

can Nationalism Black States For New

land and Overland
states could then be
incorporated into the Union,
ed by the present concern
Union and South-West

White parts would be
incorporated in the Union,
a. The system of govern-
of the States would be
administered by the popula-
represented, but relations
other matters would be
based in consultation with
the

Dr. P. M. F. says that
an undesirable that the
states can not be incor-
porated in the Union on the
line of a purely develop-
ment policy. The only
progress in the future
of a champion of the
states concerned, an ob-
ject for them freedom from
any domination on con-
dition that they remain a full
deputy of the West
Commission and Anti-
communism.

have successful, then a

beginning could be made with
the development of further
States such as Zaireland
and Rhodesia.

Alternatives

He says: "In any case we
cannot allow England to create
independent States within
our borders, as will certainly
happen if we do not prevent it;
or that the United Nations take
South-West Africa under pro-
tection as will happen if we do
not give Natives there full poli-
tical rights; or that the United
States and Russia in competi-
tion with each other success-
fully create new non-European
to a general opinion, against
White hegemony, which will
certainly even if we do not
allow developing States outside
the prospect of real self-govern-
ment."

Professor de Plessis says that
present Natives, who are
unsatisfactory because it comes on
clear and acceptable prospect
for the future. It is essential
to begin for the basic independ-
ence of the present concern and
South-West Africa in the Union
as a White state. That could
simply not happen.

SABRA Thinking Of Mixed Conference

Stellenbosch.

Continuation committee appointed at last year's Volks-
kongres at Stellenbosch to study race relations has decided to
conference, probably next year, with representatives of the
community, it has been announced.

President by Mr. J. W. G. G.
The chief spokesman of
and Stellenbosch from the
representatives and ac-
tively the committee, after
the conference has been
held the conference will
study for good relations
and between the White
and Black populations and
group to be followed
by a strategy, standpoint
conference of the other
side has decided to hold
conference.

conference decided to
meet those who, in con-
sultation with the parties con-
solidated in being about
the contact between
Union committee
between populations.

Programme

It was also suggested that
separate and distinct conferences
should be held so that the pub-
lic would be informed about
discussions taken by the Volks-
kongres as well as about the
views and impressions of the
separate policy.

The programme of activities
would be planned on a long-
term basis and would have
"considerable educational im-
portance." It was hoped that
the nation would make it possible
to carry out the responsible task
which had been entrusted to
the committee by the Volks-
kongres.

Fifty delegates representing
various organisations attended
the conference.—Sapa.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Love Of God

CHAPTER XXVII

ALl this goodness and sweetness came from his great love of God. He saw God in every living creature. Without God nothing on earth could live. The life in each one of us is a little spark of the eternal life of God. We all know this, but we forget it again and again. Gandhiji never forgot it. That is why he was able to look with love on every creature, however vile, lovable or ugly.

This great love of God made him take great joy in prayer. He never failed to pray morning and evening. He said that whatever trouble we are in, there is no medicine like prayer. Morning and evening prayers at Savitram were something so visible that we forgot.

Gandhiji used to say that the desert was the best place for prayer. In the desert, where there is nothing in one's mind but God, and the blue sky above, our hearts easily

turn to God. Our minds are not distracted by one or two or a dozen.

The place chosen for prayer at Savitram was a little like the desert. It was a wide, open

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

space, sprinkled with gravel, to avoid dust in summer and mud in the rainy season. Gandhiji's place was under a great pipal tree, while all the other people faced him in a half-circle.

There were people of all religions living in the ashram, and Gandhiji respected all religions, since all of them teach us to love and serve God. So during the prayers, portions of the holy books of various religions were read aloud. The two Hindu sacred books closest to Gandhiji's heart were the Bhagavad Gita and the Ramayana, so parts of these were read daily; also passages from the Christian

Bible and the Mahabharata Koran. The prayers began with the beating of a little drum to call everybody to the prayer-ground. Then, for a moment, all bowed low in silence to honour Buddha, the Lord of Peace and Non-violence. The readings from the various holy books followed. Sometimes parts of the 2nd Avesta of the Parsis and the Jewish Talmud were added. Thus we see that all religions were honoured by Gandhiji, who wanted everyone to be left free to love and serve God in his own way. Quotations about religion were terrible in his eyes.

It was Gandhiji's love of God, too, that made him careful never to waste anything. Since millions of people in the world, especially in India, live always in the greatest poverty and want, he felt it to be a great sin to waste even a crumb of bread or a drop of water. God has given the world to all equally, to be enjoyed by each one of us. Yet some of us are as rich as kings while others go hungry all their lives. If we have more than we need, we

should give it to those who have nothing, and never throw it carelessly away.

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(To be continued)

A TRIUMPH

NO greater ambassador of goodwill has gone out of India in recent times than the famed virtuoso of the sitar, Pandit Ravi Shankar. Not has a single artist going abroad earned for himself and his country that much of respect.

The national dollar of England and America gives him well-deserved praise. Some of the top musicians in the field of music expressed their warmest appreciation of his talent. He has been invited to join the Planning Committee of the East-West Music Conference to be held in Tokyo in April 1939.

Whether visits to overseas countries and performances in foreign cities are a new experience to 35-year-old Ravi Shankar. Even as a boy he had gone abroad several times with the dance troupe of his brother Uday Shankar.

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Minorities' Rights Fully Safeguarded

—D. Prasad

THE Most Rev. James Robert Knox, Apostolic Internuncio of the Holy See, presented his Letter of Credence to President Prasad at Rashtrapati Bhavan on August 24.

Welcoming the envoy, the President said: "We have nearly all faiths represented in this country, and we are conscious always of the fact that there is a large community of people who look to the Holy See for religious guidance and inspiration. It has always been our endeavour that the rights and religious rights particularly, of all communities in this country are fully safeguarded."

"I am very glad that you have already had some experience of Indian statistics under you in Rome. I am quite sure the knowledge which you have thus gained and the experience which you have acquired will be of immense help to you in understanding the situation in this country now that you are here as a representative of the Holy See. You can rest assured of all assistance in the discharge of your mission from me and also from the Government of India. I request your Excellency to convey my highest regards and regards to his Holiness the Pope and my best wishes to the people of the Holy See."

Cordial Greetings

While presenting his credentials the new Apostolic Internuncio said: "Over a period of 12 years in Rome I lived and worked with

ecclesiastical students of some 35 countries, amongst whom were more than 30 students from all parts of India. From these I learned of the aspirations of the people of this nation; their most cherished desire has already become a reality. Hence it is for me a source of intense satisfaction to be called to represent the Holy See in the Republic of India as it completes for first decade of independence and faces a new period of endeavour to bring an increasing measure of freedom from want of social security to its people."

"My first duty on this occasion is to convey to your Excellency the most cordial greetings of his Holiness and the assurance of his great affection for the Republic of India."

The Apostolic Internuncio was presented to the President by Mr. B. N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs. Earlier, on arrival at the south coast of Rashtrapati Bhavan, the Most Rev. James Knox was received by Major-General Sander Harasank Singh, Military Secretary to the President. A Guard of Honour was drawn up and the Band played the National Anthem of the Holy See and India.

Ghana Students Arrive In India

THREE of the four Ghana students who have been awarded Government of India fellowships have arrived in India. They were seen off at Agra Airport by Mr. Somnath Wadh, Acting High Commissioner in Ghana, and several friends and relatives.

The three students are Kodoiah Nasser Lakh, Faisal Ehsan Dufina and Gernabe Kwesi Lim.

Lakh, 21, of Agra, is to study medicine at Calcutta University for six to eight years. He was educated at St. Xavier's College, Cooch Behar.

Dufina, aged 15, from B. is to study agriculture at the State School of Agriculture at Calcutta, near Calcutta. His scholarship is for one year, but he has an option for a further year.

Twenty-one-year old Lata from Delhi is to study in the Faculty of Education at Calcutta.

course of study in medicine at Nagpur, Madhya Pradesh. He was educated at the Mahatma Secondary School, B.

The fourth student, Gernabe Yaw Aikema has been awarded a one-year scholarship to study in agriculture.

Letters to the Editor
To the Editor, "Gazette"
SIR,—I should indeed be honoured were I able to claim relationship with the Ghana Student, leader of the St. Felix's Mission, from a year report ("Gazette", July 1956) of the presentation to Dr. Nasser's signature.

Unfortunately I am unable to be one of the many students of the work done by the St. Felix's Mission and a teacher.

Yours sincerely,
RAMESH CHAND,
Editor, "Press News".

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Churches To Continue Undeterred

—Christian Council

[It is a statement issued to the Press on the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Christian Church of South Africa says—

(1) We regret that despite strong representations made by this Council and by the Churches, the Native Laws Amendment Bill has become law.

(2) The effect of Clause 29(4), is that the Minister, after consultation with the local authority, and having given due notice to the Church concerned, will remove the power to prohibit any African from attending worship in Churches in Urban Areas, outside locations.

We reiterate that the Council regards this as a grave infringement of the right of the Churches to order their own affairs and of the freedom of the individual.

(3) Further we note, with deep regret, that under Clause 29(2) of the same Act, the Minister has power to prohibit the association of individuals of the various racial groups, which is part of the normal functioning of Christian life.

(4) The Council emphasises

(a) That, unless further action is taken by the Minister, people of all race groups may still worship together without breaking the law

(b) That the Churches should continue to function, undeterred by this legislation

(c) That we shall continue to pray and to work for the repeal of this Act.

I.M.C. Assembly —

The Executive learned with interest that arrangements are well ahead for the five-yearly meeting of the International Missionary Council which is to be held in Ashmole College, Ghana, from December 28th, 1957 to January 5th 1958. Being invited to send two official delegates the Executive appointed Dr. A. W. Shindler, Secretary, and Rev. Z. N. Makhosana, President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation.

The Executive also learned with interest

(a) That the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Church has accepted the invitation to send two fraternal delegates and have appointed Rev. W. A. Malherbe, their Secretary, and Rev. T. Makhanya.

(b) That I.M.C. head office have agreed as consultants the Rev. S. Makhlouf of the Methodist Church and the

Rev. S. Mkhize of the Church of Sweden Lutheran Mission.

The Assembly will be followed by a special conference to be held at Ibadan in Nigeria from January 10th to 26th 1958. The general title of the conference will be "The Church in Changing Africa". The Christian Council and the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church are accepted selecting delegates, the names of whom will be released as early date.

Erasmus And The Communists

(Continued from page 356)

irreconcilable directions. He wants to appear to do for the least time possible. We have made up our minds to beat these bands.

Problem

The problems this raised for the West fell down to the need for both Britain and America to decide who their friends shall be in Africa—the men of apartheid or the non-White fighters for liberty.

We, on the non-White side, know that the things we can give

the West are of incomparably greater value to democracy than anything Sirdeben can ever offer. We can give the West the goodwill of our millions. Sirdeben has not the slightest hope of ever having it. We can give the free world the trust of Africa's millions. No amount of apartheid can bring the millions of Africa nearer the Western democracies.

The issue becomes simpler here: The West has to choose between us and Sirdeben.

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Mr. Chirwa Pays Tribute To Asian Community

TRIBUTE to the Asian community in Mombasa, especially for their help to Africans in the educational field, was paid by Mr. W. M. Chirwa, M.P., President of the Mwanza Students Association, when he spoke at a welcome party which was arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Chakwal at Nyika House, Chikumba, to honour at their own who returned from India recently.

Talking about Mr. Chakwal, Mr. Chirwa said that the country was proud to have produced such a distinguished scholar. He said the fact that Mr. Chakwal graduated at the mere age of 16, was an indication that Mr. Chakwal is a brilliant scholar and still further, he was one of the few students who obtained a distinction in Education in a class of 150, in his I.A. and M.A. degrees he had specialised in the study of History which must have given him a wide knowledge about the affairs of the world.

Mr. Chirwa emphasised that what was important was the link between India and Mombasa and the African people generally and he hoped that this link will grow as that more

students may go to India to take up different aspects of education.

Mr. P. Deyanov recalled that Mr. Willie Chakwal was one of the first students to 1951 to take advantage of the scholarship offered by the Indian Government. He said the Asian community in Mombasa had a duty to be in the forefront and that was to help in educating the country and the raising of scholarship was part of this service.

Mr. Deyanov who has been in Mombasa for the past 40 years stated that while Mombasa was the mother country of the Africans, it was also the country of those who had come to settle there.

them, such as works of art, sport, and food and drink. In the words of Boris Kozlov, of the Netherlands, head of the exhibition party: "Philately contributes to the acquisition of knowledge, helps pass time agreeably and is a good way of making friends." (THE HINDOO)

What is Khrushchev's Government Really Up To?

(Continued from front page)

ing partly manipulated by ruthless colleagues. Perhaps—as his enemies say—he has been an international Communist all along, and is only now coming out into the open. Or perhaps this is only a commonplace progression towards personal autocracy. I am sometimes reminded of Nasser's Egypt in Accra, sometimes of the Sudan, sometimes of the Arabs young Bengali intellectuals who used to talk loudly about freedom in the Calcutta coffee shops. In all such situations dictatorship is an ugly possibility. And the Opposition is right, it makes your flesh creep.

SURAT HINDOO MAYAWAT ASSOCIATION OF S.A.

SPECIAL NOTICE

Please take note that the Annual General Meeting of the above Association will be held at 133 Victoria Street, Durban, on Sunday next September, 1957, commencing at 10 a.m. All members are earnestly requested to be present. Agenda:—Minutes, Correspondence, Chairman's Annual Report, Secretary's Annual Report, Treasurer's Financial Report, Election of Officers, General.

G. MEHTA,
(Chairman).

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International Exhibitions At Moscow's Youth Festival

SOME 25,000 young people from 131 countries visited Moscow last month for the Sixth World Youth Festival. Among the many activities organised during the Festival period, three important international exhibitions were inaugurated: a collection of works by young artists, a photographic exhibition, and a display of postage stamps.

The art exhibit, set up in the Soviet capital's largest park on the banks of the Moscow river, drew large crowds each day and was one of the main festival attractions. Over 4,000 works were received for the show, ranging from paintings to sculpture and signed art and representing a wide variety of techniques. The two best pieces were awarded to the works of a Bulgarian painter Roger Benetova, and a young English artist John Givens.

Some 15,000 people daily went to see the exhibition of photographs housed in another part of the city, at Krasnaya Zvezda. Photographs of international nature as well as amateur had contributed to the display, and visitors were taken

on a kind of world tour, among landscapes from Africa, northern Europe and the American prairie and about streets in Paris, Prague, Rome and Berlin.

Among notable exhibits were a series of photographs by an American photographer, R. French, representing failures of his in the United States—glacial U.S. views of New York City, and "America as I Play"—and a number of works by no young Soviet photographer, Igor Tikhonov. The contribution awarded by the Danish photographer David Krøgh, provided a vivid and moving picture of life in the Netherlands after the 1955 flood disaster.

The International Philatelic Exhibition also evoked considerable interest. Stamp collection is perhaps the most international of hobbies, and some 45 million stamp collectors met to consider all over the world. The display by Moscow included collections belonging to groups and societies, as well as to individuals, and postal services in a number of countries issued stamps for the exhibition. Some collections illustrated certain

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Vol. 1

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

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—ધી—

ન્યુ ઇન્ડીયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની લીમીટેડ

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના એકજ યુગ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

इस्तमूल जलभाई इस्तमूल

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માટે—
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આખો દિવસ વેલ્ડેરીયન ભોજન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે તેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ શુભ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

ગોર્ડીયન અને હોલંગની સગવડ

કાચી ગોર્ડીને ખાસ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. વિવાહોમાં અને શાહોને વધુ પસંદગી આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે ખાસ ધુરૂપ વગેરેના લેવામાં આવશે. ભોરાપોમાં નવું અને આધુનિક કમનું ફરનીયર સામગ્રીમાં આવેલું છે. દેશમાં જતાં અથવા તે દેશમાંથી આવતા ઉભાઓ માટે કુકુઓને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ ખાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે ફેરી સેવરધની ચોપાટી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ પાણાની દાળ, ખારેક, પાસ્તા, અને ચામેલી, વિગેરે સાખીએ હીએ.

હવે આંથ્રીલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપડ, હંમેશાં તૃપ્તિવાર હોય છે.

ગોર્ડીથી શિખંડ અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે હવે.

"God give you joy, God
give you grace, To shield the
truth and save the wrong,
To honour Virtue, Valour,
Peace, and to shield Faith."
—Sarojini Naidu.

OPINION

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UGANDA LEADER TELLS INDIA OF DOUBTS ABOUT INTENTIONS OF WHITE CHRISTIANS

MR. ABUBAKAR MAYANJA, a Uganda leader, has just completed a five-week goodwill visit to India at the invitation of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. Below is the substance of an interview with him in Delhi written by the reporter of the Indian paper "The Statesman."

Young, unassuming and explicit, Mr. Abubakar Mayanja gave me a very frank appraisal of the economic and political situation in his country when I met him. "At that time when the British held political power in Uganda," he said, "the Indians are holding, by and large, the economic power." Mr. Mayanja is a prominent leader of the National Congress of Uganda which is modelled on the pattern of the Indian Congress.

He told me that after the great pioneering work that Indians have done in building the Uganda National Railway, and after their very enterprising work in Commerce and trade, they are now a privileged community in Uganda. They hold jobs in the administrative service, own cotton mills and are the processors of tea and coffee which they buy from African producers. "As they share a community of interest with Europeans," Mr. Mayanja said, "they

and the Europeans intend to preserve the status quo."

Other States

Unlike Indians in the other States of Africa, Indians in Uganda have no political organisation though there are about 55,000 of them. Many of them are the descendants of those who moved into the country in 1890.

This conflict of interest with an Asian community, Mr. Mayanja told me, was one of the problems which faced Uganda Africans who were working for the independence of the country.

The other problems were sociological and cultural in nature. Mr. Mayanja spoke of the cultural crisis that was evident in Uganda. "Asia was never spiritually conquered by Europeans," he said, "but because of a predominantly illiterate and backward population Europeans have dominated Africans spiritually. We had so carefully worked out philosophy and religion as

you have in India and therefore there is no principle of integration. It was easy to believe that the European god who had helped to make the motor car was superior to the native gods."

Early Xelams

Early Christianity, Mr. Mayanja told me frankly, was well received, and had deep roots among the people who to this day are predominantly Christians. "But the man who came in the early days with a Bible in his hand," Mr. Mayanja said, "was replaced by the materialist colonialist whose narrow interests and hard ways aggravated the cultural crisis."

Recently, Africans have begun to have doubts about the true intentions of white Christians whose example was contrary to the teachings of Christ. Africans were puzzled and in two minds and sometimes their behaviour was contradictory. "When a man has been a Christian, and if he has doubts," Mr. Mayanja explained, "he will go to church in his Sunday best, and later pay a visit to native doctors, or call on predictors and so on."

Mr. Mayanja thinks that the struggle for independence in Uganda will be easier now that large coun-

tries like India have become independent.

Talks Glibly

Though he has still a year more to spend in England to complete his studies in History and Law, Mr. Mayanja has come to India to see for himself how India and Indians are setting about the job of reconstruction and rehabilitation. "Everybody talks glibly of absorbing the best of African culture and the best of European culture," he said, "but nobody has told me what the best ingredients are, or in what proportions they are to be mixed so that we get a perfect blend."

There was the need for leaders of true convictions to steer Uganda to her goal of sovereign independence for besides economic reconstruction there was also the imperative need for the psychological and cultural re-integration of the African people.

"We do not have unemployment," Mr. Mayanja told me, "but there is the major problem of literacy. Being primarily an agricultural country, we must build up our industry we must have power, light, and health services. We need everything that an underdeveloped country needs, only on a minor scale."

OPINION

FRIDAY, 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

Swart Is Crazy

THE Minister of Justice announced at a Nationalist gathering in the Free State recently that he was giving serious attention to the question of not having African lawyers as White covenants. A similar idea from the apartheid side, it is difficult to imagine.

First, there is the duplication of services. Already the country has lost a lot of money in duplicating services to satisfy the whims of the crazier lot in the apartheid camp.

Then there is the utter illogicality of the whole suggestion. If law courts must be shifted to the locations, for the convenience of the African lawyers, the magistrates must be located dwellers and so also, the Police. Thicker also the employers of labour and, of course, those who will need to file lawsuits against the Africans. Industry and commerce must also shift to the locations. A more absurd proposition we cannot think of.

But, above everything, everybody knows that the African client has enabled a good many supporters of apartheid to wax fat on his support of their legal establishments. If the African clientele is to be switched over to its entirety to the African lawyer we wonder if the legal profession will regard that as fair and equitable.

Justice will never be done in this country and criminals will reign supreme in high places as long as we are governed by crazy men devoted to a crazy ideology. Now is the time to call a halt to apartheid's madness.

Rebuff For Studentebond

EVERY true democrat in this country and abroad will heartily congratulate the National Union of South African Students on its having been recognised by the international student body as the representative organisation for South Africa.

In doing this the international body which met recently in Nigeria also administered a first-class rebuff to the race-conscious Nasionale Studentebond. We regard this as a very healthy development. Apartheid is a wicked, selfish and oppressive philosophy. It has no place in a world determined to see all human beings free to make the best possible use of their lives. The isolation of the studentebond at the International Conference was the best proof possible that apartheid has no place in the free world. If it persists in its exclusiveness it will be isolated in more disastrous ways. For our part we shall be very happy if that happens.

The outside world can do few things more effectively to help us in our fight for justice than isolate the men and women of apartheid. That should teach them that apartheid just does not pay. And when they see with their own eyes that this is the case, they will certainly begin to see a little more reason.

Comment On Men And Events

Prof. du Plessis Throws A Challenge

By JORDAN K. HOUBAKE

PROFESSOR L. J. du PLESSIS of Potchefstroom University has for some time now agitated for a more positive apartheid approach to the race problem. In recent articles in "Die Week" and "English and Sonagap" he denounces apartheid's course, with its inability to solve the problem facing the country in the non-White demand for self-determination. He suggests a two-point formula to solve it: (a) the abandonment of the White commitment and (b) a treaty between White and non-White nationalism to divide South Africa fairly between them and which would pledge both sides to mutual co-operation in the future.

He urges the Union Government to declare in its policy the creation of African States in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Ovamboland and, later, Zululand and Khasaland.

In this discussion I want to confine myself to the principles underlying his proposals. The most remarkable feature of his approach is its positive nature. For ten years now apartheid has meant isolation and the rule of the African people. We have witnessed policies that, eager and ground-defending themselves against its destructive and, therefore, negative approach. If one were to turn back to a very long time, even this negative in many fields it was because defeat is necessary a negative process. We are forced into that position by the very nature of the circumstances in which we found ourselves as the victims of apartheid.

Real guarantees of survival for the Afrikaner, Statehood from the Afrikaner side, by another hand, lies in coming to terms with the African. Up to this I find myself in agreement with him.

First Difficulty

I begin to find difficulty when he starts talking of White unity. Racial unity based on blood, on either side would be a positive means to all concerned. We have rejected it, on our side, in spite of its immediate advantages to us because it prevents the very fears which drive Professor du Plessis to see salvation for his people in White racial unity. It is a weak foundation on which to build a White State which we could sincerely regard as friendly and trustworthy. We should like to believe that the White State and our side, were bound by a common acceptance of given values of life. White nationalism and African nationalism in the South African context are mutually exclusive and incompatible. Real democracy, on the other hand, has a similar validity on both sides of the colour line. It would therefore be a more reliable bond of unity between the two main groups.

The second difficulty arises from the concept of partition. It springs at this stage from Professor du Plessis's failure to define terms more clearly—a fault which might have been caused by the English text, which I saw—than from the nature of the idea itself.

Partition might take one of three forms: (a) the partition of South Africa into two sovereign independent States—one White and the other non-White; (b) the setting-up of the various Bantustans as sovereign independent States; (c) the division of the country into either one or more autonomous States under a new federal constitution.

Positive Suggestions

In coming forward with what are distinctly positive suggestions Professor du Plessis throws before the African the challenges to examine his proposals on their merits, that is, to open his mind to reason from the Afrikaner side and not to regard every Afrikaner as an enemy just because apartheid is supported most powerfully by the Afrikaner.

The principle of a treaty between Black and White commands itself to me. It implies giving White and non-White to agree on objectives and in that way removes the danger that has already developed in reliance of the African community which makes the younger generation run in the isolation of the White man from this part of the world and the Afrikaner (in particular) the only condition for a free existence for the African.

Professor du Plessis implies, in his idea, that he acknowledges the fact that the numerically powerful Afrikaner is one of the

Professor Confusing

Professor du Plessis is confusing in "Die Wêre" article when he talks of "a treaty." This denotes agreement between two sovereign independent peoples in the "Dagbani and Sandegru" article, however, he talks of the Bantu States detaching their systems of government while "relations with other countries would be determined in consultation with the Union." I hope he does not have in mind a vassal State.

I am an integrationist and against partition because I am in the number of the Africans the principal guarantee of victory against apartheid for myself and for all who think as I do on the colour line. I am an integrationist because I believe apartheid is dual to reason and can be forced to change its ways only by the immediate pressure of contributing members.

If African Nationalism drops apartheid's handicap essentially and recognizes my right to self-determination, I am willing to explore the possibilities of partition into two sovereign independent States—one White and the other integrated as the second free nation. The White person who is prepared to surrender with as should be free to live in our midst while the African does not wish the loss of political rights should be welcome in the White State.

Only Form Acceptable

It must be noted that the only form of partition which would

be acceptable to the Africans would be the one which divided the country fairly into two sovereign independent parts. Any other form would be a silly attempt to maintain the power and efficiency of the pressure of organized members, a relinquish of the African to the position of vassal to the white overlords. An overture to our primary guarantee over one opposition in the long run, I do not think any reasonable African would care to consider vassalage. Professor Koppel-Jones' suggestions for a federal commission did not impress African opinion for this very reason.

If African Nationalism is now beginning to realize that the African Nationalist opposes the African exactly in the same way that the English opposed the Afrikaner if he sincerely wants to see us regarded as a friend, it is far less to help me get those things I want in life as a human being. These are freedom and the right to determine my life in the light of my preferences. It is the Afrikaner Nationalist who stands in my way towards getting these things. If he claims out of the way, I am willing to regard him as a friend and not an enemy. I am willing to sacrifice the advantages of my vested members, in exchange with a very open mind, constructive proposals from his side designed to enable both of us to solve our problems. I do not think Professor du Plessis can ask for us record anything so more reasonable from my side of the colour line.

Press Review

New Tower Of Babel

WHILE a vigorous conflict is in progress in Capetown over the status of Sinhalese as the only official language and the rights of the Tamil tongue, some of the people of the island, it is said, strive to get our language barriers by communicating with one another in pidgin-English. At the same time, India has decided that English, also in use there as a means of communication between peoples having no knowledge of one another's speech, is to be left to die out of its own accord instead of being maintained to extinction within 15 years, as was the original intention.

—*"The Cape Argus."*

The Menace Of Verwoerdism

THE danger that an inherent in Verwoerdism have never been more fully illustrated than in

Dr. Verwoerd's shocking declaration on the objectives of the Native policy at the First State Nationalist congress. Repeating his familiar phrase about "Black Englishmen," he said that it was the Government's intention to make an end of the class of Native who was educated in the Western way of life and is consequently wanted to be identified with the European community.

That statement has demonstrated once again what a misfortune it is for South Africa that the handling of her colour problems has been entrusted to a man of this mentality and how disastrous it would be for this country if he were to continue to have a decisive voice in its affairs. What are the implications of his words, spoken not in a hasty moment but as a considered expression of principles already embodied in much of the legislation for which Dr. Verwoerd has been responsible?

—*"The Star."*

Swart Now Wants Apartheid Courts Of Justice

—*Bloemfontein.*

A DELEGATE to the Free State Congress of the Nationalist Party asked the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, to end the difficulty caused by African advocates and attorneys appearing in the courts. The Minister replied that, ultimately, it was hoped to take strong action to end this situation, which was a cause of friction.

"We hope, in line with our apartheid policy, to see that they get their work in their own areas," he added.

"At present it is impossible to lay down that Africans, trained as advocates and attorneys, should not be permitted to represent their own people in the courts, seeing that they had been permitted to pass their examinations."

"I recognize that in this transition period this is a very difficult matter."

"It sometimes happens in our courts that three advocates and attorneys defend themselves with disrespect towards White attorneys and advocates, and even towards the Bench."

"I do not know why they are so provocative, but it causes unpleasantness. It will compel us, ultimately, to take strong steps to deal with the situation, because it creates friction."

"This is one of the difficult matters we have to deal with, and we must find a solution."

Separate Courts Also A Problem

Mr. Swart said in Pretoria he was still considering what to do about separating apartheid in the law courts. He had hinted in Bloemfontein that the Government was thinking of setting up separate courts for non-European cases, in which non-European lawyers could appear.

This would be to avoid racial friction inside the courts such as had occurred.

Mr. Swart did not say so, but separate courts would not help in easing friction between European and non-European, any would it help in any case in which a European elected to be represented by a non-European advocate.

US Racialists Burn Cross

By RALPH BLACKWOOD in "Peace News"

PERHAPS non-violence is not popular in Rock Hill, South Carolina. It has been reported that Rev. C. S. Ivory, a leader of the Negro bus boycott movement, who is confined to his wheel-chair, said of the threatening telephone calls "In case I have to shoot anybody, my arms are still good."

The Rock Hill Committee for Promotion of Human Rights has raised money in Rock Hill to pay for patrol for armed vigilantes which had threatened who refuse to ride the segregated buses. The Committee also plans to buy two new station wagons.

The Ku Klux Klan held a rally in the outskirts of Rock Hill last month. The school

and hooded speaker described the Klan's "non-violent" plan for an attack on the boycott.

The unidentified leader (his hood covered his face) proposed a counter boycott; whites would refuse to hire Negroes and refuse to give them credit. Also, the Klan speaker pledged to have cars transporting Negroes killed and the owners jailed for lack of public service licenses.

After the rally, the Klan drove into the Negro district and burned a cross near Mr. Ivory's home.

The Star Bus Lines of Rock Hill are reported to have changed their routes and schedules because of the small number of passengers in Negro areas.

London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Bishop Reeves Hits Back

Chicago.

ONE of the most influential Christian journals in the United States is "The Christian Century." In its August 7 edition there appeared an article by Bishop Reeves, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, entitled "Black Africa: Church versus Nation." This was a particularly hard-hitting and forthright article on the current situation in South Africa and especially on the role the Bishop saw the Anglican Church in particular and the Christian churches in general playing in that situation. Of repeated visits to Parliament that "any church dares to disobey the orders of the government, the laity, in addition to applying the penalties accorded to such disobedience, would consider it foolish to grant such a church the free use of church property for any other use," the Bishop declared — "there will surely work themselves up in a condition if they think that they will continue to have following the dictates of conscience. Such men and women, who are not ashamed to stand up for the church of God, if carried over, would only make us more sure that our determination to resist such an unwarranted attack upon their religious freedom, that we have enjoyed ever since the Anglican Church first came to South Africa."

Lord Bishop Reeves went on to say: "The religious liberty as presently enjoyed by the churches in South Africa has been won at great cost by our forefathers in other lands, and we do not intend to relinquish it lightly. We recognise that if the authorities attempt to set upon this religious liberty, members of the church will have to accept the consequences of their resistance. But we are not dismayed by the prospect. The church has survived the worst onslaughts and it will survive this one. In the days of the Roman Empire the Emperor Julian attacked Christianity and tried to exterminate it. One of the Emperor's ministers, Libanius by name, writing a Christian one day, asked him derisively and with all the insolence of a second century what the Christians of Byzantium were doing now. The Christian answered,

in one of the most magnificent replies of all history. "The Christians of Byzantium are making a coffin." His long, scornful answer over the confused and vacillating power of Julian. Again and again similar leaders have tried to smother the church—very much as they are now attempting it in South Africa. But, the Corporate of Allchurch has never failed to make coffins for them. One by one they disappeared, they lie rotting in dismembered graves and their very names have become but a faded memory. Those in authority in South Africa may be their attempt to corrupt religious liberty, they may hurt others and themselves at the leaders of the church, they may invade the provinces of the law against me personally, the church. But the church will be in South Africa long after there was any more and forgotten. They would do well to reflect before it is too late that to interfere with the church is to meet serious defeat."

Accra

On September 3 Mr. Karl Baile gave an interview to Mr. James Morris of the "Manchester Guardian." The interview can be taken as one of importance in view of the fact that the Prime Minister Dr. Nkrumah, has consistently refused to meet the press, and the specific purpose of the interview between a leading British journalist and Ghana's Minister of Information, was to discuss the current events in Ghana which have caused such concern amongst Ghana's friends in Britain. Mr. Baile declared that there will never be a dictatorship in Ghana. All we want is to ensure stable government. He said that it was foolish to declare that the Government wished to suppress the Opposition. On the contrary: "We are going to legislate against tribal and regional political parties—not because we don't want an opposition but because we want to foster national unity and to foster national pride in the country rather than regional ones. Mr. Baile was more critical about the Prime Minister's plan for national service and a workers' league. "There would be a paper on the subject published in the next few weeks, he de-

clared. The paper will be read with great interest in Britain where it obviously does appeal."

Sierra Leone

There have recently been riots in the Kono area of Sierra Leone where the Government has been employing measures to clean up the great number of illicit diamond mining. It is estimated that between 24 millions and £12 millions worth of diamonds are being mined and smuggled illegally out of the country each year. This is considerably more than the revenue produced by legal mining operations. In the Yengema concession areas, an official minerals scheme, the African population of about 50,000 has been increased by about 20,000 men who provide the hard core of the illicit mining operations. About a quarter of them are thought to come from French Guinea. Between August 15 and September 4 armed police had arrested 50 men in a drive to wipe out the illegal operations. Mr. Alexander Wedekin, the acting Governor, has made it clear that the arrests will continue until "wiping out of the illegal mining is completed."

London

Mr. Agostino Kodhek, president of the Malindi branch of the Kenya African Congress in its Branch at the moment. The main purpose of his visit is to work with the most experienced members of the movement for independence for Kenya and to press for realisation of the right to political association on a wide scale, and for the removal of restrictions on free speech and assembly. Despite the absence of many people he wanted to see, who are on holiday, he has seen one or two Labour Members of Parliament. He intends to call at Cairo on his way back to Kenya, where he hopes to meet national leaders.

R. VITHAL

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Dr. Schweitzer—A Re-Assessment—II

I HAVE not been able to come from whether or not Schweitzer actually made the remark at Gile which the most rabid African Nationalist newspaper in South Africa seized so avidly as the text for an editorial. But it is comfortably close to what he might have said. With common-sense and righteousness "The Traveller" quoted Schweitzer as saying: "There is a serious danger in the liberation of the coloured people, because these people are not ripe for freedom. For the good of these coloured and their colonists, we Europeans must remain at the helm for a number of years." True

to which his thought has been concerned with reason, not emotion, the aged and contemplative with which the old-fashioned has done with the "accidental" coexistence of its first desire, especially in the field of race relations and partly because of the nature of the "transference" which Schweitzer typifies and its manifold abuses which on the whole, he does not.

But I think one reason is more fundamental than all these. Schweitzer himself has said: "No one really knows me who has not been in Africa." How far this consciously betrays an instinctive perception of the truth I cannot say. But many shrewd and perceptive observers have recently taken the road to Lambarene—James Cassiano of the "New Chronicle," John Russell of the "Sunday Times," several experienced American reporters, Nigel Farson, John Gaudin—and their reports (humane, other by what they say or by what they do not, the contrast between the reverence Schweitzer shows to all animal, human and vegetable life and his relative indifference, not to human life indeed, but to the infinite suffering of the pigs and those that make up its humanity. One might say that Schweitzer is tremendously interested in man, but not very much concerned with men; that the very characteristics of the latter which Schweitzer has himself argued differentiate them from other animals (reason or lack of it) and values—more can great a demand on his boundless sympathy placed for him to allow them much more than his companions. Is, therefore, more obviously comfort in his conviction of his gentleness, politeness, awe, sympathy

with, warm and even hostile (as in his social relationships with human beings, especially Africans who for obvious reasons of language and colour would make even heavier demands on him than his fellow-Europeans, if he were to do these parties as persons).

Gaudin makes the point well in telling that Dr. Schweitzer has never met a contemporary African nationalist and that an African sits down in his presence. I hope that any white South African who may imagine to quote Schweitzer in defence of their traditional refusal to shake hands with Africans (an implied an inadmissible degree of social equality) would be met with the answer that Schweitzer's insistence on shaking hands afterwards is solely based on the rule of hygiene in his personal life. And all that Mr. Gaudin writes as well as these and kindred reports is reinforced by the experience of a young American who spent several months working at Lambarene recently. He found Schweitzer still maintaining that Africans cannot use a wheelchair. But, while many seem to justify this belief. Poor Gaudin (which was not his real name) watched others driving bulldozers with precision only a mile or two away. So that even in backward Gileon mechanical techniques have reached the African and he is responding to them. On another occasion Gileon answered a long of labourer at the hospital is not a window-frame upside down. Schweitzer arrived to hear him springing for this inexcusable mistake and having it put right. When the doctor took him aside, thrust an arm round his shoulders and explained patiently that a white man must never, never admit error to an African. Apparently

the window should have been left upside down for all time as a personal monument to white superiority.

Two other impressions left a vivid memory with Gileon. One was of the Lambarene staff which seemed to him divided between those in more or less permanent, if patron, recall and those who thought of themselves administering a sort of benevolent concentration camp. The second was of a hospital on the Congo, founded in 1911 (Schweitzer founded at Lambarene in 1913) and operating in very similar conditions, but so very popular with its less primitive people for being run on thoroughly modern, hygienic lines (and Gaudin's description of Schweitzer's hospital as "the most comfortable place I saw in all Africa" and its sanitary arrangements as "perfect").

The conclusion to which this article tentatively points is that Lambarene is more important to Schweitzer than he is to it. Many of his own associates have suggested that he himself knows he can never "return," to Europe, even that Lambarene is essential to the completion of his writings on which he has set his heart. The man, the house and the place all have their secure place in history. Nothing and here is intended to detract from the magnificence of that achievement. But it may be necessary to re-emphasize proportion, though this will not be fully possible until a man has the hospital fever when his presence is no longer there to direct its policy. And there may be dangers of exaggeration and sympathy in his attitude to dependent people of colour, which will detract from the world-wide efficacy of his message and possibly cause it to go through a period of comparative neglect before coming again into vogue. As it will surely do.

C. W. H. GELL

will danger with the paper's further, active comment that "it is possible Schweitzer does not subscribe to the racial policy of the African Nationalists in every respect." Nor can anyone blame Schweitzer if any propaganda organ sets to indict his support for events he would certainly disown. But the fact is that his brief as the European's civilizing mission has strengthened with the years and now, in the evening of his life, it seems to obscure from him the perils and evils which may flow from withholding independence too long.

Any reasonable person, nationalist, white or non-white, will agree with Schweitzer that the degree of liberation are real enough. What was missing in his writings and pronouncements is any awareness of that other set of diagrams—of bitterness, frustration, and the plain moral depression which Gaudin thought was inseparable from the colonial relationship between ruler and ruled, the corruption of power and the corruption of being subjected, especially when there is a permanent dividing line of race or colour between the two. Any thoughtful appraisal of the situation surely needs to weigh the one set of dangers against the other and strike a balance. Then Schweitzer does not appear to do.

Why there is this apparent gap in the sensitive and generous nature of Schweitzer's thought cannot be definitely said at this stage. Various obvious explanations do doubt supply part of the truth—his own conservative temperament; the early age at which his philosophical philosophical character (his intellectuality, the French colonial background) the extent



PEOPLE
LOOK
AT YOUR
CHILDREN'S SHOES

See they get 'NUGGET' Polish every day!

Champion African East UN

led to join the ranks of nations
whose states developed by the
action

Halt Britain

"In any event we cannot
allow Britain to create inde-
pendent states inside our
sphere as will certainly happen
if we do not launch it, or
allow the United Nations to
create South-West Africa inde-
pendent as will also
happen if we do not give the
Africans their full political
rights or allow the United
Nations and Russia, in competi-
tion with each other, to invite
non-white Europeans to gen-
eral elections against White
supremacy—anyone who
would come short if we do not
could not be the developing
sphere unless the prospect of
self-government."

"If we take the lead here we
can make the central govern-
ment satisfactory in numbers
and will be regarded as the
representative of these African peoples
and not their oppressors."

"It is hopefully expected
and understood and to our own

disadvantage to continue to
hope for simple incorporation
of the Protectorates and South-
West Africa. This just cannot
happen."

U.S. Military Engineers Building Up Airfields in Pak-Beld Kashmir

The Indian newspaper, the
Press Trust of India, has pub-
lished a report stating that
U.S. Military engineers and
experts have landed in Srinagar,
Jammu and Kashmir, to assist
the Pakistanis in the construction
of a military field or in going on.

The agency quotes an accom-
panied Kashmiri nationalist who
claimed the charges are correct.
According to him, weapons and
ammunition are being loaded and a
party of U.S. military experts is
entering the North-West frontier
area. According to him, there are
high ranking Pakistani officers.
It is stated that the Ameri-
cans have got the Pakistanis
to close the Khyber pass, trans-
it through which is possible
only through a written authority
signed and countersigned by the
respective field commanders.

Press Has No Colour Bar

has come for a colour-wide
to Kenya," declared Mr. C.
John Muriuki, Director of Infor-
mation in the African Bureau in

"With fundamental things we
should be able to express our
views without fear. We do not
know that now," he said.

He cited the introduction
of the new constitution of the
African continent. These records
could be tampered with, he
said, and could be used as
evidence.

Mr. Muriuki, who is in London
to get support for the plan,
said colour-wide political ex-
pression would be allowed. He
stated that to see Mr. Profumo
in the Colonial Office and to
present some documents.

These dealt with questions of
land, immigration, education,
the introduction of the govern-
ment service, the Kenya police,
health services, and the general
development of the country.

"What we want is something
totally democratic, and

"multiracial" government. We
want a government in which
people share according to their
abilities," he said.

"The Africans will not agree
to be put third place in the
new country. Whatever gov-
ernment there is, it should be
government in which the people
feel they belong."

Because of the properties of
the various groups in Kenya,
this must be largely a govern-
ment of Africans. "With no
population on the rights of min-
orities who have contributed in
less to the development of our
country."

The Africans today have in-
creased immigration in which
they have no say. "We like
the European income in Kenya
and stay there, but not to stay
there and govern us."

The Nairobi District African
Congress is calling racial equali-
ty, and Whites would be
free to join if they wanted to
do so. "We do not have any-
body because of his race," he
declared. —"Peace News."

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

Love Of Simplicity And Truth

CHAPTER XXVIII

LITTLE by little, Gandhiji had convinced himself to do without one thing after another. Generally, when people become great and more powerful, they collect more and more possessions. By this and they require big mansions and palaces to contain all their stores of furniture and paintings, glass and china, books and more, fine clothes, jewellery, and treasures of all kinds. Gandhiji was just the opposite. The more famous he grew and the more people loved him, the more and more simple he tried to make his life.

As a young man in England he used to dress in the most fashionable European clothes. When he returned to India after his years in South Africa, he adopted simple Indian dress. But at Swaraj, when he was known to all the world, he dressed like the poorest Indian peasant who has only a small loin cloth to cover him. He wanted the poor to feel that he

was truly their father, equal to them in everything.

He ate such things as milk and fruit, only because he felt it was his duty to keep his health and strength so that he could

By
Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

continue his work. Many times he tried giving up all foods that the poor cannot easily afford, but his health refused too much to allow him to continue. For a time he took only one meal a day, but that was only boded and felt.

All the food prepared in the ashram had to be simple. No spices or other delicacies were allowed, not even salt. All food, if cooked, had to be boiled. From the following little story, we can see how very strict these rules were—

Two little girls who lived in the ashram with their parents, had been to pay a visit to some friends. The lady of the house

offered them some nice bhajis. Now another rule of the ashram was that no food was to be eaten between meals.

The little girls couldn't resist the bhajis, however, and enjoyed eating them very much. By doing so they disobeyed those rules of the ashram all at once. The first, that no fried food should be eaten. The second, that no spices or delicacies should be taken. The third, that no food should be taken between meals.

When the little girls came back home, they happened to meet Gandhiji. They told him they had paid a visit. Something made him suspicious and he asked them if they had eaten anything. "No." Very soon, however, the truth came out. Gandhiji was very sad, because they had not only broken the three rules, but had told a lie as well. He hated lies more than anything else in the world, because they offend the Almighty God who is Truth itself.

God had been eluded by the little girls' lie, said Gandhiji, and somebody must do penance. He did not tell the little girls to do penance, but said that he would himself fast for two days as an atonement for their sin. We can easily imagine how unhappy the two children were

about this. Gandhiji, who had done nothing wrong at all, was going to suffer longer for two days to atone for their lie. Now they must have persuaded never to lie or be disobedient again!

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(To be continued)

Thousands Cheer Nehru In Kashmir

Jammu, Sept. 12.

Prime Minister Nehru accompanied by Mr. Krishna Menon, Defence Minister, arrived in Jammu yesterday in a special plane on a two-day visit to Kashmir. He was welcomed at the Jammu airport by Sahabji Qureshi Mohammed and many prominent citizens.

Mr. Nehru was greeted by thousands of people all along the road from the airport to the Premier's residence and more than a hundred arches were erected to welcome him. Accompanied by the Defence Minister and Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru drove in an open jeep through the main streets. He was greeted with slogans of "Nehru-Zindabad" and "Hind Kashmir Unity Zindabad" by large crowds at different places.

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Duncan On Passport Statement

UCT Drop Non-White Player

COMMENTING on a statement made by the Department of the Interior, Mr. Patrick Duncan, secretary of the Liberal Party, who arrived last week on a two-week visit to Cape Town said that the implications were that no one was entitled to a passport unless he had immediate plans for travelling.

"As it takes up to five months to get a passport, it seems a lot of people will be inconvenienced by this regulation," he said.

Recently Mr. Duncan was refused a renewal of his passport.

The Statement

On Saturday, September 7th, the Department of the Interior issued this statement:

"As wide publicity has been given to the statement that Mr. Duncan has been refused a renewal of his passport, the Department considers it is the public interest to state briefly the true facts of the case.

"When recently Mr. Duncan

applied for a renewal of his passport, he stated specifically that he did not contemplate an immediate journey, but desired the document in the event of his having to travel beyond the borders of the Union in the future.

Genuine Travellers

"Under present-day conditions passports in the Union are normally issued only to persons who would be travellers.

"Accordingly, Mr. Duncan was unwilling to writing that as he had no immediate travel plans, the department is not prepared at this stage, to consider your application—the implication being that if, at a later date, circumstances changed, he was at liberty to renew his application, which would then be considered on its merits."

Mr. Duncan said: "As far as I know this is a new rule. I have had a passport over eleven years."

COMMITTEE members of the University of Cape Town Chess Club were "defused" that it would not be a "good idea" to include in their team a non-European student for the club's league match against the Stellenbosch Chess Club recently, a member of the committee said.

It was suggested that Mr. Gerald Holmes, a non-European medical student and son of Mr. H. J. M. Holmes, a member of the Cape Town City Council, should be dropped. He is the Club's No. 2 player.

The committee member said: "A number of our committee were approached by a member of the Stellenbosch Chess Club's committee who said it would not

be a good idea to let Mr. Holmes play in Stellenbosch.

"He said that as a consequence, their team would be prepared to drop their No. 2 player.

"Since their objection appeared to be having Mr. Holmes play chess against them in Stellenbosch, we suggested sending them on several games in Bellville.

"The suggestion was not accepted, as we met them on their terms.

"But now the committee is determined that this is the last time that anything like that will be allowed to happen. In future, if any team suggests our dropping Mr. Holmes, we shall refuse, and if necessary cancel the match."

Bulgaria Commemorates Creators Of Slavonic Alphabet

THIS summer in Bulgaria, when the Slavonic alphabet is celebrated all over the country have joined in celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the festival of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, creators of the Slavonic alphabet. Festivities ranged from activities organized by schools and youth groups to exhibitions, congresses of writers, public lectures and a special session of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences devoted to the work of Cyril and Methodius.

The origin of the festival date back over a thousand years to the time when, in 863 A.D., Basilare, prince of Great Bulgaria, fearing the influence of Latin missionaries, applied to Greece for teachers who would preach in the Slav language. The choice fell on two brothers, Methodius and Cyril, Orthodox monks from Thessalonica, selected because the inhabitants of that region, surrounded by Slavonic tribes, were known to

speak the Slav language. Saint Methodius was an ecclesiastical Cyril a scholar, philosopher and linguist. On their arrival in Bulgaria, the brothers began to teach the Gospel and to translate liturgical books. Through attempts to write down Slavonic languages had been made using the Latin alphabet, but Cyril developed a modified form of the Greek which became known as the Cyrillic alphabet, employed today in writing Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian.

It was in 1877 that a Bulgarian teacher Yulius Guezev, decided to commemorate the work of the two brothers by holding a small festival in their honour. The festival has now become an annual event at which Bulgarians celebrate their ancient cultural traditions and history. (U.S.S.R. CO.)

Asia's Contacts With Europe

SARDAR K. M. PANIKHAR, India's Ambassador to France, who is on a private visit to London, said that the contact of culture between Europe and Asia produced a remarkable change.

That, he added, was the starting point of a new culture in Asia and economic progress.

Sardar Panikhar was addressing a meeting organized by the London Media, an Indian student body, as part of its tenth Independence anniversary celebration.

He spoke of the conflicts of ideas that this contact had brought about in Asia, saying the most important was the doctrine of change.

"The doctrine applies to every aspect of Asia today," he said. It involved certain conflicts, firstly, in social life. He insisted the doctrine of equality and said it was in conflict with many doctrines India inherited.

Sardar Panikhar deplored the tendency to rest on the glories of the past. Only a dynamic society would do that, he said. He believed the golden age was today, the present time, and it was up to people to work for it.

He said there was no aspect of life today which was not influenced by modern developments.

In answer to a question, Sardar Panikhar said that the use of Hindi as the official language, which was necessary in India, did not mean the displacement of the great national languages of India, or even English, which was an international language.

Distinguished writers to the gathering included Mr. T. T. Sivasubramanian, Minister (Economic), of the High Commission of India, Dr. Venkatesh, the Indian Ambassador, U. A. R. Saeed, the Egyptian Ambassador, and Nepal's Ambassador, Mr. Ram Prasad Manandhar.

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Indian Says Group Areas Act Does Not Mean End

MR. D. R. RAMJEE, a Port Elizabeth business man who claims to have extensively studied group areas legislation, told an audience of Citizenship meeting at Glenwood recently that the proclamation of group areas did not mean "that everything is settled."

He felt that the proclamations themselves could be challenged in court.

All the legislation was consolidated in the new Group Areas Act of 1955, which will not be applied from a date that would be fixed by the Government.

"There are a lot of things that are not contained in the Act. It does not stipulate that there shall be group areas; it merely provides machinery. If group areas have to be made, it is an act."

When it was deemed appropriate the Government-General might proclaim areas, but he went on to say that the Minister, and in turn the Minister must rely on a report of the group areas board which had recommendations.

Not Necessary

"It has been said that it is not necessary for them (the

boards) to hold public hearings

"They report to the Minister as to the advisability, or otherwise, of proclaiming areas."

"In other words it is contemplated that there may be some areas in the Union where group areas are not desirable."

"Then the Minister must recommend to the Government-General accordingly."

On Facts

Referring to the Cape Town message of the board, Mr. Ramjee asked "Did the board report on facts? Were facts given at the hearing? If you feel there is reason to doubt the operations or conclusions of the board, the matter should be submitted to court."

There had been much discussion on the definition of "occupation" as used in group areas legislation. The Minister had now defined it in Parliament as "Where a person is

present for a substantial period of time." How long was "a substantial period of time?"

"Very few people realize that Europeans are also affected by the law of non-Europeans rights. It denies them the right to buy where they please, where they

may have been served first. It denies them the right to employ whom they please. It denies them the right to invite any person to their homes."

"With the control of the non-Europeans, automatically the Europeans are controlled."

India Bans Export Of Talismams And "Magic Charms"

New Delhi.

BY a notification in the official gazette, the Indian Government has banned the export of charms and talismans and advertisements relating to such objects.

The notification, issued under the Sea Customs Act, prohibited the taking by sea or by land out of India charms, amulets, talismans or any other articles of a like nature...the possession of which is alleged to bring material prosperity, supernatural happiness, success in love affairs, emancipation and litigation or any other gain, or is alleged to confer its possession with occult power of a super-

natural, mystical or magical character."

This means such articles, some of which have in the past found their way into East Africa, will be seized when detected at customs checking points. However, when it is considered that most of them are very small objects and may be used by post, the difficulties of checking their importation into these territories will be apparent.

The Indian Commission in Nairobi will be grateful for any information from the public that is likely to help in checking the importation of these objects into East Africa.

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- વજાને લગતી ફેશી કોનેઈ—અમો માંસ, ધેર, કાંતક વધેરે મટે અમને અમો, ફેશી ફેરિયાઈ પાયા જગપાં સાહે તેમજ કિડાપત કાંતે અમને ।
- તમારી ફેર જરીકીમખી અને તમારી સોજીલી કાંતકે જ અમો :

પ્રજાપતિ: જાણીએ-૧૩-૮૬ સંજીવ,
સાંભલ, વાલ, બેન્ગલ, વાલ
વેલ, પ્રજા, જાણીએ વેલ, જાણીએ
વેલ, જાણીએ ૧૩-૮૬ ૧૩-૮૬
જાણીએ ૧૩-૮૬

“એક નુર આદમી
હજાર નુર કપડાં”

ભાગ્ય ચાહે જામને દરિયા

વિવરણ: ગામઝો-વિવરણ નવ
મંત્રના નામ મોહ મોહ, ઈશ્વર
મોહ, ભગવાનીની ઈશ્વર, વિવરણ વધ
મંત્રની પાછી, પચાસ, મંત્રની
પાછી પ્રથમ પાછી મુલાકાત, મંત્રના
મોહી મુલાકાત મુલાકાત

Phone: 27309

Residence : 22740

Manilal Ratanjee & Co., (Pty) Ltd.
136 Prince Edward Street, DURBAN.

પીટિઆર્થ પી. નાથકે

સુસંગીત, સુસાદૃશી, શીમાળી અને સવચ્છ શિખર
કોણસ ભવ્ય કુલકાચ હોઈ પણ કાનની દબાઈ રિલેઈઝ થયા નહીં
પછી મુસાફરી કર્યા પેરે થઈ આવતી પગાઉ કુર્બાન મો.
સંગીત, આર, પેટી, દુશ્સર, મહાસર, પોલસર, રિલેઈઝ થયા અને
કોણસ ભવ્ય કુલકાચ હોઈ.

ઈન્ડિયન, પાસન ટાઇ, રિલેઈઝ થયા અને કુર્બાન મો.
કોણસ ભવ્ય કુલકાચ હોઈ પછી મુસાફરી કર્યા પેરે થઈ આવતી
પગાઉ કુર્બાન મો. પછી મુસાફરી કર્યા પેરે થઈ આવતી
કુર્બાન મો. પછી મુસાફરી કર્યા પેરે થઈ આવતી

Phone : 33-9333. 26 Barkly Arcade,
Cor. 38, Market & Diagonal St., J'BURG.

કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો.

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—કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો.—

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L. MISTRY

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ધાર્મિક પુસ્તકો

કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો. કુર્બાન મો.
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INDIAN OPINION
P/O, Durban, Natal.

તાજું ઉપહાર ફ્રેશ

આપના આપના, લીલી આપના, લાલ અને પુલકની માથા
માથા કો. આપના લીલી આપના, લાલ અને પુલકની માથા

માથા કો. આપના લીલી આપના, લાલ અને પુલકની માથા
માથા કો. આપના લીલી આપના, લાલ અને પુલકની માથા

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માથા કો. આપના લીલી આપના, લાલ અને પુલકની માથા

All prices subject to Market fluctuations.

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કેપીટલ્સ બાલ્કની હોટેલ

(પી કેનર મીસ્ટ્રી કાઉન્ટ)

કે અને વિહોસીમા સ્ટીલના પુલકની હોટેલ
કે અને વિહોસીમા સ્ટીલના પુલકની હોટેલ

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AND BOOKSELLERS

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Durban.

Jethalal's Mithai House

and

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Telephone : 27780 — P. O. Box 2043.

Tel. Address: "SWEETMEATS".

અમારે ત્યાંથી બધી જાતની શીઝાઓ લીની બનાવેલી મુઠ્ઠા મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આપણે દિવસ વેલ્ડેસ્ટીઅન લોભન મળી શકશે.

હવે પ્રસંગે નેમજ પાર્ટીઓ માટે જમણાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

હોલ મુજ પ્રસંગે બાંહે મળી શકશે.

બ્રાઈડલ અને લોહંગની સગવડ

કાપથી બ્રાઈડલને જાસ પર્સનની આપવામાં આવશે. વિગાળીઓ અને શાકોને પણ પર્સનની આપવામાં આવશે. હાલમાં તે માન-પુરુષ વગરના લેવામાં આવશે. ઓરડાઓમાં નહીં અને અલગુનિક ડબલ્ડ ફરનીયર રાખવામાં આવેલું છે. રેરામાં જતાં જમરા તે રેરામાંથી આવતા હોવાથી બંને કુટુંબને રહેવા માટે રહેવાની તેમજ જાવાની સગવડ કરી આપવામાં આવશે.

અમે રેરા સેવરની સેવાથી સેકેલી, અને કાચી તેમજ ઘણાની દાલ, ખારેક, પિરતા, અને ચાણાલી, વિગેરે સજીવો લીધે.

ધરમ્ આથિલું અથાલું અને સારી જાતના પાપક હંમેશાં તઈયાર હોય છે.

બ્રાઈડથી શીઝાં અને દુધપાક બનાવી આપવામાં આવશે.

પ્રાઈસ લીસ્ટ માટે લખો.

Let us be brave enough to die the death of a martyr, but let us not live for martyrdom.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1902.

Former Editors: Manilal Gandhi—1912-1934

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ANC BLAMES GOVERNMENT POLICY FOR ORLANDO BRUTALITIES

ETHNIC GROUPING DESTROYS UNDERSTANDING

IN a statement to the Press, signed by Mr. O. R. Tambo, the acting Secretary General of the ANC, the Congress stated:—

The immediate cause of the trouble is said to be the total increase on the Orlando-Pietermaritzburg train. This is not disputed. But the main menace in these overcrowded trains was there long before the Duke Hotel was established. So this cannot be the main and fundamental reason for the brutalities of last Saturday and Sunday. We are therefore convinced that there are other deep-rooted causes.

Nats To Blame

It is the view of the African National Congress that the National Government is to blame for the early and shocking happenings in Duke, Meadowlands and other African townships in the south-western area of Johannesburg over the week-end. The terrible clashes between the Zulu and Sotho factions and brutal killings of some of the participants as well as of innocent persons are a direct outcome of the Government's policy of apartheid and ethnic grouping which is aggravated by the evils of migratory and in-

dentured labour and beer halls.

The African National Congress maintains that the real aim and purpose of ethnic grouping is to prevent and destroy understanding and unity among the various sections of the African people in the country by sowing racial suspicions and 'creating' feuds, antagonisms and tension among them which result in periodic faction fights and clashes.

Role Of Police

The African National Congress is not satisfied that the police are wholly blameless as far as the week-end tragedy is concerned. The trouble started earlier in the week, and if they really wanted to, the police could have prevented the atrocities of last Saturday and Sunday by disarming the two factions before the actual clashes. Why was this not done? or did the police not know of the impending clash?

Tension and crime are caused by the policy of low wages, lack of opportunities, bad housing, and the denial

of elementary human rights. To end injustice and crime we have to remove the social conditions which give rise to them. On the other hand to end faction fights and barbarities we must end the system of apartheid and ethnic grouping. But the main aim at the moment

Call For Calm

The African National Congress therefore calls upon the Duke Hotel residents and the people of Meadowlands, Mofelo and other areas to remain calm and not to allow themselves to be drawn into brutal faction fights and brutalities.

LIBERALS APPEAL TO DURBAN CITY COUNCIL ON GROUP AREAS

DURING the past year Liberal Party membership in the Natal coastal region has increased by fifty per cent and new branches have been started, but an even greater rate of expansion should be aimed at according to the retiring chairman, Miss Violence Joned, in her report to the annual general meeting of the coastal region of the party on Wednesday evening.

The meeting elected a regional committee for the next year with Mr C. K. Hall as chairman and Mr. K. Holland as vice-chairman. Resolutions for the forthcoming Provincial and National Congresses of the party were discussed including one urging a system of proportional representation which would give fair representation to different political viewpoints irrespective of delimitations. The meeting also passed the following resolution:


"The Liberal Party appeals to the voters of Dur-

ban to do all in their power to set aside the City Council's unjust demands for the uprooting of the voiceless non-European from their homes, schools, businesses and places of worship in such areas as Cafe Manor, Mayville, Greenwood Park, Prospect Hill and Riverdale. Only race conflict can result from selfish disregard of the family and community life of people who have to voice in the affairs of the city. The responsibility for these injustices rests ultimately on the white voters of Durban."

OPINION

FRIDAY, 27TH SEPTEMBER, 1957

We Remember Gandhi

 OCTOBER is Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, falls two days before our next issue will be out. For this reason we decided to mention it in this number. It is a date which large sections of mankind regard as particularly auspicious. On it was born one man who lived to prove that the spirit of Man is mightier than even the mightiest armies with the most lethal weapons.

Gandhi believed and taught that the Truth and Love were the most powerful forces on earth. This message always has a special meaning for us in this country—with our peoples of many tongues. It enjoins on all of us the need not to regard race or colour as of any consequence in evaluating our countrymen. We are required to see men as persons and individuals and not as members of groups. And when we do that it will be clear that the things that the individuals have in common are of greater consequence than those which divide them.

Cultural Analysis

But it expects on all of us also the need to realize that we are a mixed nation; that our biggest source of strength is this very diversity. The gifts and talents drawn from some of the oldest and greatest cultures of the world blend with those from the youngest and most virile to produce an amalgam which should enable us to build, in this part of the world, a civilization where Man's ending shall abide at its heartbeat.

We can do this as a nation only if all our peoples are inspired by a love for all their countrymen, which will transcend, not only race and cultural differences, but which will transcend, also, the hatreds of the moment. We know how unrealistic it might seem to the oppressed when they are told to love their oppressor. But Gandhi taught that love is a positive force and that it always triumphs over evil in the end. In every human being

Microphs **over** **the**

there is a spark of this divine love. Among some is burns with a greater glow, in others with a smaller. The duty of the true follower of mankind is to work with untiring zeal and a determination beyond being discouraged. To fan the spark into a warm flame even in the hearts of those who perpetrate injustice against their fellow-creatures.

(Continued on next page.)

Comment On Men And Events

The Johannesburg Riots

By JORDAN K. HOLVANE

ABOUT a fortnight ago a session of the Tories closed with a reading of the Banns near Drove and Mendonlands in which which resulted in the death, at the time these notes were written, of more than four hundred people.

Sermons of the White Front, particularly the government side, which is always eager to publish material about the Africans, have already suggested that the collision was racial; that the Zulus felt it was time they took the law into their own hands to protect themselves against Bantu protest. Government papers, such as a conference on race affairs at Johannesburg, have even argued that the riot grew from the belief the Zulus and the Basutos are separated; that is, the more white grouping is endorsed, the more things will be for all concerned.

Facts

What are the facts of the situation? Firstly, the Zulu have no grievance against the Basotho. I do not think that the Basotho have any grievance against the Zulu. The services of the Zulu who manifested their fellow-feeling have a grievance against the Zulu against the creature produced by oppression, that is against oppression. This creature is produced in every section of the African community because all are oppressed and treated fairly in the same way by their dominion.

Along the Reef, it is well-known that the majority language is Sotho—which means Sepedi, Setswana or Southern Sotho. The Tsoi, Xhosa, Shangaan or Venda have been along the Reef more often than not speaks various of Sotho or the other. And, in any case, where groups of people are together, Sotho readily becomes the lingua franca.

In these circumstances the ordinary citizen heading the troops speak Serbo might mislead them for Hungarians, when there are none.

Minister **Fraktion**

Government propagandists—who have never forgiven the Ruman for the way they opposed incorporation—have little liking for things Ruman. It fits the apostrophic plan magnificently to tell the world that the Ruman are Saxon-speaking and therefore Ruman. It makes them unpopular; it makes them the nearest to whom slighting and treachery in the Balkans can be applied.

In the manner, it puts the Government in a position to

create the impression that the Zulus are virtuous men—guided by the gangsters and mobsters into breaking the law to defend themselves and their women. Although the Zulu Paramount Chief has accepted the Basic Authorities Act for his district, most Zulus are making it quite plain that Cyprien's decision affects entirely his own Umtata tribe and that for themselves, they will keep as far away from the thing as possible.

Stack Ward

[illegible]

Against this background the rise are certainly a major victory for apartheid against African unity. There's no point in being blind to this fact. But they are also a warning to the African National Congress that there is work it should have done and which is neglected. That was to prepare African opinion for the type of situation which was going to be created by ethnic grouping. That, it did not do.

No amount of poring over the Freedom Charter will stop things like this. And the more Congressmen waste time on the Freedom Charter, the more they will give the Government the green light to squish up the African in the Americas.

I shall be told that the bones of the treasure trove are in the air. Up to a point they are. The groundwork for the present plan was laid in 1948 when the Nazis were returned to power.

(Continued on next page)

In the manner, it asks the Government to undertake a

Gokhale Described Gandhi As Man Among Men

OCTOBER 2, which will fall two days before our next issue will be Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. In commemorating this great personality below a tribute paid to him by one of the greatest sons of India—Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The excerpts which follow are from addresses delivered at Lahore in 1909 and Bombay in 1922:—

Prime-Minister, after the historical part which Mr. Gandhi has played in this affair I must say it will not be possible for any Indian, at any time, here or in any other assembly of Indians, to mention his name without deep emotion and pride from the huge gathering rose to its feet and accorded three hearty and most enthusiastic cheers to Mr. Gandhi. Goodness, it is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately, and I can tell you that a puner, a scholar, a brahmin and a most realised spirit has never moved on the earth (before and long after). Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who, living an utterly simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, could the eyes of the weaker brethren in this magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among

men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots and we may well say that in him India humanity at the present time has reached its high water mark.

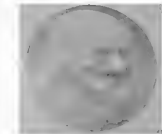
He is without doubt made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made. Nay more. He has in him the marvellous spiritual power to turn ordinary men around him into heroes and martyrs.

Passive Resistance

During the recent passive resistance struggle in the Transvaal—would you believe it?—twenty-seven hundred instances of imprisonment were under Mr. Gandhi's guidance to uphold the honour of their country. Some of the men among them were very substantial persons, some were solid traders, but the bulk of these were poor humble individuals, farmers, working men and so forth, men without education, men not accustomed in their life to think or talk of their country. And yet these men bore the heaviest of all life in the Transvaal, and some of them bore their pain and again rather than submit to degrading legislation directed against their country. Many houses were broken in the course of this struggle, many families dispersed, some men at one time mortally lost their all and brighter prospects, women and children reduced to wretched bondage. But they were inspired by Mr. Gandhi's spirit, and that had wrought the co-operation, thus illustrating the great power which the spirit of non-violence over human minds and even over physical surroundings.

In all my life I have known only two men who have affected me spiritually in the manner that Mr. Gandhi does—our great patriarch Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and my late master Mr. Ramesh-

chandra Behra whom not only we we admired of doing anything cowardly, but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy. The Indian cause in South Africa has really been built up by Mr. Gandhi. With-out skill and without gain, he has fought his great fight for this country during a period now of twenty years, and India owes an



MAHATMA GANDHI

immense debt of gratitude to him.

Sacrificed

He sacrificed himself utterly in the service of the cause. He had a splendid practice at the Bar, making as much as £5,000 to £6,000 a year, which is considered to be a very good income for a lawyer in South Africa. But he has given all that up, and he lives now on £3 a month for the poorest man in the street. One must realize that about him is that, though he has waged this great struggle so nobly, his mind is absolutely free from all bitterness against Europeans.

And in my life nothing warmed my heart more than to see the

universal union in which the European community in South Africa holds Mr. Gandhi. At every gathering leading Europeans, when they came to know that Mr. Gandhi was there, would immediately gather round him anxious to shake hands with him, making it quite clear that, though they fought him hard and tried to crush him in course of the struggle, they honoured him as a man.

To my mind Mr. Gandhi's leadership of the Indian cause in South Africa is the greatest asset of this country and it was an incalculable privilege for me that he was with me throughout my work as pilot me safely through my difficulties.

The Johannesburg Riots

(Continued from previous page)

The riots are a warning to democrats on all sides of the colour line, as well. The rioters' hands directed towards their own people is fundamentally hatred for the apartheid system. The iron has entered the African and is deeply that violence is regarded as a justified way out. At the moment it is directed towards water objectives. I am not alarmed. But I get the feeling that the day is not far when it will be directed towards the good country who witnesses it willingly to advance its own selfish interests. Unfortunately, when the children come home to rest, all of us will be involved; people on both sides of the colour line, whether or not they support apartheid.

In these circumstances it is the duty of all democrats to band themselves and work with unflinching determination to ensure apartheid's defeat. If this is not done, we can be certain now that we are heading straight for catastrophe.

We Remember Gandhi

(Continued from previous page)

to rise above the hatreds which are preached from the government side; to have the courage to uphold with growing force and determination, the ideals of Truth and Love which are being attacked by the Nationalists.

Challenging the power of the Nationalists will call for frightful sacrifice. But Gandhi showed that even the most powerful tyrant is as strong only as his victims are afraid. The moment they cast fear out of their lives and allow themselves to be guided only by the Truth, the tyrant begins to lose ground.

Lit Path

As we rejoice that on this date was born one of those men who have lit humanity's path to a better future, let us also remember that it was in the fight against apartheid that Gandhi saw the truth in clearer light.

Press Review

Father (Of The Bantu) And Baby

DR VERWOERD'S explanation of that barbarous blood-bath which took place at Dube and Maudslayi during the weekend, reads as though it might have been written before ever Dr. Verwoerd had heard the details of what had happened. In fact, we are not sure that that was the case, for Dr. Verwoerd's explanation is the stock explanation he keeps for such occasions. When anything goes wrong in Johannesburg, his first propensity is to blame the City Council. It is almost a reflex action with him, and he does it without thinking.

It did seem to him before telling the Nationalist Party Congress that he attributed this outbreak of violence to the weakness of the Johannesburg City Council, he would have remembered the Dube and Maudslayi area especially his attitude. The Father of the Bantu is responsible

for their existence; and Ethel Crookley is his baby, too.

— "East Daily Mail."

Dr. Verwoerd

NOW fortifies the country will be if these confessions confirm that the Nationalists can hardly wait for the result of the general election before kicking Dr. Verwoerd upstairs into the Finsbury balcony. This translation will, of course, not guarantee that his capacity for saving the milk of human kindness throughout the Union will be reduced; we have little doubt that his contempt for precision and for his predecessors will be as obvious in any Cabinet position as it is in Native Affairs. But it is at least reasonable to expect that if he is given power, he will have to devote some part of his voluminous speech-making to financial matters; and that will reflect some evidence of the kind of bluster he has been applying in Maudslayi.

cul in the past two or three days. He told the Nationalist Party conference on Thursday, although it was a scandal of the first magnitude, that Natives had been taught in the Western ways at church schools, and the adoption of these ways was responsible for Natives' unwilling to take their places as part and parcel of the European community. But the Government had stopped all that, and "Verwoerd" putting as and in the next few or 10 years of the class of Natives who wanted to be taken into the ranks of the Europeans. "We assume that instead of violence their sinister shadowy would be taught to show the better; for few they will have lost; and the others they will go back to and blacks."

— "East Times."

Initial Diamond Digging Approved

Yongoma, Sierra Leone.

Many persons were made when police and army contingents visited Koida at dawn, on September 11. The dig represented a new phase in operations against illicit diamond digging. Among those arrested was a member of African Group comprising territories, including French Guinea and Liberia.

Colonial Office Report On Kenya

Kenya.

THE Colonial Office report on Kenya for 1956 was published on September 6. It reported that there were virtually no backsliders among the Mau Mau detainees released after rehabilitation last year. The rehabilitation of young men and women had been particularly successful compared with 1955. The total population in detention camps at the end of the year was 31,552, a reduction of 13,415 on the number a year previously. The number of establishments had been reduced from 51 to 3. The report says: "In spite of the long years of the emergency the country's financial position remained sound, and although it was too early to expect any great relief, the improved conditions now obtain began to have a good effect. Again, the reduction in the emergency brought about an increase in the volume of tourism traffic and there was also a steady flow of immigrants of every description."

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New Group Areas

Lydenburg and Carolina

TO appreciate the full horror of the Group Areas Act one must understand not only the mass removal of non-Whites now proclaimed in its major cities, but also the extremely even greater injustice being steadily proclaimed in the small towns. Two recent examples are Carolina and Lydenburg in the Eastern Transvaal.

Lydenburg first established themselves as Indians in Carolina in 1902 and in Lydenburg not later than 1905. In both towns the

to be just as shabbily treated. As a result of proposals by the town council, a committee of Government officials and other "interested"—usually very interested—persons, of several public hearings before the Group Areas Board and of the Board's secret report to the Minister, the latter has in his inexorable wisdom decided that Lydenburg's 150 Indians shall remove themselves, their shops and their houses nearly a mile out of town, even a hilly and unsuitable site three-quarters of a mile from the main road in Pieterburg—also within four years.

But the Lydenburg case has a long history which is of more than passing interest as illustrating the decision makers behind these new Group Areas plans. It was one of the first towns to hold a public hearing on Group Areas proposals, as long ago as May 5, 1952. In those early days municipalities had not realised how damaging it was to expose themselves as officials to cross-examination at a public hearing and Mr. J. A. Malché Q.C. gave Mr. Prof. Lydenburg's town clerk, a pretty rough lesson.

The original Lydenburg proposal was to move the Indians 2½ miles out of town on to a mountain without a road and next to the orange farms. Mr. Prof. said he honestly believed that this would give the Indian traders dignity, that they would be equally well situated there as in the town itself. Mr. Prof. said that water and light would be laid on for the proposed Indian area. But he had to admit that neither had yet been supplied to the much larger and newer African location established in 1939, whose inhabitants relied on a delivery of 18 gallons per household per day (Sunday excepted).

Mr. Malché described the town's proposed Indian scheme as "intriguingly unfair and dishonest." To which Mr. (now Mr. Town) V. G. Hertzog for the Town Council provocatively retorted that Mr. Malché's questions were directed towards negating the Indians might remain in the town. "But the Government has already stated in no uncertain terms that the Group Areas Act, I must object to the Town Clerk being questioned about Government policy," Mr.

said that Indians had "perceived deeply" just business and would be well advised to concern themselves less with trading. Mr. Hertzog, for the A.N.C. and Coloured community of Lydenburg, said that it was "truly obvious" that the municipality intended to deprive the Indians of their livelihood. After an inspection is seen the Board found it difficult to consider the municipality's proposal and adjourned the date to such new proposals.

There was an abortive hearing of the Board in July, 1953, postponed while a legal ruling was sought. The next move to meet the Indians came in an entirely different direction. On January 26, 1954, Dr. A. J. R. van Rieën, on the urgent request of Mr. J. V. L. Liebenberg (Nationalist N.P. for Lydenburg), decided to dissolve the Lydenburg Board based as from March 1st. After one of 275 Board members this was considered to be too haphazard work to do and—surprisingly enough—precisely on March 1, 1954, four of the seven Indian traders in Lydenburg (the other three own their own properties) resolved action to open their premises in 30 days. These four businessmen provided a livelihood for a total of 75 dependents.

Litigation followed in which one of the Indian traders was ordered. Two, however, maintained that they had reached agreement with the Lydenburg Municipal Council. The Lydenburg Municipal Council decided to sue the two Indian traders—on grounds that they had agreed to remove the other would be Indian Group Areas was proclaimed. Mr. Justice Macmillan decided that this was a substantial defence which ought to go to trial, whereas the applicant firms failed out of court on the basis of the agreement signed by the Indians. The further stipulation that the manager of the Handelman's had been ordered to remove the Board in 1950 and that an official of Volksraad supported the 1954 move for dissolution were, then, never brought as trial.

The final public hearing of

the Group Areas Board in Lydenburg began on March 29, 1954. For this hearing the Indian community with one exception invited Mr. (now Mr. Justice) S. M. Kuper Q.C., and took the line that it was willing to accept segregation of residential areas, provided it could settle its business premises in town and despite the fact that the Indian area is already largely segregated. The terrible lack of success of these conciliatory tactics, as evidenced in the present proceedings, will no doubt suggest to other Indian communities that "moderation" goes nothing and possibly weakens their whole case morally.

Mr. Hertzog put forward four alternative municipal proposals in addition to the original one. All involved dumping the Indians, both black and brown on the bare veld. He said it had been accepted in principle (by whom and when, he did not explain) that the Indians "would have to be moved from by their present residences and business quarters." It was, therefore, only a question of "the inevitability of the act." The Indian community was "not being asked to accept anything worse than Indian communities had so many other towns in the Transvaal."

Well, there it is. In 1957 Dr. Duggan has gained the case. He considers "open justice and fairness" to the Indians. They have a house and hilly site out of town, on which their businesses will operate in various new developments even if the Lydenburg town council is not allowed to be transferred of which there is no guarantee. The site is close to the general Coloured location, and the 180 Coloureds in town and in the location have been warned to move by June 30, 1958, though no area has yet been proclaimed for them. It is not known whether an early proposal might move the African location is still being considered with. Not a white word more, though some will undoubtedly take advantage of the well-powered and fairly secured by Indians. And who will say no for the two Indian school and mosque in town?

Justice and fairness, Dr. Duggan!

C. W. M. GILL

Indian-occupied area has been encroached upon and surrounded. White-occupied buildings; in both the Indian and white areas, the road business, have needed. When and African customers through had there and without off considerable delay. In neither town is there any record of racial "incidents," though the chairman of the Group Areas Board (Mr. G. P. de Vries) rather graciously said at the Lydenburg hearing in 1954 that "as many towns there is undoubtedly no trouble but undoubtedly considerable delay—the factors that give rise to the Group Areas Act should be kept in mind." However, he added that there were no instances of violence in Lydenburg, the Board would have to decide "in what circumstances could remove that there was a problem." At Carolina the only evidence of a "problem" was that the Indian population in connection with the Indian population lived throughout the Union—had slightly more than doubled since 1936. But even today Carolina's 200 Indians are hardly be considered a formidable minority.

For one must suspect that the Board decided that there was a serious "problem" in each town. For the Indians of Carolina are to move their shops and houses within four years to an undeveloped site three-quarters of a mile outside the town, despite the fact that there are still many houses built for Whites in the town itself. Not a single White person will be disturbed by the proceedings.

This also holds good for Lydenburg, where the Indian are

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VINOBA BHAVE, "the Saint on the March," who started revolution in India's villages with his bare-foot movement 43 years ago.

To condemn the Indian peasant has received the religious avowal of the world's great men which the fruits of his labour were taken away by various intermediaries who owned the land and a bare subsistence was left to him. In every country to him has been the object of several Indian legislations when using modern.

However, in the tradition of Gandhi, whose disciple he is, Vinoba thinks that the problem of land hunger will be solved not so much by State action as by non-violent revolution in the minds of the people, so that those who have land will voluntarily give up to the landless that part of it which is surplus to their needs.

Utopian

This apparently utopian plan has been made to work by the devoted efforts of Vinoba and all his followers who have to date collected 4.5 million acres of landless. This land is being redistributed.

Encouraged by this success Vinoba has started the latest phase of his movement, "grand-daughter village plan" in which land is given to whole villages and handed over to him for redistribution.

Taking over a whole village has obvious advantages for village life. Till the end of August this year, 1,500 villages in 12 States were handed over. Golconda headed the list with 1,500 villages; Kanha, Bombay and Madras States followed with 1,000, 800 and 700 villages respectively.

Mass Propriety

Although the first village was donated in 1952 to the state of Uttar Pradesh, the movement secured a mass proportion only during Bhawe's march through Orissa in 1955.

Now possibilities of social atomisation and economic uprooting, of building up a new social order based on equality and co-operation, has opened up thanks to "Grand-daughter." Under it, in a village, individual ownership of land ceases and the whole village becomes one unit.

Manojit in U.P., the village to come under "Grand-daughter" tells the story of the case of the movement. I was 100 families in all in village, 60 of whom owned and 40 were landless—so which 13 families depended their livelihood on casual manual employment. To all the families, except who have other occupations did not want land, have land to cultivate. Eight acres of fallow land have been cultivated by one effort. A big tank has been dug, village made a big bank, common village work has been given and land cultivation has also been proved.

Results

The result is that whereas years ago the village

Negro Gove

NEGRO TRUMPET by his address the word sponsored visit to Russia is deadlock. He declared, "I

He said in Grand Pt North Dakota, that he given up his trip to Russia came of "the way they treating my people in South."

He accused President "honor of having 'no gain' described Governor Orval E. Eby, or Arkansas, as an "educated ploughboy."

"A Publicity Stunt"

According to a statement made to a "G. Peck's Herald" reporter. It is a copy of the story written the basis of his "Saturday" said, "That's the way. Don't take notice" that story. "That's just said and still say."

He described President Hoover as "two-faced" asserted that he had

fects Revolution

people only able to fight with' requirements of the new, today it produces more than enough to meet its requirements. The people have now turned their attention to production of cloth. In the last eight months they have already produced 49-44 yards.

In Uttar "Gram-das" villages have pooled their labour and now share expenses on social occasions like marriages.

The process of industrialisation followed after "Gram-das" is left to be decided by the people. They are, however, encouraged to experiment. The result has been that agricultural produce in these villages differs from anything hitherto intended for sale and common cultivation. Certain percentage of land is generally set apart for common cultivation, and other individual cultivation is the common mode. In some villages co-operatives have been formed. Apart from agricultural improvement, crop planning, provision of irrigation, the problem of provision of modern means of transport is being tackled.



VINOBA BHAVE

These efforts are in the direction of to this as well as in marketing village produce and improving requirements of the village; provision of village industries, activity in agriculture and self-sufficiency in daily provision of basic education; settlement of local disputes in village Panchayats; health, hygiene and sanitation schemes.—191.

rumpeter Tell US ent To Go To Hell

New York, Thursday.

Mr. Armstrong "bitched" to the United Nations Committee against the Apartheid school system as he goes to hell.

Mr. Armstrong the Federal Government.

"It's getting almost to had a school can't get any money," the Negro extremists said in his getting, looking value.

"Don't get me wrong," he added, "The South is full of intelligent white people, it's the lower-class people who make all the noise, though."

Armstrong said that one of National Guard troops to permit school segregation at Little Rock was "a publicity stunt by the government of all publicity stunts." Such things had a bad effect on relations with other countries.

"The people over there (in Little Rock) are wrong with my country," he commented. "What am I supposed to do?"

He said that if he ever did go through with his proposed trip, "I'll do it on my own."

Washington Worried

In Washington, though the State Department declined to comment on Armstrong's statement, officials made an attempt to hold the concern they felt.

Armstrong is regarded by the State Department as one of the most effective unofficial goodwill ambassadors the United States has, and officials were delighted when he proposed to "bitch" them out in the Soviet Union.

They said today that Russian propaganda would undoubtedly seize on Armstrong's demonstration, turning it to their own use.

Further—Governor Folsom is due to appear in court today under charges of conspiracy with a well-challenged fact new State agricultural loan—Spartan-Associated Press.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

CHAPTER XXIX

YOU must not think Gandhiji was over a severe taskmaster, or difficult to obey. He knew well that most of us are far from saintly, and he always said that there are too good ways of doing everything. One is the difficult and more perfect way, the other, less perfect, but again easy. There is no harm, he taught, in *dealing* with the easy way, if the other way frightens us at first. We can always change over to the difficult way when we have grown brave enough.

Above all he loved to teach and help children. He matter how busy he was he always found time for children. Every morning and evening he went for a little walk, to keep in good health. Many of the school children would accompany him on these walks. There were children whose parents lived and worked in the ashram.

None of the ashram children were at all shy of Gandhiji. They used to tell him all their little troubles, and also about their games. Sometimes they

would tease him and run away with his stick. One small girl would even climb up on his lap to pull his nose and touch his ears.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Morrey-Corcoran

In his leisure time, short as it was, he would even crawl about on all fours to across the very little ones, and let them ride on his back. If a small child cried, he would even leave off important work when he comforted it.

All this does not mean that he spoiled children, however. By no means. He was never weary of telling them to keep themselves clean and tidy, and he thought that all children should learn to do some useful work and be self-reliant. Lascivious or defiant children he would not tolerate. Once, at a public meeting, he noticed a mischievous little Marjona child. Lifting it up, he said kindly but firmly: "Now your own child!"

However important the occasion

was, he always noticed such little things. This was because for him they were not 'little things'. Where others would only have seen a ragged little Marjona child with a dirty nose, he saw a child dear to God, born in dirt and misery through no fault of his own. In that poor dirty child he saw one of those whose rights he had been fighting for all his life.

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(To be continued)

40,000 Entries For Children's Competition

PRESIDENT Prasad distributed in New Delhi on September 7 30 prizes won by children of 15 countries in the 1956 International Children's Competition in Drawing and Writing conducted by the "Razak's Weekly".

The President congratulated Mr. Shankar, who has been organising the competition since 1946, and said that it had done much in creating a sense of internationalism among the children of the world.

He was glad that its appeal was growing wider every year.

Children from 60 countries had sent 40,000 entries for the competition last year.

Among the non-Indian competitors most of the prizes—23 each—went to Canada and Japan. The President's Gold Medal for the best painting was won by 15-year-old Judith Roe Laikins of Canada. Children from U.S.S.R. won 19 prizes, from U.S.A. 14, Ceylon seven and China six. Indian children, from whom came by far the largest number of entries, carried away 55 prizes.

The heads and officials of the diplomatic missions in Delhi received the prizes on behalf of the children of their respective countries—mostly Kashmiri, Baluch, Bikaneri, Garvati and South Indian ivory artists.

Prime Minister Nehru, who had donated 25 prizes, was a keen spectator of the prize distribution ceremony.

R. VITHAL

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Yogi Lucien On Hinduism

THE Durban Kshatriya Hindu Youth Organisation arranged a lecture by Yogi Lucien at the Gandhi Hall on Sunday, September 22, at 7.30 p.m. on the "Philosophy and Essence of Hinduism." The Hall was packed to capacity by people of all races, castes and creeds and many handkerchiefs were waved away. It is hoped that another lecture will be arranged in the near future, for the benefit of those who were not privileged to hear the learned Yogi. Yogi Lucien also gave a demonstration of the various Asanas. This quiet spoken white Yogi who hails from Johannesburg and who is only 29 years old, developed an interest in religion while still in the Primary School. He wanted to become a Christian church minister when he grew up, but found he could not reconcile that church's tenets with his rationalistic and scientific outlook on life. He spent many years of heart-searching, but failed to find any solace in his questioning mind. Between the ages of 14 and 18 he became an atheist.

One day he visited a European friend who promised to teach him Yoga exercises. This friend then introduced him to the Yogic philosophy and this marked a turning point in his life.

Contact with Yoga immediately made sense to him and eventually he came back to the path of God. Speaking at the Gandhi Hall, Yogi Lucien said: "Many people today have a mistaken notion as to what religion really is. Religion is simply the path to God as pointed out by some great personality who had himself reached that path and reached its goal. Just as different paths are suitable for different people so too, different religions are all merely different paths leading ultimately to the same end. God who has always been, and will always be.

The Hindu religion however is a universal religion for it does not consist of one path but of many paths and unlike most of the religions of the world it does not involve around one particular individual but around many. It is there a place for every one of us, say, as, or any temperament. For that reason it is a universal religion in which any man can find a path to God himself. There are two different religious points of view concerning the relation-

ship between God and his creation. The one is "Dualism" in which God and his creation are considered to be two distinctly separate entities. For those who hold this view, the goal of religion is heaven, God ever remaining above and separate from them. The other view is that of "Monism". For



Yogi Lucien demonstrating one of the various Asanas

its followers the goal of religion is not heaven but union with God, or God Realisation which is realisation of the fact that the individual is in fact himself God for the monistic view is that God is one, with his creation. It is the process of creation, preservation and dissolution that is symbolised by the Sri Yantra of the Supreme deity of the Hindu religion that is Brahman God in his aspect of creator. Vishnu God is his aspect of preserver and Shiva God in his aspect of destroyer. Similarly other aspects of the Lord are represented by other symbolic Gods. It is not three Gods that the Hindus pray to, but the one universal God in the aspect represented by the particular symbols. No true Hindu worships or prays to a lamp or a statue of bricks and mortar, thinking that that idol could do anything for him. But just as the Christian worships the Lord through the form of Jesus, and just as the Muslim has the word Allah to symbolise his God, so too the Hindu has his own symbol or form through which he worships the one Universal God, who is not particular through which form we worship him or by what name we call him. The Hindu believes that as long as he is sincere in his worship and as long as he lives rightly the Lord understands and accepts his worship.

Yogi Lucien also spoke on Ahimsa or non-killing. He said that all religions preached the principle of "Thou shalt not kill," and this did not apply to

human beings alone but to all living creatures. He said that the object of Ahimsa was to develop a love for God who dwells in the heart of all living creatures. It is in order to develop this love that the obstacle of killing is removed. Once we accept that it is a sin to kill, then it is also a sin to eat the meat of an animal that has been killed for that purpose.

introduced in their lives the principle of "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" and "Love thy neighbour as thyself" then such people would automatically be good Hindus. Hindu religion said that a man must be true to himself, to his fellowmen and to God. Anyone who followed that was a good Hindu.

Yogi Lucien said that he did not believe in conversions from one religion to the other, and the condemnation of certain scriptures of other religions. Truly religious people did not condemn, and those who did, did not really know much of their own religion or the religion they condemned. Yogi Lucien said that he did not give up Christianity for Hinduism, but that he had become a non-believer and Hinduism brought him back to the path of God.

Aryan Sports Club Officials

AT the 11th annual general meeting of the Aryan Sports Club held on the 28th September, the following officials were elected for the ensuing season:—**Life Patron:** Mr. J. D. Dwyer, **Patron:** Messrs. P. Mahan, R. F. Hazards, B. Dejer, T. F. Dallah, L. Nager, hon. Life vice presidents, Messrs. B. J. Goudier, A. Nanna, G. Dwyer, T. H. Hazards, G. Ramachand, **President:** Mr. N. P. Hawley, **Vice-Presidents:** Messrs. H. Dwyer and J. Hawley, **Hon. Secretary:** Mr. R. Bhaer, **Asst. Secretary:** Mr. D. Dwyer, **Treasurer:** Mr. E. M. Rashed, **Auditor:** Mr. A. Dwyer.

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

Vol. I

(Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

The work deals with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's most tremendous career. It may be said that Mahatma and his associates were not merely concerned with the yearning for the completion of the Indian National Movement. The authors, the well-known character and interpreter of Gandhi's life and philosophy, despite their great difference, were united in their common desire to show the world the last phase of Mahatma's life and how he moved through under the force of destiny and despite all around and against him and that to the end he was purified higher and higher with himself.

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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Discrimination Against Indians At
Lourenco Marques Alleged

THE EDITOR, 'OPINION'

SIR,—I am a passenger in the steamer S.T. Lizar "Kororja" travelling from Durban to Lourenco Marques with a view to being to the notice of Indian travelling public and the Indian authorities, through the medium of your esteemed journal, the discrimination against the Indian nationals in the Portuguese port of Lourenco Marques.

On our arrival at Lourenco Marques on the 6th instant, the senior Immigration Officer of the port on boarding the ship endorsed an order stopping all members of the crew and passengers of Indian nationality from disembarking or visiting the town. The authorities were so strict that the Deputy Porter and the ship's Medical Officer, both Indian nationals, and well-known senior officers in the S.T. Company on the African coast, were not allowed to go ashore even on ship's business. The "Kororja" was in port from 10 a.m. on 6th September to 2 p.m. on 7th September.

I was allowed to go ashore on a visitor's pass as I am a South African citizen and I found all nice and quiet in the town and the restrictions on the movement of Indian crew and passengers of the ship was commented upon by local residents as ridiculous. I felt the order was a needless one because when we called at the great Portuguese Port of Delra, all were allowed to go ashore without visitor's passes were and passengers—regardless of their race or nationality.

I must say that the behaviour of the Indian crew and officers was excellent and they took the situation philosophically. The

ship's Medical Officer and two Portuguese who were affected by the stoppage order refused to comment when some of us asked them about the new order.

P. D. HADJIOYAN

R.M.S. "Kororja,"
Durban-Delra.Ethiopia's First
General Election

Ethiopia.

Voting began on September 11 in Ethiopia's general election based on universal suffrage. The electorate, which numbers nearly five millions out of the estimated population of thirteen millions, will be voting in different places over a period of one month. There are no political parties, and the candidates will seek election purely on their own personal record and qualities. The election is an outcome of the revision of the Constitution which took place in November 1955.

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Brockway Concerned About Events In Ghana

SLOUGH (Buckinghamshire) Tuesday.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, Labour Member for Parliament for Slough, and a personal friend of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of newly-independent Ghana, said at Slough that Ghana was "adopting some of the worst practices of colonial rule."

Noting that he thought Dr. Nkrumah was being badly advised, Mr. Brockway suggested that some "evil genius" had gained the ear of the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile from Lagos it is reported that the British Minister, Mr. Christopher Skelton, O.C., who left Ghana temporarily at the weekend and has been referred recently, will attempt to return to Ghana tomorrow.

Mr. Brockway's comments were made in a speech to the Slough Rotary Club. He referred to deportations and what he described as restrictions on freedom in Ghana.

Mr. Brockway said: "As soon as the deportations were reported I wrote to Dr. Nkrumah expressing them. My view of what has happened since, I feel I must express my recent help."

"I do not want to help the reactionaries who oppose him in Ghana. I don't like interfering in the affairs of an independent country."

"But freedom brings to all mankind. I have protested when it is denied by Communist despots. I have protested when it is denied by colonial administrators. I protest now when I found freedom denied by the Government of Ghana."

"I must be clear, even though Kwame Nkrumah is my friend."

Great Gifts

"Dr. Nkrumah has received great gifts of independence in the action years before independence. He showed a brief, hard, tolerant mind."

"His friends in Britain are shocked now to find Ghana adopting some of the worst practices of colonial rule—deportations without trial, emergency laws to restrict freedom, restrictions of personal liberty to the Government."

The Lagos report states that it is believed Mr. Nkrumah has sent a personal telegram to the Attorney-General of Ghana, Mr. Godfrey Bleg, asking for permission to visit Ghana in order to represent his two allies, the African leaders who were due

to meet, and Mr. Ian Colvin of the "Daily Telegraph," who is due to appear before the Federal dividend court on Friday.

Writ Served

Mr. Godfrey Bleg was served

with a writ today on behalf of Mr. Colvin, claiming damages for alleged calumnious statements and slander.

The writ also seeks an injunction to restrain Mr. Bleg from libelling the processes of the court."

Similar writs were filed by Mr. Colvin on Saturday against the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, and the Commissioner of Police.

The "Daily Telegraph" is a statement tonight, said that they had instructed Mr. Ian

Colvin, their special correspondent now in Nigeria not to return to Ghana pending further orders.

Mr. Colvin was due to appear in court on Friday to answer a charge of "writing with intent to excite public prejudice."

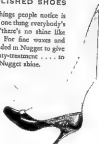
Meanwhile it is understood that a note from the Ghana Government dealing with the refusal to grant Mr. Nkrumah was being studied by the British Government tonight. **Hope-Rector.**



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Who is he that will harm
you, if ye be followers of
that which is good?

—St. Peter.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932.

Former Editors: Mahatma Gandhi—1932-1954

No. 39—Vol. LV.

Friday, 4th October, 1957

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LOW HINTS TO WEST: IF APARTHEID NOT BACKED IN UN S.A. MIGHT CHANGE POLICY

THE Union's present policy of having only a "token" representation at the United Nations could not be continued indefinitely, the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. E. H. Louw, said in a statement issued in Pretoria recently. Sooner or later the matter of South Africa's continued membership would have to be considered by the Government.

Mr. Louw expressed appreciation for the increased support the Government was receiving at the United Nations in its stand against the inclusion on the agenda of items which were the domestic concerns of South Africa.

Mr. Louw said "The United Nations Assembly, by a large majority, has decided once more to place on its agenda the two items relating to South Africa. They are India's complaint regarding the alleged ill-treatment of persons of Indian origin, and South Africa's racial policy."

"In view of the Union's policy of 'token representation' announced last year, the South African acting permanent representative, Mr. J. S. F. Botha, did no more than formally to record his objection to the placing on the agenda of these items, on the ground that such action was a violation of Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter."

"Although, as during past years, the inscription proposals were adopted by

large majorities, the voting shows an improvement in South Africa's favour, since the last session of the Assembly. On the Indian complaint, France on this occasion voted against inscription instead of abstaining, while the delegations of Argentina, Canada and Nicaragua, which last year supported inscription, now recorded abstention votes. These votes totalled 16, as against 13 last year.

"On the second item, Spain on this occasion opposed inscription, instead of abstaining. Argentina, Austria and Canada recorded abstention votes, instead of supporting inscription, as they did last year.

"I would like to express my appreciation that five delegations have on this occasion shown a more sympathetic and understanding attitude of South Africa's sustained effort to uphold a basic principle of the charter. In this connection I would particularly mention the active support received from the French delegation on the Indian

complaint.

"As regards the proposal to discuss South Africa's racial policies the Union Government is grateful for the active support received from the delegations of Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom, who voted against inscription of this item. There were nine abstentions as against seven last year. I would particularly express our thanks to Mr. Casey (Australia) and Commander Noble (United Kingdom) who went to the rostrum, and spoke strongly in support of South Africa.

Bandung Group

"In analysing the voting on these two items, it is necessary to divide the delegations into two main groups. There is firstly the conformation of the so-called "Bandung" (Afro-Asian) countries, and the Communist bloc, which together accounted for 38 of the votes cast in favour of inscription. The total number of votes cast (including abstention votes) was 52.

"From the great majority of this powerful combination of member states (under the leadership of India), South Africa can in the future expect only determined opposition in regard

to these two items, and it will do everything in her power to continue her 12 year-old vendetta against South Africa."

"In view of the fact that South Africa's attitude in regard to domestic jurisdiction is basic to the Union's continued membership of the United Nations, it is clear that our future relations with the organisation will largely be determined by the attitude of those countries which are outside the Bandung-Communist combination."

"I conclude by stating that the Union's present policy of 'token representation' cannot be continued indefinitely. Sooner or later the matter of South Africa's continued membership of the United Nations will have to be considered by the Union Government."

—Sapa.

Fountain Of Wisdom

Charities, mosques, and temples which cover in much hypocrisy and banding and that the power of God and His word when we see the eternally renewed temple appearing under the feet the savage, involving every one of us in that journey, instead of showing His glory by governing in the name of Religion.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 4TH OCTOBER, 1957

South Africans In India

DEMOCRATS and friends of India the world over will welcome the additional relaxations in the restriction on certain classes of South Africans passing through India. These restrictions were at best futile and did India more harm than good. While India sought to teach White South Africa a little more virtue, the restrictions defeated their own purpose.

But at least the relaxations can only be a beginning in a bigger move which must one day culminate in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between India and the Union.

Speedy Revision

We have stated the case for re-establishment in these columns on several occasions in the past. There is no need to repeat it. In appealing for a speedy revision of attitudes on this matter, however, we can add that world events point to the need for a change of attitude on the part of both India and South Africa.

If the relaxations mean that India is beginning to see the truth in clearer light here we, for our part, can only rejoice. India has a very important role to play as one of the guarantors of peace in the world. This is a role whose requirements cannot be met successfully if India will not behave with that sense of realism which will enable her to make positive responses to the situations in which she will find herself from time to time.

Archbishop De Blank

WILL take this opportunity to extend a very warm and hearty welcome to our land to the new Archbishop of Capetown—Archbishop Jooste de Blank.

From the day he knew he was to be the head of the Anglican community in this country he revealed himself as fearless in upholding the finest tenets of the Christian faith and most understanding in dealing with the situation in South Africa. The Union is lucky to have a leader of the calibre at this, the most crucial moment in her history.

He comes into our midst at a moment of crisis for the Church. On the one hand it has committed itself to a policy of no compromise on the Church Clause. On the other the Church has been, on the whole, surprisingly indifferent to some of the most violent attacks on the liberty of its non-White followers.

Black Spot

We look forward to seeing Archbishop de Blank clear a black spot on the armoury of the Church, at least

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Trouble In Ghana

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

PRESS reports have filled very many Africans with anxiety and dismay over the recent events are said to be taking in Ghana. In democracy being dynamised at birth by Nkrumah and Kweku Edem. Are the people of Ghana not apprehensive of the role history has destined them to play in the emancipation of the continent? There and other questions are being asked each giving some of urgency in every part of Negro Africa.

The position is not improved by the fact that the enemies of Africa are enjoying themselves over Ghana's difficulties. They are sitting comfortably in the most serene seats that they have ever seen here right in saying that the people are in a mess. I can imagine how our own Snowdens and Vermeers must be feeling at the very moment.

Teething Troubles

In spite of all this it is of the greatest importance that all of us should meet on objectively to consider Nkrumah's case. While the spokesmen, the Kweku Edem officials, the members of the Press, labour legislation, Nkrumah's own name and an accurate exhibition—so evidenced as he possesses the greatest of a nation of himself, and having his hand on the situation in Ghana colleges—are all extremely valuable developments it is quite possible that they might be the peculiar forces in which Ghana's teething troubles express themselves.

Whether in any way trying to come what is happening, it seems that it is the worst attitude to adopt to create in Ghana at the moment. A few factors bear on this point.

In the coverage of events in Ghana large sections of the British have not shown that degree of objectivity which we have grown to accept as part and parcel of that great institution. Our canny and unimpaired. Strictly speaking Nkrumah is not a darling of large sections of the British Press. There are known financial reasons for this. He is the biggest enemy of colonialism in Africa. The British guided him for his revolt against their domination. He was elected to power in circumstances which have ever given the Press the opportunity to name him in most disparaging light.

Press Reports

If his conduct of affairs calls for criticism, the reports has not been wholly without fault.

Ghana has been rightly so what looks very much like the beginning of the betrayal of the democratic tradition. Nkrumah must know that it is his duty to realize that he will be strangled before the bar of world opinion for the things he does. But all concerned must realize, also, that a fair verdict is possible only against the backdrop of all relevant facts being available. This has not been the case in the situation under review. For example, we have not been given the clearest picture possible of the danger Nkrumah has to contend with or of the nature of the forces which might threaten the viability of the State.

We know that one of his problems is the threat of rebellion by tribal groups. Tribal divisions remain one of the greatest enemies of democracy in Africa. They also give the focus and colour to political hysteria. We of the Union have here we have battled against this very danger. We are not out of the wood yet—if the recent Oshana incidents are any indication.

Wankan Revolt

Almost wherever the African has been oppressed on the continent, rebellion has been fanned by the oppressor to weaken the revolt against White domination. It was to be expected that in Ghana this evil, carefully nursed by the British, would erupt after independence. It erupted in Edo and Pekiha, with their ancient civilisations and now have two centuries of British rule. It is quite possible that forced to choose between bloodshed and other methods, Nkrumah regards as the lesser evil. He would have a good case.

There is another problem he might be facing. He might be feeling himself bound to side two or more political parties at one and the same time. Ghana is very keen to develop her economy. Her social structure is such that quite a number of powerful forces tend to pull in conflicting directions. There are the same forces, who are a power to reckon with the growing working class, the influential and conservative tribal chiefdom Ghana's virile political pressure groups. The conflicts among

(Continued on next page)

Press Review

Rand Riots

SIR I am writing this letter while the tears dripping from my eyes for the 42 Africans who have lost their lives, who would be still alive today if the words of Africans were taken into consideration.

It is more than a month since this fight began when the Tolme refused to be calmed by the tactics in the Dutch cities. Only with their sticks they attempted to kill all the victims. Seeing that these people were being killed what action did the police take?

We want more police on the streets to stop the fighting that goes on and they must be in uniform. We want the civil guards back to patrol the townships. They did keep crime down when they were there. They should be under police control.

Who is to be blamed for this ethnic grouping which is the cause of all this trouble? What good do the Africans get out of this ethnic grouping? It only means they can attack each other knowing exactly where to search. Why are the English and the Afrikaners not living peacefully in ethnic grouping if it does any good.

In conclusion there is no ethnic grouping and the people cannot deal others as fight.

Another reason for the trouble was the hatred with all these unmarried men near the township.

Trouble In Ghana

(Continued from previous page)

there are complicated by popular confusion of tribal with political loyalties.

Lack Of Enthusiasm

Nkrumah's own lack of enthusiasm for the line that these days suggests to us that this might be one of his problems.

We, Africans, who still live under the yoke of White oppression, naturally have nothing to be grateful for in some of the things Mr. Kereba Edwards, Minister of the Interior, has been saying recently in some of his more confident moments. He has played Stockholm in the position to tell: What is it that Dr. Nkrumah has to be objective in his remarks about Mr. Roberts is not above repeating them in which contempt for the domestic tradition is barely concealed? But this notwithstanding, before we pass judgement on the Ghana experiment the best we can do is to call for more facts.

There must be trouble and new we have heard of a plan for a hotel for unmarried women. There would make trouble too.

Why do not they reject the tourists?

JAMES H. ROBERTS is in the "Star" Orlando, Fla.

Mr. Swart And The Lawyers

AT the recent Nationalist congress in Bloemfontein, the Minister of Justice assured his audience that he, too, was worried about Black men possessing as lawyers. He gave as a reason the discriminatory laws in the courts by Black lawyers. This was a shameful thing to say. The Branch is armed with large legal powers to protect its own dignity, judges and magistrates are—and as possible contempt of court instantly, whatever the colour of the person guilty of it. Mr. Swart knows this perfectly well. Why did he succumb to the temptation to blame Black men rather than condemn a White government?

If Mr. Swart is seriously thinking of legislation to deter qualified non-European from the legal profession he ought to be warned that such an appalling step will be resisted and resisted by every lawyer who cares for the traditions of the profession. The Johannesburg Bar has never been afraid of the Minister's wrath. Let it set an example by telling Mr. Swart what it thinks of his disgraceful remarks.

"Sunday Express."

Nat. Policy For Natives

THERE are those who seem to think that the Government should be handed over to the non-Whites in our midst. That would certainly solve the colour question, for the Whites would just have to leave the country.

Another group seems to hope on total segregation. But is that possible? No, for even those that support it are not prepared to do without their own White servants.

How can a Government attempt to carry out something of the white people's dream?

There there is a third possibility, and it appears to me to be the Government's plan. It comes to

this that, seeing the Natives cannot be entirely removed from the White man's area, they will have to remain living and working there.

Yet no political rights must be given to the Natives. In the White man's hands he must be taught to govern in his own land.

True, the colour question cannot be altogether solved in that way, but the Whites will be able to retain control in their own land and we shall be able to con-

clude as a separate White people.

The Natives representative in the House of Assembly must be abolished, for that gives the Natives a say in the White man's area. We must also avoid allowing the Natives to head the White man's labour field.

The Natives must be taught to bear the responsibility for themselves and to pay for his own services. The Whites must stop paying for them.

From letters in the "Frelshof."

Farewell To Mr. P. S. Joshi

SEVERAL farewell functions took place in Johannesburg during the past week, when Mr. P. S. Joshi, well-known teacher and author, officially retired from the service of the Transvaal Education Department of over 37 years.

2,500 Indians and Coloureds and a sprinkling of Europeans enthusiastically cheered Mr. Joshi at the City Hall Reception Committee organized by the non-European Women's Union Society for Arts where he delivered the chief address of the function and was guided by a pretty young Coloured schoolgirl on the occasion of his retirement.

Mr. Joshi recalled the considerable cultural, social and educational progress of the Indian and Coloured people and urged that their distinctive contribution to art, culture and literature should be recognized. They had not yet reached the height of achievement but given the opportunity and goodwill by the forces of influence and power, and sincerity and determination on their part, he was sure their talent would assert itself.

The speaker defined the role of a teacher in society and pleaded for freedom and sacrifice for the fulfilment of their noble mission. A teacher or a nation was judged by leaders of thought not by the

degree of wealth it possessed but the degree of cultural growth it achieved. The teachers were destined to play their part in the enrichment of culture and civilization, and they in South Africa should handily contribute to the cultural progress of their society.

Mr. Joshi chaired the Witwatersrand Society for Arts (Coloured and Indian) whose magnificent work enabled the Indian and Coloured students and children to express their artistic talent.

The teachers and scholars of the Bona Street Indian School in Johannesburg said good-bye to Mr. Joshi at two special functions, the special tea-party of the teachers and the open school function attended by over 450 children.

There were presentations and complimentary speeches. The thought of leaving the school where he taught almost thirty generations of Indians apparently saddened Mr. Joshi's heart. He talked of the joy and happiness of the school life and expressed gratitude to his colleagues and friends for their goodwill and affection.

Mr. Joshi intends to visit India this year to join his wife and children at Rajahmundry.

Archbishop De Blank

(Continued from previous page)

in one direction. People find it extremely difficult to reconcile the attitude of the Christian Church towards the Church of Christ with its alleged silence on the Piazza for African women. This iniquitous measure is an outrageous attack on the honour of the African woman, who is also an important member of the Christian Church.

It is because she is not White that the Christian Church buries its head in the sand on this issue?

Tragic Death Of Mr. Nathalal S. Devshi

THE death in tragic circumstances, on Monday, September 30, of Mr. Nathalal S. Devshi, director of the long established firm of Ramjee Devshi and Sons, Bond Street, Durban, has deprived the Indian community of one of its most sympathetic benefactors for he had always associated himself with the cultural and educational advancement of his people. He was put in charge of the business at a very early age and in spite of his youth, had built it to be one of the most reputable businesses in town.

He was a man of outstanding character and sterling qualities with a compassion for humanity as a whole. He kept "open house" and his ready smile and charming demeanor won the affection and love of his numerous friends and associates.

His popular generosity and understanding enabled many a young man and woman to advance in the fields of education and women's security, and there are today hundreds who openly acknowledge with gratitude and fondness towards him at all times.

He was responsible for initiating schemes for the establishment of numerous educational and cultural institutions. He was a foundation member of the Kuluwani Hindu Sava Samiti, where his ready advice and

guidance enabled this Association to complete its large projects.

He was also a foundation member of the Council of the M. L. Saha Technical College, serving as the representative of the Hon. the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, and occupying the important post of Hon. Treasurer of the College since 1956. The magnificent edifice situated on Conyngham Road today stands as a monument to his enterprise and zeal displayed by him during the early days of its history. His wise counsel and business acumen enabled the College to husband his resources for capital expansion.

Mr. Devshi was always very generous whenever he was approached for any charitable purpose. The Phoenix Sath-

wast, "Indian Opinion" and the Kuluwani Gandhi Youth-Aided Indian School, are deeply indebted to him for his unstinted generosity. Mr. Devshi was also one of the donors who helped to erect in Phoenix the little cottage of Mahatma Gandhi, called "Sarvodaya" as a memorial.

We would like to join the many who grieve today, for having lost a regal and charming

personality and a true friend. We would like to offer our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family and we pray that the departed soul may rest in peace.

His loved ones behind a sorrowing widow, eight children and many friends to mourn his sad loss.

Many tributes were paid to him at the cemetery by prominent men of all communities.

India To Be Courteous To South Africans

SOUTH AFRICAN travellers will be given the "more courteous treatment" in India as India's attitude to nationals of all other countries, according to a pamphlet issued by All-India International.

The pamphlet entitled "Entry of South Africans into India," says that there are three classifications of travellers:

People of Indian origin with valid documents who can travel without restriction;

Nationals of the United Kingdom holding valid U.K. passports who are allowed to travel in India without having

to comply with the restrictions placed on South Africans; and

South African Europeans, holding Indian passports and in direct transit to a point outside India. These passengers must, on arrival at the airport, buy a permit which will normally enable them to stay in the country for 30 hours.

Subject to the discretion of the immigration authorities, the transit period may be extended to a week and the passengers will be allowed to stay in the city. "Their passports will not be impounded," the pamphlet says.

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Telegram: "Jethalals Mithai House", 86 Queen Street, Durban.

An Open Letter To The New Archbishop

Dear Dr. de Blank,

I am writing this letter to you as a South African Christian, an Anglican and one (among many) who is deeply concerned over the rapidly worsening relations between the races in this country.

I don't think I need say much about the "Church Council" itself. So much has been written and spoken about it that you can hardly help being familiar with its goals and goals. The South African High Commissioner in London recently told *The Times* that it was introduced because Anglican congregations found their churches being invaded by "large numbers of Bantu" invited by the African National Congress to stage demonstrations. But as an old thought of this damaging argument during the long years and polemically debates out there, I don't think we need take this seriously. Episodes of this sort did occur a year or two back in Narbonne Road and were directed against Dutch Reformed Churches there. Fear of something similar eventually happening here is undoubtedly one motive behind the stance.

However, only four civil South African episodes were cited as "evidence" for the necessity of the Council by Government spokesmen. And the position of our own Church (and of all other Churches except the three Dutch Reformed Churches—has been made absolutely and rightly clear. Personally, I don't believe Dr. Verwoerd will enforce the stance against the Churches or Africans willing to worship in them at present. In fact, it is my own opinion that the more responsible elements in his own party, the Dutch Reformed Church and Bantu heavily with the worried thing had never been concerned and that even Dr. Verwoerd would have withdrawn it in its original request if he had not felt it looked "weak" to back down in the face of press and public criticism. He would not be the first authoritarian who is badly so small to do the big thing, would he?

Some people are inclined to enforce from this interpretation of events that he should go down with public criticism and leave it to "reasonable" Nationalists to temper the wilder follies of the intransigent. I believe there could not be a greater mistake. For one thing, it is the pressure and extent of public opposition to this stance and certain other movements that has at last de-

stayed "reasonable" Nationalists to stop waiting for "the time to be right" and speak out unequivocally and unequivocally against the measures of the top-brass. Only a year ago the Dutch Reformed Church, Biko and the politico-cultural wing of the Broeders Bond (known as the P.A.K.) called a "Volkskongres" at Bloemfontein to discuss this ever-shifting doctrine, the *Transvaal Express*. As you

—By
C. W. M. GELL

may have read, Prof. Tumbane produced a plan for the Native reserves which fell far below Sabel's and the DRC's demand for "total territorial apartheid" as the only morally justifiable and Christian goal of policy. Then Dr. Verwoerd produced a White Paper which painted Prof. Tumbane's under-used baby out with the bath water. But all these actions and learned suggestions at the Volkskongres nevertheless occurred, without any readily deniable voice, to "Thank God for the Professor and the Minister in such human terms that we would have imagined either or both had somehow met over the minimum requirements of Christian ethics as interpreted by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Again, when a D.R.C. deputation went to see Dr. Verwoerd about his stance, they were able to agree with disturbing clarity that a statement they had prepared for press release about the attitude of the D.R.C. to the stance should be (in the State Information Office's phrase) a "modified statement." The "modification" consisted of the

suppression of four of the statement's eight points; the excision of the word "where" from the Churches' "exclusive right to determine how, where, when and to whom the Gospel shall be preached," and of the word "all" from the Churches' demand that "the State, as the servant of God, shall allow the Church full freedom in the exercise of its duty calling." The State Information Office, whose reliability is not beyond question, explained that, "such words could create an untenable position of taking literally." So, I imagine, could quite a lot of the New Testament, if applied to the context of present-day South Africa.

We, who are not subject to the tremendous pressures towards "usky" and an absolute ban on whites/Afrikaners, should not undertake the difficulties with which an Afrikaner non-conformist is confronted, be he theologian or politician. In the historical perspective there are readily acceptable and even often acceptable. There has been, there will be, no less responsibility on the part of British-descended South Africans, with their comfortable (and possibly misplaced) sense of cultural superiority, towards their Afrikaner fellow-citizens. I have often found more understanding and even compassion for this in growing distrust and prejudice of Afrikaners among African intellectuals than among our own kindred kin.

Only the very strong-minded facing public obloquy and social ostracism, will speak out against the popular versions of the Dutch Reformed Church racial ethic, its Biblical exegesis and Nationalist party policies. Such men do not deserve to be embarrassed by too

much "Gentling" from the politicians and priests of their nominal opponents. May do all who keep silence with their unspoken consciences deserve our absolute contempt.

Nevertheless, as the tensions between white and non-white are rising—not only locally, but on a continental and even world scale—so rapidly as to endanger all hope of a peaceful and Christian solution to our present impasse, we do have to recognize that in this last quarter of the twentieth century we are on one side while we may sympathize with their dilemma, we simply dare not refrain from any course of action which helps Afrikaner non-conformists (however reluctantly) to declare themselves; that, therefore, the Church should "speak", even if it temporarily provokes a Verwoerd climb-down, was well worth having.

(To be concluded)

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TRADE INQUIRIES INVITED

Unity Of Anti-A Key To Succ

If a letter to delegates to the conference called to discuss present political situation in Johannesburg, the organizers the following remarks on the growing opposition to

Each year since 1948 Parliament has passed more laws for apartheid, more laws annulling the people's rights, tightening up the pass laws, taking away the people's land and homes, adding to their already-heavy burdens.

But as Nationalist rule has grown more vicious, the people have become more and more

sorry and determined to more and more united. Nationalist Government is getting everything its own. A mood of despair and fear is spreading among white and black alike. Whites of our country.

Growing Resistance

This year has seen one people struggle after another. People are turning to the Government with more united action. More and more they are turning to the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, other parties in the Congress alliance. Instead of apartheid Congress stands for equal instead of oppression, like business there are the white people, threats and violence, police violence terror have proved.

Since trade unions, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (Dariusz Lema: Commission); Metal Industries Congress; African National Congress (Metal Processors); S.A. Congress of Beeskeepers (Johannesburg) and the Liberal Party have become active participants of the above Commission. A number of other organizations and trade unions have indicated their willingness to join the Commission.

The 5th Day Campaign which has been sponsored throughout the country since at achieving a minimum wage of £1 day for unskilled workers. We have done that.

A national minimum wage is essential to preserve the health of the working community in South Africa. It has been found that the present high cost of living has already exceeded the money value of wages by at least 20 per cent during the last decade.

The economic necessity for a complete overhaul of the wage structure, and the necessity for a 100 per cent increase of the purchasing power is obvious, if South Africa is to expand her internal market and thus develop her industries.

The Metal 5th Day Committee calls on all interested bodies and individuals to lend their support to this campaign.

This year 1957 has shown a world that great host of people in which the people were victorious and from the Nationalists to their loss the June 16 one-day strike Johannesburg in which people showed they could be leaders to a step, the workers' strike in the East Cape, the unemployment and wage struggles of Johannesburg's Western Areas; the general demonstrations outside Drill Hall as the year ago, and the Transvaal Trial movement, when the demonstrators showed their support there on that.

The people's struggle is taken root in the country and the disposal of child, the position of Native Authorities forced removals have met a new protest. Freetown, the landless, Leiffraburg, Mafikeng, Maseru, and centers of resistance have the country with their.

Non-White resistance gives fresh courage to opponents of the who enter out in the during the last series of himself to protest, cutting and violently held.

Unity Is The Key

Those who protest in all parts of the country

Spithead Forces Only

belong to the same organisations, stand for the same things. But they are welded in their opposition to the Nationalists and this unity, growing every day and in every struggle, is the key to victory.

The answer of the Government to peoples' struggles is more restrictions, more repression. This in turn leads to more country-wide unrest, demonstrations and organisations against apartheid.

This is the road. Answer every attack of the Nationalists with stronger organisation; answer its attempt to crush the spirit of the people with the determination that the people will never submit, can never submit.

Multi-Racial Conference

Later this year, in December, will assemble in Johannesburg the multi-racial conference in which those raised against the government will come together to gather strength from each other, to find common ground and new unity in their struggle, to declare for the rights of the people and against nationalist reaction and tyranny.

The conference will not of the All-By African Conference called by the late-Dominicanist African Ministers' Federation.

at Bloemfontein. It has already met with a welcome response from non-white organisations, including the Congress, and from Whites including the Liberal and Labour Parties, the Bishop of Johannesburg and others.

Those attending the conference may not all agree on what exactly South Africa should be like in the future. But they all agree that the apartheid road to ruin and disaster. By coming together they will help to open new ways to oppose apartheid and save South Africa in the spirit of the Bloemfontein Conference which says that:

"...It is considered that the present policies of apartheid constitute a serious threat to race relations in the country. Therefore in the interests of all the people and the future of our country, this conference calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid."

We must show our support for the multi-racial conference and strengthen its stand by vigorously opposing apartheid now, in every way.

Algerians Seek Indian Support

A DELEGATION of Algerians consisting of Dr. Louche Debaghies and Mr. Guellil Cherif met Mr. Algernon Shastri, Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament on September 26 and outlined him of the situation prevailing in Algeria.

According to the French Trust of India the two Algerian leaders are understood to have suggested that India should mobilise Afro-Asian opinion on the Algerian problem. They requested India to exert her influence through diplomatic and other means to call for peaceful solution of the Algerian problem.

They said they would welcome supplies of food, clothing and financial aid for Algerian refugees who had been compelled to leave their country and were now leading "unstable lives" outside their country.

The Algerian delegation told Mr. Shastri that the problem of the European minority in Al-

geria raised by France was "a false one artificially created and exaggerated by French propaganda."

Dr. Debaghies and Mr. Cherif said that there was also the military aspect of the problem. War had been going on in Algeria for the past three years. This was not condoned by the United Nations against any regular army but against the people.

India, they said, should "call a halt to this inhuman action on the part of the French."

Dr. P. Subbaraman, a member of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament, and Mr. M. G. Shukla, treasurer of the Party, were also present.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

THE HARIJAN FUND

CHAPTER XXX

If he had wished it, Gandhiji could have been a rich man, living a life of luxury, for he was very successful as a lawyer. It was his love for the poor that made him turn instead to a life of simplicity and austere toil. He felt that he could not rest until every Indian had enough to eat and the chance to go to school. He wanted to see as many very rich or very poor people, but each man, woman and child with enough for his needs.

He knew well that there was nothing harder in the world than to make this dream come true. Rich people cannot bear to give up what they have. The richer they are, the more they want. There are many rich people who fall in from overeating and indigestion, and yet they would not like to give away even a piece of bread to those who are starving. But Gandhiji never gave up hoping for an India in which nobody

would be hungry or without clothes. Just as men will work and strive to get rich, so Gandhiji worked and strived to make others happy.

His greatest sympathy was always with the poor Harijans.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

He used to collect money everywhere and spend it on educating them. He wanted to make them equal to everyone else, so that nobody would dare to despise them any more. When people complained that the Harijans were dirty, they never stopped to think that these poor people were not allowed to use the wells used by others and so had little chance to be clean. And how could they be anything but unclean when they were never allowed inside the village schools? By opening schools

where Harijans could learn all that others learn, Gandhiji soon proved that they could be just as clever as other people. Much money was needed for this great work, though. The poor Harijans had nothing but their rags. Everything had to be provided for them. Gandhiji was never ashamed to beg for his dear Harijans, and he would ask for money as sweetly and persuasively that it was impossible to say "no" to him. The rich would often give him thousands of rupees at a time. The poor gave whatever copper coins they could spare. He took all, provided it came from a good heart.

If anything was given to him for himself, he generally gave it away soon after to some person in need. But he never lost a chance of collecting money for his poor. Sometimes shows of people attended his prayer meetings, and then he would take the opportunity to beg them for funds. When he spoke in this way, people felt their hearts melting. His simple words and poor dress made their own luxury seem more foolishness. Gently dressed ladies would pull off their gold bangles and diamond rings and pour them into his hands.

That was a wonderful sight to see! Gandhiji in his peasant's torn cloth, and the rich people in their splendid clothes, standing before him like subjects before their king.

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(To be continued)

African Congress Told: "Mend Your Ways-Or Else!"

M. R. W. G. DUNLOP, member for miners and works in the Northern Rhodesia Government, attacked the African Congress at Kitwe recently, and in the most outspoken warning that they have yet received, told them to mend their ways, "or else."

"The African Congress will either take steps to give their houses in order and control their misguided but dangerous tools or I will do their bidding, or the Government will take steps to make them do so," said Mr. Dunlop.

"As a member of the Government I am heartily sick of this Congress as all right and decent thinking people both Black and White are."

"I would warn the people concerned either to mend their ways now or face up to the consequences and I can assure them the consequences will not be pleasant."

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Universal Children's Day, 1957 ⁽¹⁾

By D. Q. R. MULLOCK HOUWER

Secretary General of the International Union
for Child Welfare

DON'T worry about slums, bombs, but worry about children's needs. If half the attention given to postwar slums, war, conflicts between peoples and so on, were devoted to the education of the misery of the world's children, the future would be a brighter one.

Universal Children's Day was launched originally to popularize the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. This Declaration, which was drafted by the International Union for Child Welfare in Geneva, should make people realize that there are today in the world at least six hundred million children who are physically and psychologically in serious danger and for whom the implementation of the Declaration is still a distant hope. Wars, most of us, deeply moved by an accident in our immediate surroundings, but the misery of millions of children, if they are far away, will be not so much so, does not stir us, even though this misery is one of the main reasons why the world community is prevented from growing up more harmoniously. How we have our own child? But what about the tremendous host of six hundred million children, of which a number greater than the population of England or France or Germany will never carry their label?

These hundred million—a number greater than the population of America or Russia—will die before they even reach adulthood. The fate of the surviving children will for the most part be sickness, undernourishment, little or no education, but knowing all is all the very opposite of what we are struggling to give the new child.

The child that is hungry must not only be fed. He must be loved too. In thousands and thousands of little-time young children suffer from what the late Lady Dore, a well-known psychiatrist called "affection starvation."

Children who are physically and psychologically neglected become adults who are incapable of taking in the building up of a sound community. They often turn out to be members of the army of social evil—men, children.

The International Union for Child Welfare—a non-governmental organization and the United Nations Children's Fund

—is a governmental organization—see today Universal Children's Day is appeal to the world's consciences.

Daily is strength. Let us give all the help we can to the fight to meet the needs of children who are in danger of destruction, because helping children in want today is working for a better world tomorrow.

Make it possible for child welfare agencies to have an effective working programme to help these children and their parents. Food and shelter for our children is our object. But it depends on YOU whether we shall be able to give the child the care he so desperately needs.

—UNICEF.

10 October, in many countries.

Michael Scott Answers Falsehood Charge

The following statement was issued to the Press by the Rev. Michael Scott last week:—

"I HAVE been asked to see if I am making representations on behalf of the South-West Africa politicians who have been denied the opportunity of going to the United Nations themselves.

"Since two German residents of South-West Africa, Mr. Wilhelm Heyns and Dr. Joachim Siegen, have written a letter published by the United Nations, concerning one of 'green islands' concerning small towns in South-West Africa' without specifying what these islands are, I have appeared in the Committee of the Fourth Committee to allow these two to appear before the Committee and state their case together with the Africans whom I represent and whose spokesmen in South-West Africa have been trying to get the necessary permits to leave for the United Nations.

"To treat the full truth of conditions in South-West Africa will then be revealed and also that the temporary jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice will be sought by those former members of the League of Nations which annexed South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa as a member of the Commonwealth for and on behalf of His Britannic Majesty."

Dr. Radhakrishnan Meets Mao Tse-Tung

THE Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan, who has been in China for a 10-day good will visit, met Mao Tse-Tung.

Thousands of Chinese gathered at the airport to greet Dr. Radhakrishnan. They included the Prime Minister, Mr. Chen Kai Lai, the Vice-Chairman, Marshal Chen Teh, Mr. Lin Shao Chi, the Communist Party leader and Vice Premier Ho Lung, and Chen Yi.

Dr. Radhakrishnan told the gathering: "I have no doubt that in all your endeavours to build a strong, prosperous country, you will not forget the lessons of moderation and humanism which have come down for over 4,000 years."

Great Future

As the Chinese leaders applauded, Dr. Radhakrishnan added: "Seek a unity by the practice of virtue and by the practice of righteousness." He went on: "I have no doubt that there is a great future for your country which is working with such persistence and public spirit."

India and China had been good neighbours and good friends for more than 3,000 years and this was a "great example of peaceful co-existence. Students and scholars came from China to India and saints and scholars went from India to China. Now we are, re-creating the old contacts."

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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

Treatment Of Monkeys

THE EDITOR, "OPINION"

SIR.—The report from New Delhi on the export of monkeys for scientific experimentation, printed in "Opinion" of August 30th has just come to my notice, and I read with horror that the number exported during 1956-7 was 131,301 as compared with 22,756 in 1955, which brought protests to India from all parts of the world, and with amazement the concluding paragraph of the report which read: "The Government was taking reasonable care to see that the animals were humanely treated and there was no cruelty."

In the West we are more correctly informed as to the fate of these unfortunate creatures, and I am sure no member of Gandhi's family would willingly mislead the public by suggesting that the treatment accorded to these highly sensitive and helpless little animals is in any sense humane. Those used for obtaining polio vaccines are inoculated with the virus and then killed in order that their diseased kidney tissue can be made into a virus

to work with which to pollute the healthy bloodstream of almost equally helpless children. Only time can tell what "side-effects" this appalling, so-called "preventive" measure will have on the health of humanity.

The monkeys are also infected with syphilis and suffer agonies in providing possible cures for a disease that, as Gandhi pointed out, is the bane for human use, and should be borne by the sinner rather than an innocent subject.

Among other appalling experiments these victims of mankind's ignorance for ill are, in the words of Dr. H. Bedford Bayly M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., subjected "to surgical mutilations and operations of various kinds; to stimulation and observation of the grey matter of the brain through a window (inserted into a hole in the skull) in the tracing of nerve-paths through the brain substance by chemical and electrical stimulation; and the same animal being a way of the grey matter of the brain; the degeneration of tumours and

cancerous growths; to epilepsy by inoculation into the brain." It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that in one experiment, reported in "The Lancet," as a result of their agony, "three animals bit themselves severely, two chewing off the end of a finger, and one whole skin of his forearm, exposing the muscles from the elbow to the wrist."

No wonder that Gandhi, with his compassion and whole-hearted advocacy of *Ahimsa*, so strongly disapproved of the methods of modern *modern* medicine with which the India of today seems to be in such contradictions and practical co-existence.

The information in one paragraph of the report that "some synthetic serum was being evolved and it successful there would be no need for using monkeys, mainly because the insensitivity and cruelty which led to the wholesale torment and slaughter of sentient creatures before every alternative had been investigated. As it is, the unsentient suffering and agony may now be found to have been as unnecessary as it was wasteful."

EDNA WILKINSON.

[Footnote:—The article referred to by our correspondent

was published as received from the Indian Information Service and did not express the opinion of this journal or of any member of the Gandhi family. It was published in the public interest.—Ed.]

Scott Says UN Has Right To Expel S.A.

New York.

THE Rev. Michael Scott appealed to the United Nations to take before the International Court South Africa's refusal to place South-West Africa under trusteeship.

Mr. Scott said that if the International Court ruled against South Africa and she refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court, sanctions might then be applied against the Union.

He said, too, that the General Assembly could expel South Africa from the United Nations under Article 6 of the U.N. Charter if the Union Government continued to disobey the General Assembly's resolution about South-West Africa.

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"Nats. In Way Of U.S. Of SA."

WHILE the destiny of South Africa remains in the hands of Parliament, there can never be a "United States of Southern Africa," the East London "Daily Dispatch" correspondent in Salisbury was told by Mr. L. James Callaghan, announced as Parliamentary Secretary for Colonial Affairs in the British Labour Party's shadow Cabinet.

Mr. Callaghan is a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association seven-member delegation which has just completed a one-month tour of the Central African Federation.

"In the foreseeable future there is no question of a United States of Southern Africa incorporating in the Union," Mr. Callaghan said. "In any case I am against one central government for an extremely large territory."

Earlier Mr. Callaghan accused

Sir Roy Welensky as a "Pagan confederate" of "seceding" the Africans to the Federation by denouncing dominion status.

"Politics in the Federation," said Mr. Callaghan, "are based on fear—and the fear is not only on the part of the Africans."

Mr. Callaghan said that the African leaders felt compelled to make political demands against the day when dominion status may be conceded. The Federation should settle down to a period of constitutional stability before campaigning for independence.

I do not believe that dominion status will be granted to the Federation in 1960," he said.

"As far as the Labour Party is concerned it has received no request from the Federation for the granting of dominion status, so I cannot say what our reply would be."

Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference In New Delhi

New Delhi,

IN the next few months, India will play host to two international conferences.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference will be held in New Delhi from December 2 to 10.

India, Pakistan and Ceylon will be joint hosts to over 400 delegates expected to attend. The conference will discuss among other things Commonwealth relations, economic problems and defence.

Earlier on October 23, nearly 400 delegates and observers from 50 countries will assemble

for the International Red Cross Conference in New Delhi.

So far 65 of 77 member Red Cross Societies of the world are understood to have accepted the invitation.

This international conference, which will be held in India for the first time, will be presided over by a woman—Italkomari Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad who is President of the Indian Red Cross Society, will open the Conference which will also be addressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan and Mr. Nehru.

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હોલ્ડની મોટામાં મોટી વિભાગી કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

—ધી—

ન્યુ ઇન્ડીયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની લીમિટેડ

સાથિય આફ્રિકાના એકજ મુખ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

રૂસ્તમજી જાલભાઈ રૂસ્તમજી

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

સેવા અને નિર્ભયતા

માટે અમને મળો.

બધી જાતના વિભાગો અમે ઉતારીએ છીએ.

પી. એ. બોક્સ ૧૧૧૦.

રેસીડન્સ : ૧૧૧ ઇલેવનથ એવન્યુ,

ડરબન.

ટેલીફોન:

બોક્સ : ૩૫૮૧૫

રેસીડન્સ : ૩૧૪૧૩.

હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

કારણ ? ?

કયાં જશે ?

નવી રહેલું છે. અલગ, બની જઈ છે. ફેરનિયકાં આ દુનિયા અહીં પહોંચશે, તે નથી સોચના સુખપાત્રો! કુળમાં જાતમાં તે કુળની, જાતી કે અંગર કે સોહાની, સોહા જાતમાં કેમ? હો! હો! અંગરો કે સુદ કેમ? હો! હો! સુખપાત્ર કાળ, જે સુદ કાળે નાશિત રેલમાં અહીં શિકામજી અમ, અમુક હવે કે રાખ, મને કે બધું જાણીયા અ! માટે—

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Look, sometimes we always make progress towards better things, and never to back slide

—Mahatma Gandhi.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933.

Former Editor: Mahatma Gandhi—1919-1954

No. 40—Vol. LV.

Friday, 11th October, 1957

ASSOCIATED AT THE L.T.O. AS A PAPER
Price: FOUR PENCE

GHANA FIRES FIRST SHOT IN UN FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

New York.

MR. S. Y. ASARE, Ghana's Minister of Communications, told the United Nations Trusteeship Committee that South Africa's "flagrant disregard" of its mandate over South-West Africa was not only a threat to others on the African continent, but a "challenge to the very existence of the United Nations."

Mr. Asare, speaking in the Committee's debate on South-West Africa, said the Union had refused to submit annual reports on the territory, had challenged and defied the opinion of the International Court, and had refused to acknowledge its obligations under the mandate.

"The indigenous population of South-West Africa have been subjected to the very worst form of imperialistic exploitation under the police zone and native reserve systems," Mr. Asare said. "The people have been expropriated of their best lands, and the progress of expropriation continues as an instrument of national policy."

"The Minister for Native Affairs arrogates to himself the right to re-take any part of the Native Reserves, and the Natives are automatically expected to comply in passive obedience and unquestioned discipline."

Mr. Asare said South-West Africa had great economic potentialities, known

mineral reserves and great agricultural and pastoral development, yet its indigenous population was "poor and destitute."

He said Africans did not participate in any level of government, and were thus deprived of all political rights which obtain in democratic countries.

"The story of the systematic exploitation of these people has also become part of contemporary history, all too well-known to need elaboration."

"Painful Duty"

"It is a painful duty," Mr. Asare went on, "to have occasion for this form of exposition and argument, but the fact is that these acts of injustice continue almost daily and the United Nations shall be failing in its duty and sabotaging its very existence if it allows a member state to flout with impunity, and scornfully contempt, its international obligations under the Charter."

Mr. Asare said that when the Union Government ac-

cepted the mandate over South-West Africa it undertook to promote the material and moral welfare of the people there.

"It is difficult to see how

the expropriation of Native lands, apartheid laws, and legal enforcement of monstrous racial inequalities can be said to be promoting the

(Continued on page 451)

RIDICULOUS THAT "DEVOUT PEOPLE" CAN DO THIS...

—VAN RHIJN

The Hague, Tuesday.

MOST reports from South Africa about the Bantu appearing in the world Press are "half-knowledge," said the Union Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. A. J. R. van Rhijn, at a Press conference here. "All that has been said in the Press about the 'church clause' alleging that we would not allow the Bantu to go to church is a gross lie," he said.

After referring to the amount of money made available through the churches for the benefit of the Bantu population, the Minister said: "It is perfectly ridiculous to believe that such a devout people as we are would forbid the Bantu to go to church."

"Of the 'church clause,'" Dr. van Rhijn said that especially at request of Anglicans and English people, a legal provision had been created to prevent the Bantu from making trouble or being a nuisance in the neighbourhood of churches for White people, but that so far this law had never been applied.

"The rest is nonsense and untrue," he said.

"How could a people that spends more on Bantu than any other people forbid them to go to church?"

All reports which have appeared abroad about South Africa were "political propaganda for obscure reasons."

Man-power Needed

He added: "You could as well expect such actions from the Dutch because we Boers are descended from you Hollanders."

Dr. van Rhijn reviewed the Union's economic development during the past decade. All South Africa needs was manpower and therefore skilled workers from Holland would be most welcome.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 11TH OCTOBER, 1957

Undesirable Publications: A New Inquisition

By one the lights of liberty are being blown out in this country. Now the Undesirable Publications Commission has recommended that the State should virtually impose rigid control on the flow of ideas. This will make the South Africans a parochial, narrow-minded community of ignorants.

One point must be made clear at the very outset, however. Right through history it has been in the public interest, even in the freest societies, that emphasis should be on encouraging constructive ideas which worked for the good of society. But the validity of an idea cannot be established only by exposing it to positive challenges. The negative have an importance all their own in showing up its dangers.

Stifle Thought

Thus, in a truly free society liberty means the freedom to act wisely or to err in endeavours to discover the maximum good for the largest number possible. This means that the State would regard as healthy the profusion of good and bad ideas and would use its power to reduce the potency of the bad and not to stifle thought.

But our government's contempt for democracy is well known. The men who guide the destinies of this land are a bunch of bigoted totalitarian fanatics whose dominant passion in life is fear—the fear of the truth, fear of liberty, fear that spiritual might be exposed for the fraud that it is. In their fear they are steadily introducing a new form of the lie to society. That alone is true which they like. Everything else is treacherous perjury.

Tragic Enough

It would be tragic enough and all decent men would be most concerned, if the apartheidists nested in this fashion the lives of their own supporters. But they are not doing that. They are ruining millions of men and women on both sides of the colour line whose sole crime is that they do not say apartheid has the monopoly of virtue.

South Africa will drift relentlessly to darkness and disaster as long as apartheid remains the dominant outlook in the white community. Gross stupidity will be a virtue and ignorance will be ennobled in high places as long as this nation is founded on the principle that race is the main determinant of a people's destiny.

Nationalist Inquisitors

For this reason all decent men and women have the duty to protest strongly against the latest attempt to

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Man And Events

Passes For Women: New Tactics

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE Government is obviously determined to ensure that every African woman carries a Pass. African women are equally determined not to carry them. At the moment the forces engaged on either side are not equal. The odds favour the Government. This is a passing disadvantage. But it makes the need for effective tactics on our side of the greatest importance.

Before getting to these, let us be quite clear in our minds on what it is that the women really oppose. The Government case is that the Passes will in the end work for the good of the women. That is a lie. In opposing the Passes the women fight against three very grave indignities: The indignity of being presumed a criminal until innocence is proved by the production of a Pass; the indignity of having the honour of the African woman exposed to conditions where it might be attacked by any would-be assassin; the indignity of living under the sense of being crowded—implied in the woman being required to carry a piece of paper where intimately personal details of her life become public property.

Before getting to these, let us be quite clear in our minds on what it is that the women really oppose. The Government case is that the Passes will in the end work for the good of the women. That is a lie. In opposing the Passes the women fight against three very grave indignities: The indignity of being presumed a criminal until innocence is proved by the production of a Pass; the indignity of having the honour of the African woman exposed to conditions where it might be attacked by any would-be assassin; the indignity of living under the sense of being crowded—implied in the woman being required to carry a piece of paper where intimately personal details of her life become public property.

Every Woman

We must be clear also about one other thing. The Pass is an attack on every woman, African, European, Coloured or Indian. When we lost the Cape Vote in 1936, we missed that we were not the last victims of apartheid. The Coloureds have now lost it. Since 1939 we have been warning that the denial of liberty to us threatened the liberty of the Europeans as well. Today it does not matter how white the skin of a person might be, if Douglas does not want, that person might not have a Passport.

Finally, the African woman must realize that the present campaign to force the Pass down her throat is as much on her as a woman. The highest and finest women of our race will suffer humiliations exactly similar to those the humblest will be exposed to. The woman doctor, nurse, teacher, student or housewife will suffer exactly like the waitresses, the nanny or the cook.

Manyano

Against this background the women need to rally as a group and defend themselves as such. It must not be the women in the African National Congress only

who protest. The Maroon must raise their voice. They have already tested the brutalities of apartheid in the proposals that they should have a Kaffir Status inside the Nursing Council. The teachers, too, must defend themselves. So must the students, the YWCA, the Zimwe movement, the Masipane and various women's organizations, the busmen's people, the waitresses, housewives, nannies.

For how much, opposition must not confine itself to fighting the Pass on our front. Our forces must fan out and attack at sensitive points in what I shall call "enemy" territory. The Pass Law is divided of moral content, consequently it is in the sight of the citizen not to obey it.

Passive Resistance

For this reason some women actively consider a nation-wide passive resistance movement against the Passes. For my part, I think that would be an excellent idea for a number of reasons. If the 30,000 women who marched to Pretoria could all go to goal, that would be a significant demonstration of their determination. The woman is in a more advantageous position to participate in such a movement. In most families, her going out goal would not always entail astronomical costs in the family budget. When your very busyness your very being is stretched, going to goal is well justified to show the State that it is a threat to you.

I said we must not attack at one point. But it is of the greatest importance that the women should be of one mind on how best to defend themselves, to pass them a lot of time if in one place they will do one thing and at another do another. There should be very close co-ordination of strategy.

Burning Passes

This brings me to the point about burning Passes. I think this is foolish and therefore useless. In the burning of the

Pass, which is State property; public property, is entitled to a degree of inviolability which must be safeguarded. The leaders of the women must realise that it is our march to freedom we want to locate a strong sense of responsibility side by side with a deep passion for liberty. Limitations is quite different from discrimination or an assault on law.

In any case I do not see the wisdom of accepting the Pass and then burning it afterwards. I would rather not take it at all and suffer the consequences. The daughters of the Africa we are fighting should not be afraid of jail. It is no disgrace to go to jail when fighting for your rights. We are all pronounced criminals simply because God, in His wisdom, created us with a black skin. We must not be afraid of going to jail when the men of apartheid punish us for what God did.

Other Fronts

But we must not stop there. We must go on the offensive on other fronts. I suggest very seriously that it is time the leaders of African women's groups met openly and were a threat to the Dutch Reformed Church protesting against the indignities to which apartheid, which is supported by members of that Church is a very large cost, is inflicting on the African women. I think it would be a fine thing if the women appealed to the Dutch Reformed Church for help in the defence of their honour. We must move the

consider of the Dutch Reformed Church on this issue as well.

In passing, it might be a fine thing to write to all the Bishops and the heads of the other Churches—pointing out to them that after their magnificent stand on the Church Clause it is inconceivable that they can be indifferent to attacks on the honour of the African women. The Church cannot remain silent while the honour of the African women is attacked. We must move the Church, from the Bishops to the humblest lay men.

No Washing

I do not know if appeals to women's organisations in the White community would be very effective. But the African women have no doubts for themselves. There is one thing I am sure of, however. The African must be prepared to back their appeals with strength. If the White people continue to treat with scorn the honour of the African women, the most be ready to refuse to do their washing or housework for a certain period. She must refuse to buy from certain shops. For, the women of Africa must always remember that that it is better to starve and be free than to be a well-fed slave.

The Pass for Women faces us as a community with one of our most critical in a life which is itself one continuing crisis. Let us put together our hands and find together a solution. Particularly the women are the strongest single force which can free them from the tyranny of the Pass.

longer for freedom and unity. We believe that we have a special responsibility to churches and to the liberties which have been so hardly won through the struggle.

"To impose any form of discrimination on grounds of race, colour or religion, is contrary to all we believe and work for."

"We are determined nowhere to moderate it, but to oppose it by every means in our power; and we invite anyone who shares our view to join us in this declaration."—*Supra-Interim*

Footnote: The African Bureau, which has a non-racial outlook, was founded in London five years ago.

Undesirable Publications

(Continued from previous page)

shot as in darkness. But all must remember that the only language the iniquities of the Nationalist Party understand is irresistible power. Consequently the opponents of apartheid must concentrate on building up pressures which will sweep the whole cursed thing out of our national life once and for all time. The first essential step in that direction is, quite naturally, the interracial conference to be held in Johannesburg towards the end of the year.

That gathering must re-light the torches of liberty one by one and keep them aglow.

NOTICE

SHREE SURAT HINDU MAYAWANT ASSOCIATION OF S.A.

We hereby wish to inform all members of the above association that the meeting to be convened by Mr. G. Mehta on 22nd September, 1957 as indicated in the "Opinion" of 6th September, 1957 is illegal.

The General Annual Meeting of the Association had already been held on the 31st May, 1957 which was called by:

Merens G. Mehta, (Chairman) and Nand Bhagwan, (Secretary) and the new officials were elected as indicated in the report below.

The Annual General Meeting of the Shree Hindu Mayawant Association of South Africa was held at the "Shree Hindu Association School Bldg, Victoria Street, Durban, on the 31st May, 1957 at 10 a.m. under the Chairmanship of Mr. G. Mehta.

After the Agenda was read, the Secretary submitted his minutes (dated 12/3/56) to the House these were found to be incorrect and after a heated argument the House rejected them. Several members asked the Chairman to be reasonable and give a ruling but the Chairman and Secretary refused to concede.

A motion of "No Confidence" put forward by Mr. L. J. Lala and was seconded by Mr. Pooja Jetha, was carried unanimously. After the motion was carried the Chairman and Secretary left the chair.

A new Chairman Mr. B. M. Mankharia was unanimously elected to preside with the meeting. The constitution was read clause by clause and confirmed. Thereafter the following officials were elected unanimously for the ensuing year.

Chairman: Mr. Mahesh Mehta,
Vice-Chairman: Mr. Pooja Jetha, Pura Gopal,
Lala Bhikha,
Secretary: Mr. M. P. Bhargava,
Treasurer: Mr. B. M. Mankharia, Dapinder Kaur,
Committee Members: Mr. B. J. Lala, Lala Mahan,
Parbho Karna, Naras Vellu, P. M. Mankharia.

British Artists Sign Anti-Apartheid Manifesto

LEADING British entertainers and sporting personalities have signed a declaration which condemns apartheid. Their manifesto has been issued by the African Bureau, which is a statement says that "the colour bar in South Africa threatens has been highlighted by the African Consolidated Theatre's refusal to make arrangements for the 'Pajama Game' to be seen by non-Europeans."

The African Bureau says the statement, found wide support among leading actors, writers, musicians and sportsmen for a manifesto denouncing discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion.

Among those who signed the declaration are: Peggy Ashcroft, John Gielgud, Michael Redgrave, Flora Robson, Peter Ustinov and Enya Williams. Lord Aberdare (who was killed in a motor accident in Yugoslavia recently), Cecil Chubb, Dr. J. S. Brown, M. Gilbert Harding and Dr. Julia Huxley.

Manifesto

The manifesto reads: "We, the undersigned, drawn from the fields of art and sport, are dismayed by the danger that is arising in Africa from the theory and practice of apartheid. We believe that the theory is inhuman, and that the practice restricts arbitrarily, and even prohibits, the enjoyment and the use of human talent."

"Sport and the arts are concerned with those things mankind has in common."

"Today, when race increasingly

Small Or Large?

THE following is from a B.C. tale by Mr. H. P. Barker, reported in the "Leader" of May 30, 1937:

As people on the whole happier in small firms than in large? A variety of evidence suggests they are and this gives rise to interesting lines of reflection. Is a man happier in the industrial world than although wise and few have been affected the man at the machine in the large factory is less happy than the man in the entrepreneur's shop. What is it in the industrial environment that makes people unhappy and makes them express unhappiness either by conscious letters or unconscious industrial behaviour? Clearly most content is caused here resentment by high wages, poor conditions, extremes and all the paraphernalia of the large employer. There is in that they are often unhappy without these things, but true also that they are often just as unhappy with them.

This may sound as an account of conventional ideas about industrial welfare. May be it is — as an advertisement of a diary which tells: "Our milk comes from contented cows! A milk

stealer for a dairy, but who wants to be a contented cow? I had great assurance in the fact that men refuse to find contentment solely in the industrial equivalent of barn pastures and clean stables.

The paradox is a simple one. The content in the entrepreneur's shop is in the man — a contented man because his personal existence is acknowledged by those he serves. He is conscious of his own place in society and of the value which he and others attach to his work. But the man in the factory cannot derive the same satisfaction. The value of his work is often not personally acknowledged by anybody. How stupid we are in industry, in our dealings with the man at the machine. We spend vast sums on machines and hardly give a thought to treating the machine operator as a person. Now this to be treated as individuals by individuals. A man is less affected if he is opposed to an individual than if he is really opposed. Large factories are lonely places where men feel lost

and their dignity wounded. To give them a shop content is about as effective, considered as a gesture, as a man giving a beggar with a cheque without comment. Every man in a factory seeks to create a social environment which he understands and in which he has a recognized place. But it is easier for a man to understand the society of a small firm with a problematic boss who treats him as a person than for him to understand the complex

and impersonal structure of a large factory....

The plagues of small firms are not simply the entrepreneurs and cleaners of the business world. They are as essential as they are ubiquitous. They prevent the industrial economy from coalescing into over-engineered lumps, and they provide a very large proportion of the men and women of the country with their daily living in a psychologically congenial atmosphere.

The Liberal Party Of S.A. (Natal Provincial Division)

THE Natal Provincial Congress of the Liberal Party of South Africa will be held in the Burger Room of the Pietermaritzburg City Hall on Friday and Saturday, November 1st and 2nd, 1957.

The Congress will be opened at a public meeting on the night of November 31st by Professor Leo Kuper, Natal Chairman of the Party. His address will be followed by an address by the National Chairman, Mr. Alex Paine. A number of resolutions will be discussed in public during this session. Delegates will meet again at

9 a.m. on Saturday morning and part of Saturday morning's session will be held in private part in public. Apart from discussion of resolutions from branches leaders will centre mainly around planning the Liberal Party's programme for Natal for 1958.

The session on Saturday afternoon will be held in private and the Congress is expected to end at about 5 p.m. and will be followed by a breakfast.

About eighty official delegates are expected to be in Pietermaritzburg for the Congress.

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An Open Letter To The New Archbishop

THERE is a yet more important argument against justifying love using the sermon: you are most effective when you—*publish*. The other day in New York you described apartheid as "one of the most terrible" because in the world "I am sure you would not find it that much so when you are in the Church. As regards, in that it deliberately seeks to set men apart from each other and inevitably creates inequalities of status and opportunity, it is a blasphemy and a heresy against the whole Christian conception of mankind as deriving its life and fulfilment, their God-given talents and potentialities, from the apostle of 'becoming as the lowliest of men' in order that they may glorify in the humanness of his people."

Now the Church chest was mostly one of the clerics, in the Native Love Amendment. As, which were in the most liberal manner yet attempted to represent race politically, religiously, and economically and socially. Had Dr. Weaver been asked, "What is it," it is interesting, he would slightly have disagreed but he would not without reversing some of his own opinions. I will not liken the paper, nor what our reports should be, but we should almost all I would like to say about the Act as a whole has been far better used by the prominent South African Churches and Liberal, Anti-Foreign, in the July issue of "Africa South."

But that leads me straight to the other main point I want to make in this letter. The Churches are committed to disengage and, if necessary, defy the Church cleans. But as they, does the Church, crably oppose apocryphal inside the Church and in every aspect of our secular life? To this there is clearly no honest answer, and so is our Christian one.

For the Church, change is not so much designed to prohibit an existing custom of overdependence, as to encourage a new spirit, an initiative effort to bring our practices more up to the level of our ideals. And if, by and large, we do not even worship together, what does it actually fasten upon when the use of our church buildings, how are we to tackle apostasy in the case of our life? It is not enough, by any Christian standard, that we suppose legislative and administrative bodies will function as an answer to the extreme South African

(Continued from last month)

apartment, though we must of course do that. We have also to reduce within a very short period the existing—even pre-Nazi—discrimination, which privileges and not what subordination, or pay a terrible price which we have only now well earned. What the price will be exacted from those who have imposed upon us, and on those who have imposed, will in the end no one will gain from them, implacable hostility and intractable but common

What, then, can we do more of? Of course, I know how easy it is to say "the Church" may do this or that, and shrug off the individual burden. The whole Christianity of the country—and, in particular, the English—descended from its own throne as mountains, merely upbraiding bunches of followers as they will find supporters. The paucity of local recruits to the missionary or the teaching profession is one indication of this. Also the standard of living is the third highest in the whole world, and the English descended, like the Anglians, Romans Catholic, Methodists or Congregationalists, are mostly in the upper half of their respective social hierarchies. It is not so with the natives, who are miserably overburdened with poverty and cultural insecurity, of comparative ill-health and immobility, which weigh so heavily upon the Africans. Possibly, on the subject matter of the letter, most of them could not even read.

[illegible]

Unmistakably such an emphasis would have come within its due

Church and the best in European culture and civilization.

Inevitably such an analysis would leave some whites in the Church. But, though every soul is precious, can half a million Anglican whites, quarters of a million Methodist whites and 150,000 Roman Catholic whites— even if, as they will not be, all were lost—actually weigh against over 2 million non-whites already in these dreary, unchristian places, and how many more waiting at the door? Did Christ conduct his race? Was he even white? Must we stay in the eternal moral dilemma of South Africa over followers of Christ who were so good and true, but were for the financially best but morally mortified to mend these men?

The first place we must begin to put things right is in our own Church organization. For how much longer dare we allow defuncted voting rights in the elections of delegates to Synods or widely disparate salaries for white and non-white priests? How many of our churches can honestly say, with our cathedrals and almost every Roman Catholic church, that they welcome the attendance of their non-white Christians who find it more convenient to register in workshops or clubs? Are we, like the famous Catholic hierarchy, going to work forever admitting non-white children into our parson Church schools? Again the problem is one thing, the performance another. The Roman Catholic hierarchy is so much more liberal in its daily life relations than our own despite its official stance. Now shall we readily find non-white priest candidates enough to replace their children in the parson's mansions of some of our own little non-white parishes. But the people has to be educated—and soon.

These are the fundamentals. Until we have really begun to put them right, the beam in our eyes are confusion and chaos.

only water-tight case against apartheid. We stand at the mercy of every little East-Loose in public controversy. We have in sight in evidence the Dutch Reformed Church's theology and interpretation of the Christian ethic which they do at least profess, when we so infinitely praise the unity of all men in Christ Jesus which we preach. We may invite Africans to accept the Gospel message, but they will see through us and turn away, so many are treading every day because of the machinery of Christianity sold out in the lives of pretensed white Christians and even in the Church itself.

That my plea to you, as you take up your formidable task—my plea that comes this from many an African, Calender and Indian friend as well—is that you will routinely take most urgently to your feet and the ministry of your Church against every form of apartheid, not least those operating at secret levels within your own Church organisations. There is not a day to lose. For the night cometh fast.

Years slavery.
CHRISTOPHER C. C. C.

P-5. I wrote this letter and before it was clear you would arrive in time for the Mohr-Rasch Conference in Johannesburg on December 3-5. I realize there will be many early calls on your time and energy. But if you could manage to look in on the Conference, I think you would find it as helpful to you as it would be reassuring to the delegates.

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TRADE INQUIRIES INVITED

Berrange Re Interview Possi

PART of the plea for the release of the 136 people in the names inquiry in Johannesburg may have to be because of the Government's refusal of a passport to Mr. V. Berrange, who is one of the leading defence counsel at the trial.

"The Natal Mercury's Johannesburg reports that it is unlikely that the defence will appeal any other person to go overseas to Mr. Berrange's place to collect information and interview possible witnesses."

It is thought that there is not enough time for another member of the defence team to prepare himself for the Berrange's mission.

Mr. Berrange has been appearing at the inquiry since it began on December 27 last year.

When it was adjourned on September 12 until January 27 next year Mr. M. T. Nkomo, G.C., told the Court that the defence had been in touch with various professions and business concerns who had been studying

part of the evidence, by that of Professor Murray, Col. Capetown ship, called by the Government as a witness on 7.

Impassive

Mr. Berrange's only hesitation for the interview three persons the defence may desire for the purpose of J. therefore of Professor W. the whole issue of the case.

He added that Mr. would go overseas for some reason as he was the passport for which he applied.

It is understood that the person Mr. to have interviewed were reports on the matter headings the late Senator J. Garby in the United Kingdom.

British Apartheiders In Conference

THE League of Empire Loyalists, at its annual meeting in London on Saturday, passed a resolution instructing its members to spread plans for a campaign against coloured immigration into the United Kingdom.

One speaker said that coloured immigration could cause the destruction of the British race. A woman described it as "part of the Satanic plan of our enemies to destroy the British race."

An attempt to insert "Jeha" and "Cyprus" in the resolution failed.

To Protect The Queen

The League also passed a resolution urging the Government to introduce a Bill, if existing legislation was inadequate, "providing for the protection of the monarch against personal attacks from any subject or agent within her realm and for the residence and protection of the monarch."

The resolution was moved by Mr. Philip Sutherland, who was recently fined for sleeping Lord Alton of Liverpool across his face. —Super-Review.

Refuse Renewal

Mr. Berrange was interviewed in a letter September 27 that the N. of the Interior, Dr. T. C. F. was not prepared to grant passport facilities. It is applied to withdraw Mr. Berrange's passport and to his renewal.

In a reply to Dr. Dan Hendry, M.P.,

he had explained that he had applied to the N. of the Interior to grant the person he requires the hearing was not a witness who might be to the defence.

He added, "There is material distinction between the two and I am therefore of the opinion that it is not my application to the N. of the Interior, even if the withholding from the necessary right to be to the N. of the Interior is considered by their claim to be in their hands."

GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

THE STORY OF A NECKLACE

CHAPTER XXXI

ONE very sweet story is told of Gandhiji's persistence in getting gifts for his poor people.

Several ladies had come to Swarajya on a visit. They just wanted to see Gandhiji and have a few words with him.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Carson

We received them kindly and chatted with them for a while. He noticed that they all wore ornaments and asked if they would not like to give him something for his Harijan fund.

The ladies gladly took off their ornaments and handed them over to him, all except one young woman. Gandhiji asked her what she was going to give, and she replied that she had nothing. He quietly pointed to her mangalsutra or marriage necklace, but she only cast down her eyes in silence. She was very young and prob-

ably newly married. Her mangalsutra necklace must have been very precious to her. But Gandhiji gently pointed to his request.

At last she took the mangalsutra from her neck and gave it to him. Her face was sad and it was easy to see how heavy her heart was, but she did as he asked.

Gandhiji thanked her for her generosity and then said sweetly:

"And now—here is a gift from me—" and gave her the necklace back again. He had well understood how it hurt the young bride to part with her marriage necklace, and he did not wish for such a sacrifice. All that he wanted was her willingness to give.

After receiving it back again as a gift from Gandhiji, the necklace must have been doubly precious to the young bride.

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(To be continued)

Fall In India's Sterling Balances

London.

FINANCIAL experts specialising in Indian affairs here said that they were not worried by reports that India's sterling balances in London have now fallen below £300 million.

Rupee's Reputation

A leading financial expert, in close touch with the Indian Government's policies said the Indian Government has already foreseen that the reserves would fall and had ordered the minimum cover for the rupee. This meant that the reserves could fall to £200 million before reaching the minimum figure regarded as necessary to cover India's currency.

He said: "It is the reputation of the currency that matters today, not the temporary use of the reserves. We have no worries about the rupee's reputation."

"The International Monetary Fund has already examined the position and their recent report comments very favourably on the rupee's performance

over the past year. We are convinced that the present problems are only a temporary phase. Government's measures to increase exports and hold down imports will overcome the worst of the problem within a few months."

Recent Trends

Some financial observers here have been claiming that the recent trend in India's sterling balances, which, it is said, have been falling at the rate of £5 million every week, have been causing anxiety among circles in Delhi, because of the possible long-term repercussions of foreign creditlines who have agreed to supply plant and equipment on delayed payment terms. Other British observers claim, however, that India's reserves are subject to seasonal pressures at this time of the year and that the Indian Government is showing signs that it is bringing the situation under control.

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Suggestion: A Peace Army

A STUDY just completed under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace affirms that the United Nations General Assembly could establish a permanent peace force. According to the author of the study, William H. Frye, a journalist, such an armed force would cost only a few hundred thousand dollars.

The author, who is the United Nations correspondent for "The Christian Science Monitor", proposes that the Assembly call upon UN Member States other than the five great powers to place at the disposal of the UN elements of their armed forces, which would constitute a permanent corps of the United Nations and which would do observation patrol and other similar duty when so requested by the Assembly or the Security Council.

"Contingents committed for UN are would not expect to have to fight, certainly not against the organized forces of a state," the author writes. "Their job would be to prevent outbreaks. Their power would lie not in their rifles, then in their armbands; they would see

perpetrate the moral authority of the United Nations."

The author does not suggest that such a force would in any sense solve the world's problems. "But," he concludes, "it would be one more gradual step in the hands of the peace-makers. In some cases, under some circumstances, it might represent the difference between success and failure." (UNESCO)

NATO Base In Goa 'Intolerable' For India

MR. MEHRU has strongly criticised the British and American attitude over Goa.

He said there were whispers that Goa might become a base for North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. This was an unfriendly act towards India and could not be tolerated.

The Prime Minister said he was grateful to the United States for all the aid India had received from that country but America was giving considerable military aid to Pakistan and this he said was a menace to India.

No Inquiry Into Rand Riots: Swart

A Government judicial commission of inquiry into the clash between Randites and Sales in the south-western Native areas of Johannesburg on September 14 and 15 has been refused by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, an unnecessary.

Hearing this news, the non-European Affairs Committee of the Johannesburg City Council decided to ask the Council to appoint its own commission of inquiry, under the chairmanship of a retired judge if possible, with identical terms of reference to those suggested to the Minister of Justice.

A letter from the Minister's private secretary said that the Minister, after consultation with the Cabinet, had decided not to accede to the City Council's request.

Social Service Bursary for Women

THE national organizer of the Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa has sent to the following communication:

The Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa is inviting applications for the TONI SATHERA BURSARY for advanced study. The bursary is open to any woman, irrespective of race, creed or colour, who holds a suitable degree or professional qualification, and whose proposed course of study will equip her more effectively to render some form of social service to the South African community. The maximum amount of the bursary is £250 per annum, renewable annually, subject to satisfactory progress. The closing date for applications is December 1957.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Union of Jewish Women of Southern Africa, P. O. Box 616, Johannesburg.

Youth Leaders Of All Races Meet In South Africa

AS a result of a three-day training course for youth leaders, attended by African, Coloured and European delegates, the Wilgenpoort Fellowship Centre, in the Transvaal, is planning a further series of inter-racial meetings.

There will enable youth leaders, already inspired by the similarity of the problems and approaches in youth work, despite their different backgrounds, to discuss difficulties facing them in their work.

The first of these consultation sessions for youth leaders is to be held on Saturday, November 9 at 10.30 a.m. at the Wilgenpoort Fellowship Centre, twelve miles from Johannesburg on the new Krugersdorp road. All those leading youth in the churches who are interested are invited to attend. Further information may be had from the Warden, Wilgenpoort Fellowship Centre, P.O. Box 8, Reedersburg, Transvaal.

Tamil Teacher Wanted (Male)

Applications are invited by Tamil Teachers throughout the country for a Tamil teacher to teach Tamil at the Nones Tamil School.

Applications must be directed to the Secretary of the School at 22-24 Street, Aulsebrook Township, Natal.

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Ghana Fires First Shot In UN Fight Against Apartheid

(Continued from front page)

material and moral welfare of Africans in South-West Africa."

"An Affront"

Mr. Amet said the report of the committee on South-West Africa, and the statements of two petitioners on conditions in the territory, revealed a state of affairs which were "an affront to the good conscience of all mankind."

"In the final analysis," he continued, "it will be in the best interest of South Africa herself to replace the policy of fearful, unilateral incorporation by the principle of self-determination for the inhabitants of South-West Africa."

Mr. F. Ahmed of India

said it was doubtful whether integration of the territory with the Union would promote to the utmost the moral and material well-being and social progress of the inhabitants.

"It amounts to handing over the local people to the tender mercies of the racial policies of South Africa," he said. "Saxa Reuter

N.C.A.N.W.T. Condemns

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests is holding a conference on Saturday, October 26, at Kingsway Hall for delegates from local committees all over Britain. The evening session consists of a scientific forum in which a physicist, physicist, a radiologist and a biologist will answer questions.

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Saint And Singer Of South India

FOR more than a hundred years now the spell of the singer saint Sri Tyagaraja has cast a charm over the hearts of the people in South India where, in every public concert, all the accomplished musicians sing Tyagaraja's compositions. In every home, the child, the woman and the newly-wed bride know at least a score of his songs. In every devotional gathering, wherever men are brought together in worship, Tyagaraja's musical compositions are invariably to be heard. A recording of one of them is included in the Anthology of Indian Classical Music, published by the International Council of Music.

It was a great age of music into which Sri Tyagaraja was born in 1729, but he outshone all his contemporaries. He lived for eighty-eight years, until the middle of the nineteenth century and he was acknowledged the best musician of his time. Unlike the other great singers of the day, he attached himself to no school or earthly patronage but was content to go his humble rounds in the village of his choice, bringing his food from the blacksmith, singing his songs and attending to all the duties of

in common with kings and their courtiers. He had chosen his way of life and he stuck to it obstinately. He offered his daily worship to his golden image of Rama—the saint that he worshipped is still to be seen—went begging in the Brahmin streets, singing his place songs with thousand like strident accompaniment in his hands. A frail brown man with a sweet voice, the women of the Brahmin households each gave him a bowl of rice. Sometimes he did not collect enough for his wife and himself and his child, but what then? A day's starvation did no more any harm. A life of voluntary poverty like this is not rare in India even today. And when you have something to give, something beyond price, like the singing of Sri Tyagaraja, a life of voluntary poverty is universally respected.

When the singer's fame had spread far and wide, many disciples came to him, wishing to learn his manner of singing from his own mouth. Many of these disciples were great men from rich and great families but it was accepted as right that they should beg in the streets and feed their master.

Sri Tyagaraja's life was spent in the village of his choice Tiruvayalur, except for a short trip to Rameswaram in the south. He had no worldly experience, but his inner life was full of the spirit of devotion and of ecstasy,

which filled attention in his art.

In his songs, Sri Tyagaraja often contrasts simple otherworldliness with the material refinement that men seek. "Ignorance and foolish, those are pleased with money, with the goods of the world, Oh Rama, what they can have your grace and blessing and vision for the true seeking of it." At another time, he sang, "Oye, Rama, oh why have you made me live in these Kles then when the spiritual predominates over men of the spirit?" That he was aware of the other side also is evident in the song where he says "Many indeed are the men

of wealth and greatness that this world has seen. Then all I mingle with my song."

"Can they attain salvation who have no music in them?" he sang in one of his most powerful songs. If the influence a man exerts on his contemporaries and his successors is so indelible then of his greatness, Sri Tyagaraja was indeed one of the greatest of the men who shaped our temporary life in the south of India. After his death in 1817, his fame spread farther and farther in ever-widening circles. It would not be wrong to say that he is a living presence in South India today.

—UNESCO.

By

Miss S. SAPU

a poor household. Indeed kings sent for him. But he refused to leave his beggar's bowl to dance attendance on kings. The God Rama claimed all his songs, and he sang to please himself and Rama and no one else. And he feared that he had sung his way into the heart of a people.

Swathi Thirunel, a reigning Prince of the Travancore Kingdom in the far south, himself a composer and musician of no mean order, heard of the song of Sri Tyagaraja and sent word to him, inviting him to his court where he would be treated as befitting a great artist. He promised him riches and great districts. But Sri Tyagaraja replied with a song: "What are riches? and what is dignity and status? There are those who know only the words of the ancient texts, the Vedas and the Upanishads. There are those who are friends of kings and men of state. There are those who have great pride of family, have amassed a fortune and live like lords. What are they to me? Shall I be one of them, ignorant, adding weight of earthly things to earthly things, when the unworldly estate and unworldly dignity of devotion is to lead Rama into me?"

Sri Tyagaraja was not a good man. He had simply accepted the vow of voluntary poverty and to debt that he had nothing

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હીંદની મોઢામાં મોટી વિમાની કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

—ધી—

ન્યુ ઇન્ડીયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની લીમીટેડ

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના એકજ મુખ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

રૂસ્તમજી બલભાઈ રૂસ્તમજી

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન — નાટાલ.

સેવા અને નિર્ભયતા

માટે આમને મળે.

બધી બાતના વિમાનો આમે ઉતારીએ છીએ.

પી. એ. બોક્સ ૧૧૧૦.

ટેલીફોન : ૧૧૧ ઇસેવન એવન્યુ,

ડરબન.

ટેલીફોન :

એફીસ : ૨૫૮૨૫

ટેલીફોન : ૩૬૪૧૩.

હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

કારણ ?

કયાં જવો ?

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અમ, અલગ દુષ્ટન કે દાસ,
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INDIAN OPINION-
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OPINION

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REAL FIGHT AGAINST RACIALISM IS NOT IN LITTLE ROCK BUT IN SOUTH AFRICA

NEHRU COMMENDS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FIRM ACTION

ANSWERING questions by Pressmen in Tokyo, where he is on a State visit, Mr. Nehru praised President Eisenhower for his action at Little Rock but pointed out that the real fight against racialism has to be waged in South Africa.

He said: "If I may say so with all respect, President, Eisenhower has shown great courage in dealing with a very difficult situation. While naturally I am against all racialism—and when I say that I do not exclude my own country, where it does not take the form of racialism as such but of casteism,—the apparent example of racialism in the Union of South Africa, where it is terrible both in theory and in practice.

"Racialism is there in the U.S.A. and I regret it, but I believe not only the U.S. Government but other social factors too are fairly rapidly going ahead solving this problem. I should like this process to be faster, but it is not for me to judge."

Another point made by Mr. Nehru at the Press Conference was about economic co-operation between India and Japan. India was interested in big credits and loans and would welcome them from any country. Nothing however had been discussed about loans or

credits from Japan during his current talks with the Japanese leaders. Economic talks were being held in India and Tokyo and he hoped a trade agreement would be signed soon.

Pakistan's "Offer"

Replying to an American correspondent who asked about Pakistan's 'offer' to withdraw its troops from occupied Kashmir provided U.N. troops replaced them, Mr. Nehru said: "It is very kind of Pakistan to make these offers. The only thing I am interested in is for Pakistan to get out of Kashmir. Pakistan is committing aggression on our territory in India. What business has it to tell us to do this or to do that?"

The proposal to send foreign troops to Kashmir was only meant to aid and to shelter Pakistan aggression there. Whatever happened, India would not allow foreign troops in any part of Kashmir, he said.

25,000 Shout Welcome

One of the most impressive functions of the visit was that in which the ho-

orary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Nehru by the two Tokyo Universities.

Over 20,000 students of the Vasoda and Keio Universities joined in giving the Prime Minister a tumultuous welcome at the ceremony. Resounding cheers went up when the President of the Vasoda University said in conferring the degree: "Mr. Nehru no long-

er belongs to India alone. The whole world, awake humanity claims him for his work for peace in this unstable world."

Mr. Nehru told the students: "You are building the Asia and the world of tomorrow." They must work for peace, remembering that the challenge of the H-Bomb could not be met by bigger bombs but only through the spirit.

INDIA'S ELDER STATESMAN CHALLENGES NYE

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AT the recent Labour Party Annual Conference a group advocated unilateral action renouncing nuclear weapons. This was characterised by Mr. Annan Devas as an "emotional spasm." It was not, he said, statesmanship.

What is statesmanship? It is not just bargaining and haggling and an end to it.

When the process of bargaining over a question of whether humankind may live or not results after an interminable length of time is no conclusion, and the world's health and civilisation's hope demand that something should be done, unilateral action is the only form of statesmanship avail-

able to those who wish to serve their nation and the world, and not just carry on as politicians.

Higher physics is devoted to research into inter-spatial transmission of forces. So must higher statesmanship deal with inter-human psychic forces acting across space. There are natural laws that govern the substance of one man's ac-

(Continued on page 463)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 18TH OCTOBER, 1957

The Gbedemah Incident

THE incident in which Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Ghana's Finance Minister, was insulted in a United States cafe initially had a most damaging impact on American prestige among the peoples of Africa. It revealed, in harshly depressing light, the still tainted side of the relations between Black Africa and the White West.

Race hatred has for centuries characterised the relations between the African and the White man. Slavery had quite a lot to do with it. The residual attitudes thus developed in the White race die hard. In an age when the African has begun to reach his rightful position among the peoples of the world these attitudes still come up—to complicate situations which are, in the very nature of the circumstances, delicate.

The Gbedemah incident is a case in point. It is difficult for us to imagine that a thing like that could happen in a great country like the United States. For it to take place in a country which seeks to be accepted as a friend of Africa is most unfortunate. It only shows that the White supremacist mentality dies hard.

Apologies

At the same time the speedy apologies from both the President and the Vice President of America are most welcome. The insult was not to Mr. Gbedemah alone, it was to all the people of Africa. Mr. Gbedemah accepted them and Africa accepts them in the knowledge that at the moment the United States government is engaged in a most courageous fight against race discrimination. In this it has the sympathies and good wishes of the men and women of Africa. It was possibly appreciation of the government's difficulties in this situation which made Mr. Gbedemah refrain from making a formal protest.

We must point out, however, that in spite of Mr. Gbedemah's dignified conduct in this episode and President Eisenhower's prompt efforts to make amends, race discrimination is a matter on which the peoples of Africa are particularly sensitive. They want to be assured that they shall not again be insulted in the house of a friend.

Diwali

ONCE again, we have come to the most pleasant of all days, in the year—Diwali—the Festival of Light. Yes, the glow of Diwali is in very few hearts of those many Hindus, who live in this country. We are at a very unhappy stage in South African history, where many of us are faced with the uprearing of our

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Passes: Legitimate Disobedience And Lawlessness

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

AN African friend who has been very active in the fight against the Passes for women pulled me up the other day and demanded that I should explain precisely where legitimate disobedience and lawlessness begin and end in a situation where the very being of a woman is attacked. I gladly accept the challenge because this enables me to develop more fully the theme propounded in my last article on the Passes and which was designed to draw attention to the need for clarity on the values involved and the real issues at stake.

We shall start with legitimate disobedience. The State is created by the contract to ensure that the affairs of the community are conducted in ways which will bring the maximum good to the greatest number possible. This is usually a moral and not from the State derives its moral basis.

Violate Rights

As long as the State works towards this goal the citizen is under the obligation to obey its laws, to pay his taxes and to respect its institutions. But when the State attacks the person of the citizen, or violates his rights to property or when it acts on a course which would destroy the community from which it derives its very being, it ceases to serve the purpose for which it was brought into being.

At that point the citizen becomes free to assert his right to withdraw his support of the State. It becomes his right and duty to refuse to obey laws which are devoid of all moral content.

It is quite clear in my mind that the Pass Law which forces African women to become the prey of all male sexuals is devoid of all moral content. To refuse to carry the Pass, in these circumstances, is a legitimate form of disobedience. Going to jail is the only effective and honourable means of protest.

Burning Passes

Burning the Passes is quite a different proposition. For, in opposing the Pass for women we must be quite sure in our minds what is it, really, which we seek to do. Do we want to destroy the authority of the State or to defend an immoral law? It is

again quite clear in my mind that our intention is to defend a law which is worst, immoral and indefensible.

If the latter is what we have in mind it follows that our goals, deeds and attitudes must be such that they must not be mistaken for what they are not. If we are not willing to destroy the State, our actions must be of

NOTICE

Owing to the Diwali Holidays there will be no issue of "Opinion" next week (October 25th). Our next issue will be out on November 1st.

Editor: "Opinion."

such a nature that the impartial observer can have no difficulty as to what our real aims are.

Burning the Passes is a feeble form of protest and at best brings in confusion where the greatest need is for clarity. When we burn the Passes, it becomes difficult to say what our real aim is—no destroy the State or to fight a wicked law?

State Property

This thesis is based on a few obvious facts. The Pass is the property of the State; that is, the property of the taxpayer. Where the intention is not to destroy the State, there is clearly no good reason why the property which the State holds in trust for the community should be destroyed. The question is not with the instrument used to carry out a violent law; it is with the mind behind such a law. This is a very important distinction. It throws the real difference between disobedience and lawlessness into bolder relief. To oppose the mind behind the Pass by refusing to carry it and by going to jail is legitimate disobedience; to burn the property of the State is lawlessness.

Our aim is to force the State to change its mind and not to

despite it of the issues to carry out its legitimate work.

Double-Dealing

There is also an aspect of the burning which is not moral, in my view. To take the Prem is, in fact, to collaborate in making it work. In other words it is to agree to carry it—even under protest. To burn it in these circumstances, is objectionable for two very good reasons. There is an element of unconscious double dealing behind it which we, who fight for a truly free and honest South Africa, should never sink. Secondly it is indirectly an endorsement to businessmen which can produce disastrous alterations. There is an element of violence in it which the enemies of the African could exploit very easily, for example, the shavings of the type in which Johannes Strijdom lost his life.

The point I want to draw attention to here is that if violence must be used, the initiative must come from the side of our opponents and not from us. And in South Africa's explosive

situation, we cannot say we have taken too many precautions.

House On Fire

Why all this when the house is on fire? Firstly, violence is, strictly speaking, a repudiation of morality and states. We who built against this repudiation as the part of the spiritualists do not expect to let where this ends us. Secondly, a society built on violence needs no foundations laid on sand. The spiritualist superstition is reaching today because it is based on violence. Thirdly, violence will create for the free society towards which we work goals and objectives more complicated than those we are trying to solve. In the hour of the greatest darkness the African wants must show himself a reliable champion of true liberty. His aim is that by suffering unshakably in those corners which will condemn the world that it is responsible. It is this tradition of responsible judgment and action which we must develop if we are to free South Africa and create a society fit for decent people to live in.

Diwali

(Continued from previous page)

lives in many different ways. Africa was known as Dark Africa, but perhaps, in those days, it was only for geographical reasons. Today, Africa is at its darkest, where despair and hopelessness rule the day.

Diwali has many meanings, and another meaning is this that, the good, in the form of Rama, overcame the evil, in the form of Ravana. This is a day for us to hope because it brings to us the message, that the good things in life will prevail. And so with this hope we look forward to Diwali—we must not let despair darken our Festival of Lights—for we must remember that for every bit of darkness there is a hidden bit of light. So Diwali has a significance all its own for us here in South Africa. We must bring light where there is none, and hope for those who despair. Let us rejoice in giving to those who want, and let us celebrate Diwali in its truest sense. If we can destroy a little bit of evil, and bring about a little bit of good on this day, we will have celebrated Diwali as it was meant to be celebrated.

We would like to wish our readers and friends a very happy Diwali, and we pray that there will be a ray of hope even for those who maybe in deep despair on this auspicious occasion.

WORDS OF WISDOM

"God give you joy, God give you grace,
To shroud the truth and smite the wrong
To honour Virtue, Honour, Worth, and it is cherish Faith."

—Sarojini Naidu,

The Message of Diwali

By SWAMI NISCHALANANDA

AMONGST the many festivals observed by the Hindus, Diwali has a special attraction and everyone eagerly looks forward to this festival of light. Besides the splendour that goes with Diwali, it is a festival with a deep spiritual significance and claims to be a reminder of the eternal quest of man, a his triumph over evil and ignorance. Like Christmas, which has been superseded by Christmas, Diwali too is the centre of time but has much of the religious fervour and places points that characterized it centuries back, in that of the sale of slaves, exchange of gifts and presents, much consumption of sweets, cringing duties and strong desires. It is a pity that in our much more modern times we have lost the spirit which was the heart of these who are here fascinated by us.

Diwali literally signifies a row of lights—no smoke darkness. Life is a pilgrimage in which we have to pass on from one object to another. It is a process of unfolding—a re-discovery of the unending of darkness or ignorance to light our way in the pathway of Truth. It is this aspect that demands our serious attention at the moment because of the forces of evil, hatred, jealousy, discrimination and the great fear power that is ruling here the whole of our life. The only hope for the human race lies in its spiritual realisation, for all other forces have failed to bring unity and balance to human society and there is only salvation for man in a higher spiritual and moral order and it is this that the world truly lacks.

There is simple contrast in the legends that are associated with the celebration of Diwali of man's higher purpose and the play of the forces of evil and good and the eventual triumph of truth. Such a character as Lord Hanuman, the divine being who had been born in the power of love and truth. The world is going through a similar crisis, gripped with the law of power and greed and the story of Hanuman by Krishna is an eternal reminder to man that the forces of evil and unrighteousness would not prevail for long for money or later the forces of good and righteousness must establish itself for that is the order that governs all things and the ending given to evil is that it must eventually consume itself. The human process is to measure the animal and to transcend the Dharma. The demon

that is a Hanuman in a human is the animal—the man that is ever willing to get the better of man. The choice lies in whether to cross the forces of evil or the forces of good. The future human race depends on this. If the choice is evil, there shall be hatred, greed and destruction and the human race shall perish but if the choice is good, there shall be love, selflessness and unity and the human race shall build a civilization that would make way to a super race.

The coming of Diwali every year is a reminder of this eternal truth which we are apt to lose sight of in the distractions of the world and the call of the Veda Krishna ring through time at a reminder is:

*Yamane na jayit genaye
Madat na duritane genaye
"Lead us from darkness to light,
From death to immortality."*

Outpost In Goa Destroyed

ANOTHER clash between Goa soldiers and Portuguese troops took place on Tuesday night about five miles inside Goa territory, according to reports received in Bombay.

Goa Nationalist forces said the Portuguese post of Bopand in the north of Goa was destroyed in the attack by a group of underground workers. The group disappeared into Goa territory after an exchange of fire with guards at the outpost.

No further details were available, but according to Goa radio broadcast, the counter-attack took place at about 9.30 p.m.

The radio reported that soldiers, machine-guns and grenades were used by the underground workers, some of whom took cover in a forest near the post and tried to prevent reinforcements from advancing towards the Bopand post. None of the Portuguese troops was injured or killed, the radio said.

Following this clash a Portuguese patrol on the Goa-Exeter frontier was reported to have maintained heavy fire for many hours late Indian territory.

The Indian patrol did not return the fire.

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Group Areas Goings-On At Rustenburg

ONE of the most extraordinary features of the proceedings of the Group Areas Board is the difficulty of getting some proposals investigated at all.

Rustenburg is a case in point. Proposals were called for in 1955. The Town Council put two alternative sites for its Indian community of nearly 300. Both were a mile or two outside the town, across the railway line and on land which provides no uncertain foundation for buildings.

C. W. M. GELL

that building occurred well as advance leads in these areas. Inevitably on these distant sites the trade of the St. Ignace, in whose shops the whole Indian community depends for its livelihood, would be seriously damaged, especially if the moving summer suggested certain level crossings were also to be closed to road traffic.

A group of 37 white residents of the area, among them myself, felt that these proposals were utterly unfair. Some of us were reluctant to continue our involvement at all by making any proposal under this fundamentally unjust law, especially as Indians appear to be principle. Nevertheless, as the Rustenburg Indian society a compact, homogeneous area with vacant land for expansion available alongside it, we felt there was a case for trying the best site of the Group Areas Board and the Town Council. We proposed that the Indians be given a group area substantially where they are, plus vacant land for expansion.

The first explosion came from the Town Council which immediately rebuffed them "no consideration be given to their proposal" and that the Group Areas Board be informed of the Council's readiness. And a good deal of acrimonious correspondence in the local weekly paper followed.

The Board then took its first obstructive action. It informed us that "the effect is at the moment only concerned with proposals. Objections and representations cannot be entertained." Evidently it had only read the petition on our proposal which described the injustice of the municipal scheme. After further correspondence, the Board eventually

agreed that "your proposal will be referred, together with all other proposals, to the Board for investigation and report to the Minister."

Early in 1955 the Board called for representations on the proposals now advertised. On behalf of the 37 I submitted a long memorandum. Anything out of it, further correspondence occurred in the local paper, a copy of which must have been sent to the Board. For it brought a letter in Afrikaans from the Board telling me that, despite the swelling of our proposal area on the advertised maps (which was included in Afrikaans only), it was not in fact being advertised for investigation. "My Board does not intend doing an, unless good reasons are advanced." And I was given 21 days to advance them.

I argued the point as law, the facts and the merits. But I was easily told that "my Board after due consideration of your request has resolved not to advertise the area in question. It is further decided to inform you that my Board is not obliged to furnish on request." In response to a further query, I was told "the Board is not prepared to furnish any reasons for its decision."

The Board's public hearing took place on June 14, 1955. On counsel asked for an adjournment until our proposal had been advertised. The chairman (Mr. W. F. Nel) refused. Counsel then told his was instructed to contest the decision in the Supreme Court. Mr. Nel adjourned for 40 minutes, after which he announced that the hearing would be adjourned now for "the matter to be placed before the Board"—a strange necessity since the "due consideration" mentioned in the correspondence above. A fortnight later the local paper announced that "the Board has agreed to advertise [our] proposal."

But in the meantime the Board evidently had around changes. On May 24, 1957, it advertised for fresh proposals for Rustenburg, adding that "proposals which have already been lodged with the Board will be treated as having been lodged in terms of this notice." We—I confess as one "we" for brevity's sake, though we longer realize where myself—regreted through our anxiety that we did not understand the necessity for this and

renewed our right to take any necessary action if our proposal was prejudiced. We reasoned that our proposal was thoroughly lodged in terms of the previous advertisement and that we stood by it.

On July 26 the Board, reading true to its previous term, replied that "it is not prepared to advertise for investigation" our proposal for the Indians. It offered us the opportunity of appearing in Portoria "to furnish reasons why the relevant proposal should be advertised for investigation."

We replied through our attorney that "the importance of our proposal, both to thousands of inhabitants of the town who approve of them and to those who disapprove, is surely obvious." And we suggested that the "appearance" in Portoria would be more helpful if the Board would give some indication of the reasons for its extraordinary decision, as we would then know what we were all to argue about.

Back came the strong and unambiguous reply. "The Board is under no obligation whatsoever to discuss the reasons. It considers that the true position under Section 27 (2) of the Act is that the proposal should be as a possible one where the area proposed is in conformity with the spirit and principle of the Act." It would appear that the area under Section 27 (2) is in conformity with the principle of the Act.

Section 27 2, for says nothing about some. It merely provides that "the Board shall (upon the receipt of any proposal) consider with equity and it considers necessary to enable it to decide whether the proposal should be accepted or rejected." This subsection was inserted into the Act by the Further Amendment Act of 1955.

When introducing this subsection in 1955, the Minister said it was intended to enable the Board to reject suitably (subject only to the Minister's

consent) and "prior to advertisement for full investigation" any proposals which the Board considers "racist, inhuman, obstructive or not in keeping with the spirit of the Act." The case, if anything, would appear to be on the Board, if it intends this course.

I have indicated the words which evidently apply to our proposal, since an sensible person would consider it deserved say of its other applicants and, in any case, the Board has used the same phrase to us.

But Acts have an "spirit" legally. They have meaning. Their meaning has certain limitations which, to be legally effective, must be incorporated in the wording of the Act with clarity and certainty.

And at a time has it officially been stated or stated that all Indians everywhere must be wholly removed from the town to the village—that any other proposal would be not in keeping with the spirit of the Act, though that now appears to be the advertisement's presumption on the Transvaal plan?

Our nearest regard our case in Portoria. Although the Board has now, at last, decided to allow our reasonable proposal to go forward to a public hearing, it still stands convicted by its own actions of having done nearly everything in its power to prevent our case being publicly argued.

One indeed wonder why.

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Path Followed Causing Anxie

EUROPEANS are to look upon South Africa with a new eye. We expect that already in less than fifty years, if development goes as like that, the newspapers will be "The Daily Star: 'Thousand Europeans Killed in Cape Town,' 'hundred Europeans murdered in Durban' and the like. It is an extremely bloody revelation, as social revolutions are, with disastrous consequences for Europeans as well as for the natives. The reasons for this are as follows:

The position between white and coloured people in South Africa is not only one of hatred but also one of fear. The European, practically ruling alone, is able to form a Government which is stable. A self-reliance in justice, when not given full recognition, can only be ruled by power, force and terror. By that the minority tries to keep on parties, thinking that they have all to win and nothing to lose. However they really overlook that, if they keep on assimilation, the opponent will take to extreme radical means in order to gain success, and that the question will take another, much more dangerous shape than, namely: all to win

or all to lose." As soon as the "to be or not to be" begins to dawn on the mind, extreme fear will spread among them, will try to maintain their position by greater power, a force and greater terror. There are two possibilities: first is this one: Possibly intelligent people of the class, seeing the other coming over to them, give some concessions in appearance. The opponent, after having taken to or him, demands more than he will tend to concede, especially as he sees a way in the other's offer. Then he is not satisfied, so the struggle will go on bloodied and countless of sides show all the worst consequences of an ego narrow-minded policy. Other possibility is this: The class remains unyielding, the oppressed try to gain totally complete victory to eliminate even. result again will be a revolution. In this or the case, the consequence is similar. The so long majority will always be a minority, however being accustomed to rule, they will be unable to govern. Naturally the larger class will not be allowed to come into power again, in a very modest form, as it is and position will still be against them. So that the chaotic situation has to come, just as it had been the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Assurances

Europeans from assured one that they are in the position to power for a long time however should know that their power is short, which is used as a natural way of always has been the

N.R. Governor Predicts Speedy African Progress

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Salisbury. THE Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Buxton, has told Congress officials and permit at the Gilbert Rennie School, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, that in another 10 years the average African scholar would be on the same educational level as the European scholar of the same age. "Some people think that it will be a long time before this happens. But I think it is going to happen in the next two or three years," said Sir Arthur. A member of the N.R. Legislative Council, Mr. W. L. Rendell, criticising the Governor's speech, said this week that any suggestion for immediate racial integration at schools in Northern Rhodesia was "prophetic and certainly."

"If the Governor means that within two or three years secondary school pupils of the two races will sit down together, this is not only misleading but a assumption of the Federal Government's responsibility in European education," Mr. Rendell said.

Whites In S.A. to Europe

By RAINER JEROSSCH
(Hamburg)

reason for the bloodiest revolutions in history, and today South Africa is the most hostile and ferocious of them.

We Europeans are afraid that such a revolution will take place soon, which naturally will be a very sad end of our gigantic realm world history. But we must face the fact that we have played our part to an end that we have to make concessions and that a new time has begun. We have to learn, and are still leaving our place after the other and we have to withdraw to the continent from where we have spread all over the world. Naturally one cannot demand that the Europeans in South Africa should also go home to England, Holland or Germany, leaving the land behind to the Africans. (That is however one of the immediate demands which will arise when revolution is growing amongst the African.) The question is South Africa however it, as far as we can see, how one possibly can reduce both the differences and tensions between white and colored people, or in terms of the German historian Theodor Mommsen how can one bring about a "national conception." This according to our opinion, can only be done by

a common programme and a common coexisting conception. If the government could only convince all people, white or colored, it is could give a common aim, according to which they all are striving to harmony and peace, then the situation would be much better, and the danger of bloodshed would be lessened. But today they are working against each other, the differences are stressed, "apartheid" is postulated. History will show the consequences.

Critics

I know that European critics tend to overlook the difficulties within South Africa. I myself have been only a few hours in South Africa, i.e. in Cape Town, but I have seen enough of the Orient and also a little of Africa to know, how big the differences are between Western culture and civilization and the standard of thinking and writing of the majority of the non-European people. I also don't want to give accurate pieces of advice, but I strongly want to point out that the present idea, according to which the South African government is acting, is extremely dangerous, if at all history is able to teach us anything.

Real Taste Of Partnership In Federation

From Our Bulawayo Correspondent

MR. JEROME Mr. C. T. Tredwell, his wife and a Mr. Tredwell decided to go to the cinema the other evening to Gwelo, capital of the "racial partnership" Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The three walked up to the ticket office and asked for three seats.

They were given tickets and went to their seats where they stayed for the first half of the performance.

Then it happened. During the interval the manager came and asked them to leave.

"On what grounds are you being sent?" asked an outraged Mr. Tredwell.

"Sorry," said the manager, "but this is a European cinema, and you are not Europeans."

The three unhappy Indian

partners looked around to find dozens of European faces looking at them, scornfully.

"Why were we treated with honors then?" queried Mr. Tredwell. "It was obvious that we were different, my wife is wearing the national dress."

"Please leave my cinema," said the manager angrily. "For the last time I tell you it is for Europeans only."

The three people left, with heads held high.

All the cinemas in Southern Rhodesia claim to be "European." There are two cinema—one in Bulawayo, one in Salisbury—at which Coloureds and Indians are accepted.

But once at these they are segregated from the Europeans in an upstairs, back-of-the-house gallery.

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

A Model For The Poor

CHAPTER XXXII

JUST as nothing was too rich for Gandhiji to accept for his birthday, so nothing was too small in his eyes either. From a rich lady he would not hesitate to ask all her jewels, while from the poor he would accept even a copper pie.

Always with the same goal in mind he made everyone around him observe the strictest economy, saying that even the tiniest wastefulness was a sin against the poor.

When doing his daily spinning he was always careful to collect every tiny bit of yarn. With these as stuffing, and with scraps from his left-over scraps of cloth, he would have purchases made.

Nothing was ever thrown away at Sevagram.

In the kitchen he had a strict ban, forbidding the waste of salt.

He even kept old letters covers. He cut them up exactly

and used them for making notes on. Often the thought that he jotted down on these scraps would amuse the world by their banality when they appeared later in print.

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

Once a visitor to the ashram was pouring himself out a cup of water. As people often do, he filled the cup too full, and carelessly threw the extra water on the ground. Gandhiji scolded him and told him that he had no right to do such a thing. The water which he had carelessly thrown away was a precious thing in a tropical country like India, where shortage of water is often a serious problem.

In every way Gandhiji was practical. He liked food to be cooked in earthen pots. Firstly, because this encouraged the cottage industry of pot-making

Secondly, because food is better and more appetising when cooked in earthen vessels. Thirdly, because earthen pots are cheaper than other cooking utensils. When people complained that such pots easily got broken, he told them to be more careful.

He wanted his life to be a model for the poor in everything. With this idea always in his mind he would never use a thing which poor people could not afford—not even a mosquito net on his bed. He preferred to sleep out a way in which even the poorest man could protect himself from mosquitoes. This way was to cover himself completely with the bedsheet, before going to sleep, having put a few drops of kerosene oil on his face and hands. Mosquitoes dislike the smell of kerosene oil.

He was equally careful to be plain and simple in the cold season, too. Once when it was very chilly, a young girl in the ashram brought him a hot water bottle to keep his feet warm. He told her to take it away, saying that such things were not used by the poor.

When sick, he would use no expensive patent medicines, as these are also beyond the poor

man's reach. Instead he would try experiments on himself with cheap and simple remedies that can do no harm—such as bathing with hot or cold water, putting earth pastilles on the stomach, and so on. Very often, he discovered very good cures in this way.

He was as careful with time as he was with everything else. His cheap pocket watch, which he kept tied to his waist by a string, as he had no pocket, was always kept right to the second. He was never a minute late.

Whenever he had to speak in public, he always arrived exactly on time, spoke for just a fixed number of minutes and no more. He never wandered from this subject to that, as so many speakers do. He was never afraid of saying anything that had to be said, no matter how painful it might be. His words were always simple and plain, so that even the most ignorant might understand him.

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Mr. Nehru In Hiroshima

THE Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, made a brief pilgrimage to the world's first atom-bombed city and told the people of Hiroshima: "You do not stand alone in your struggle against nuclear weapons."

Thousands of school children lined the 30-mile route in the villages between the city and the U.S. naval air station at Isakura where the Indian Prime Minister arrived by a special plane.

Mr. Nehru and his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, offered wreaths at the monument for Hiroshima's bombed women.

More than 30,000 Indian and Japanese paper flags waved wildly as Mr. Nehru arrived at a rally at the Peace Memorial Park, the spot where the atom bomb was dropped.

Mr. Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi walked up steps yards through the crowd to the raised shaped monument and laid the wreaths. Seven hundred doves were released as the Prime Minister visited the museum.

Speaking from near the spot where the atom bomb fell, the

Prime Minister said, "Coming here I feel I have come on a pilgrimage to the spot which represents many things not only to me, but to men and women all over the world.

"It represents the end of an age and the beginning of another. It represents the ultimate violence that can take place. It also represents hope and co-operation which have taken place."

Holding the golden key presented by the Mayor, in his hand, Mr. Nehru said: "You have presented me with a precious gift—the key to Hiroshima."

"May that key prove the key to the hearts of the people all over the world, moving them to compassion and bringing them to disband force and live in friendship and co-operation with each other."

India's Elder Statesman Challenges Nye

(Continued from front page)

wily over another, and of one nation's over another, even though there is no contractual or treaty obligation, just as the movement of electricity and heat is not restricted to direct conduction.

Unilateral Action

Buddha, Krishna, Christ and Gandhi taught the law of universal right action, as against the way of hegemony. Are their teachings only to be belittled and shipped to boot?

Why should mankind stop with burlapine statesmanship and not go beyond?

The need has arisen for a Congress application of these teachings regarding the power of unilateral action. The world is threatened with uncontrolled calamity unless we meet the challenge with something higher and more effective than futile

begsling.

The atomic scientists of West Germany have resoundingly called for the prohibition, production, distribution and operation of atomic weapons. The signature of the Declaration of April last met at the annual session of German physical societies on October 2 at Heidelberg and declared:

"We state today that all of us signed by our consciences voted on April 12 without any qualification."

These German scientists in their manifestos pointed out to the politicians that a small country like West Germany could best protect itself and serve world peace by renouncing the possession of atomic weapons.

Faith in the principle of unilateral action informs the whole attitude of these eminent scientists.—"Times News."

Joshi Pleads For Sanskrit In Embassies

IN a memorandum sent to the chairman of the Sanskrit Commission, Dr. Sushil Kumar, Mr. P. S. Joshi, Indian author, made a strong plea for the appointment of Sanskrit scholars in Embassies abroad.

He said that concrete steps should be taken to enable Indian students, officials and employees of Indian establishments, and Sanskrit scholars in Embassies to act as interpreters of the Sanskrit culture.

Advancing reasons for such steps, he added that most of the Indians settled overseas were mostly interested in the religion and culture of India, their social organisations stood for the study and promotion of Indian culture and they wished to strengthen their cultural ties with the land of their origin. Free Europeans tended to be knowledgeable about India's values and many of them felt that Hindu philosophy could only bring about mutual peace in a troubled world.

Mr. Joshi believes that so much research work awaits the children of India in the vast field of Sanskrit literature as well as some of the African dialects, religions and customs, and on the meeting of communities, cities and tribes in the

continent.

The Sanskrit Commission was appointed last year to survey the existing facilities of Sanskrit education in Universities and non-University institutions and make proposals for promoting the study of Sanskrit including research.

Mr. Joshi was inspired to make the above mentioned observations after studying the Gentleman's (on Sanskrit and English) sent to him by Dr. Sushil Kumar Chatterji.

Tamil Teacher Wanted (Male)

Applications are invited by Tamil teachers throughout the country for a Tamil teacher to teach Tamil at the Bengal Tamil School.

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Alan Talks Only Language Apartheid Understands

YEHUDI MASHKIN, the world-famous violinist, has threatened to refuse to be patron of the South African International Arts League of Youth—because it has a colour bar.

At least even other top colour-bodies in the art world—including Sir Ralph Baker, Sir Laurence Olivier, Sir Adrian Boult, Lord Dunsany and Dame Blanche de Valois—may follow suit.

Yehudi Masekin, writing from Basel, Switzerland, has asked the League to invite an Indian artist to its next convention. He said: "This is a test case. Should it prove impossible for the International Arts League of Youth to include an Indian artist in their invitation, I shall withdraw my name from their list of patrons."

The issue was first raised by Mr. Alan Paton who told the League's national conference, Mrs. Mary Asher, of Durban: "As an admirer of your work I am writing reluctantly to you about this matter. I am convinced that many of your distinguished patrons would never have given their patronage if they had known that this so-called Inter-

national League was in fact a colour bar organisation."

Mr. Paton asked whether there was any likelihood of the League removing the colour bar or dropping the word "International" from its title.

Mrs. Asher replied: "My national executive board says that the term 'inter-racial' should not be confused with the word 'international'.

Legislation

"I am now writing a letter to each of our overseas patrons pointing out that whatever our own feelings may be, under present legislation in this country, we are compelled to preclude any European members from our organisation."

"We leave it to the conscience of our patrons to decide whether they will remain as patrons."

In a letter last month to Yehudi Masekin, Mr. Paton wrote:

"I feel the cause of racial understanding is so important that I can no longer delay in making this representation to you."

"I am sure the case will be put to you that in view of present legislation, notably the Native Laws Amendment Act and the Group Areas Act, it is impossible for this organisation to encourage the colour bar."

"I would like to point out that even these two improved Acts do not forbid inter-racial associations—they merely threaten it. And also that the Arts League observed the colour bar long before the passage of these Acts."

Referring to possible confusion between "inter-racial" and "international," Mr. Paton said there was in Durban an International Club and an International Delegation Society whose memberships were open to all races.

"Too much of internationalism and the cause of apartheid are incompatible," he wrote.

In a long letter addressed to Mr. Paton, a copy of which was sent to the Arts League, Yehudi Masekin replied: "...I did not realize this was a colour bar organisation...Any international organisation must of course in-

clude different races—I feel very strongly about this matter—do you state that you have a very high regard for Mrs. Asher, I assume she is a person of broad understanding with whom it is possible to discuss matters in a completely frank manner." Mr. Masekin then suggests his "test case."

Other overseas patrons are now being approached by both Mr. Paton—who refused, to be a patron when the League was founded—and by the International Arts League of Youth.

Colours To Hold Inter- national Exhibition Of Children's Art

An international exhibition of children's art is to be held in Calcutta next November on the occasion of India's National Children's Day and the 45th birthday of Prime Minister Nehru. Children under 14 years of age, in any country, are invited to submit entries to the exhibition. Prizelines, which should not exceed 11 by 14 inches in size, should reach the General Secretary, Academy of Juvenile Arts & Crafts, 18 Robinson Road Lane, Calcutta 12, India, before 20 October, 1957. —UNESCO.

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Ghana's Immediate Future Remains Doubtful

(From Our Special Correspondent)

SEPTEMBER has passed and with it close African nations took second place in the British newspapers. The single sinking of the Ghana vessel, "The Panther", an increase in the bank-rates, and then the launching of the Soviet satellite all served to crowd the front pages of most journals. Despite this, there has been a continuous interest in the developments in Ghana. In three weeks the "Manchester Guardian" carried as many leaders on the activities of the Nkrumah Government.

During the initial ones over the deportation of the two Moslem leaders, Abubakar Riba and Lokom, Mr. Geoffrey Blain, the Ghana Attorney-General took charge against them and Mr. Joe Colvin, the London "Daily Telegraph" correspondent, and an Ashanti newspaper before the court. On a technical point the case against Mr. Colvin was dismissed as having been brought in the wrong court. In the eyes of many lawyers Mr. Blain was reported as having made a feeble error, and Mr. Christopher Shumway, who defended Mr. Colvin, had already conducted his side of the case most ably.

Next Stage

The next stage appeared to be that of Mr. Blain bringing the case before the court again, having had to pay costs on his legal merits. Mr. Shumway, who was also to appear for the two Moslem leaders, flew to Nigeria to visit his clients who had been in Lagos since their deportation. At this point Mr. Riba, the newly-appointed and "tough" Minister of the Interior, announced that Shumway would not be allowed back in Ghana. He declared that Shumway's return might "endanger peace and stability in the country." His grounds for this suggestion were that Mr. Shumway had "assailed the Ghana Government in Court, a thing he has no right to do," and that Ghana "cannot tolerate British lawyers coming here to assault her elected Government."

Immediately the Ghana Bar Association protested against the Minister of the Interior's action. In this they received vocal support from the British press, the "Manchester Guardian" of 13th September 1957, describing Mr. Riba's step as "an outrageous interference with the due process of the law." This, the "Guardian" leader writer said, "is not so far from the Black and White, or British and Ghanaian, but between judicial process and executive law."

Nkrumah

During all these developments the Prime Minister was on his feet,

day, and any final reply to the protests of Opposition had to await his return. Even when he did get back the reply was delayed for Cabinet meetings and the final statement did not appear until September 21st, Meanwhile Mr. Riba was making speeches which did little to allay the concern felt in Britain. In Accra on September 20 he told a large rally of Convention People's Party supporters that he was drafting a special law to make it an offence for Opposition groups to abuse political slogans. He went on to say that if the delegation of four members of the Ghana Bar Association who had been to see the Attorney-General to make the Association's protest against the ban on Mr. Shumway had gone on him he would have had them arrested. He threatened the same class's protests as an attempt to interfere with the Government's lawful action. He said attempts were being made on the life of Dr. Nkrumah, and went on:

"If anybody tries to interfere with the life of our illustrious Prime Minister or any of His Majesty's Ministers I will immediately order the arrest of all the Opposition leaders. I am trying to ban all Opposition parties in this country because they are trying to bring the smooth running of our Government."

Warrant

How much warrant Mr. Riba had from the Prime Minister for these denigrating declarations is not known. The long awaited statement from the Prime Minister, which he gave in a broadcast on September 24 proved to be a compromise between the need to respond to the pressure of world opinion and Dr. Nkrumah's desire not to overrule completely Mr. Riba. He stated that the case against Mr. Colvin was being dropped, and therefore "the question of Mr. Shumway or any other lawyer coming to Ghana to defend Mr. Colvin will not arise." The Government had decided that for the moment "these two gentlemen" would not be permitted to re-enter Ghana. He intimated that as time passed and a sense of proportion was retained the ban on them might be lifted.

Quietism

Since the Prime Minister's statement there has been a quiet atmosphere in Ghana. The "Manchester Guardian" stated that "we may give credit to Dr. Nkrumah and his colleagues for their sound thoughts", but went on to point out that there are still other matters pending (those against an Ashanti paper and against the two Moslems) and there has yet been no indication of whether or not they will be dropped.

The immediate fears of Ghana remain doubtful and one cannot help wondering (and fearing) what influence Mr. Riba has on the Ghana Cabinet. And where stands Dr. Nkrumah. James Macleod, a British journalist who has spent some time in Ghana recently writes of him: "Many Englishmen picture him as a strong man, a sort of benevolent Ghanaian Nasser. In fact he seems to be a much softer vessel, there is

certainly an sense of massive confidence in Nkrumah's power, and indeed (in my own opinion anyway) no air of insouciant dictatorship to him...He may not be very polished, but he is (I think) potentially a force for good and unity. Some of his advisers and associates inspire less confidence. The most depressing thing in Ghana is Mr. Riba, a person of unbalanced character." It is to be hoped that the spirit of Dr. Nkrumah rather than that of Mr. Riba will prevail.

Lennox-Boyd Boycotted In Uganda

Kampala.

AFRICAN Press representatives boycotted a Press conference here by Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, because of his alleged failure to meet local political parties during his visit.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd told reporters that he had met many political leaders as individuals, but that he had not had time to meet all political parties as such.

He said he had approved plans for Uganda's first direct elections that Uganda would achieve self-government in 1961, and said this was the date on which it was planned to introduce a common electoral roll.

It is abundantly impossible," he said, "that there should be delegations for the representation of Uganda's European and Asian communities then."

The common roll elections would be a step toward self-government, he said.—Spectator.

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પુજારીને જાણ થયું ત્યારે ભાગ્ય
આ એક કાવલ છે. મેં જ
જા ભાગ્યના કાવલો પાંચે
વર્ણો રંગ, કાવલો છે. આ
આજે આજિવન રંગ એક
એક ભાગ્યકેને આજે ભાગ્ય
છે ત્યારે જાણ આ કાવલ
મેં આજે રંગે ભાગ્યકેને
જાણ થયે છે.

શ્રીમદ્ભગવદ્ગીતાના આરંભમાં કૃષ્ણે કૃપાપૂર્વક કહેલું છે, કુપર્યાયિત ધર્મસ્ય યેષામ્ (જેવાંનાં ધર્મને કુપર્યાય કરનારો તેઓ) એ આજીવન સુધી ધર્મને કુપર્યાય કરનારો છે. આજીવન એટલે કે જન્મથી મૃત્યુ સુધી. આજીવન એટલે કે જન્મથી મૃત્યુ સુધી.

કોઈકને કે, આ સમય આપણે
ને મળે કે કે, યોગ્ય સંજોગ
થી વહીવટી કાર્ય નહીં
નથી થઈ અને કોઈ પણ સંજોગ
પ્રતીક કે, એ કે વહીવટી
કાર્ય કે.

[illegible]

પંડિત નરસિંહ
ભોરીસાખાખા

આ બાબતે પણ કોઈકે કોઈકાગળે
કાંઈકાં વાત કરી હશે. અત્ય-
ંતે જ. “તેને કોઈકાગળે જાણ હતી
કોઈકે કોઈકાગળે.”

[illegible]

હોદ્દની મોટામાં મોટી વિમાની કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

—ધી—

ન્યુ ઇન્ડીયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની લીમીટેડ

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના એકજ મુખ્ય પ્રતિનિધિ

રૂસ્તમજી જાલભાઈ રૂસ્તમજી

૧૪૦ કવીન સ્ટ્રીટ,

ડરબન - નાટાલ.

સેવા અને નિર્ભયતા

માટે અમને મળો.

અધી અતવા વિમાનો અમે ઉડાડીએ છીએ.

પી. એ. મોરિસ ૧૯૧૦.

રેસીડેન્સ : ૧૧૧ ઇલિંગવુ એવન્યુ,

ડરબન.

ટેલીફોન

મોટીસ : ૨૫૮૧૫

રેસીડેન્સ : ૩૬૪૧૩.

હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

કારણ ?

ક્યાં જશો ?

અને એટલું કહે અમલકા,
મને શું છે ફરજનહર ?
આ દુનિયા અધી પહોંચીશું,
તે! તમી પીગના મુનપાણી!
કુપાં પાનમાં, રો. પાનમાં,
મુદી કે અંજન કે કોરાબી,
મોડા અમલી કેપાં તો! તો!
અંજનના કે કુડ કેપાં મિલિના!
કુપાં કાપા, કેટ્ટ કુપાં!
વારકોન પેશકાં અવાં કિલામણું
અમ, અમણ કુપેને કે કાપા,
અને કે અમ્મ કાલીયા અ!
માટે—
મારી અમી અને કુપાં,
મણકાને રતનકાની કાંઈ

- તમારી માનવીની કાદી—અનારક જરી કોલેજ, અનારક રેશમ, મેસુરી, મીસિન,
દારમીરી, જાડીનીનાળી, કેર પાતળ, રેશી પોતળ અને રેશી કીલામ માં માલી
શુ છે!
- તમને અમલી પેશકાં—અનારક મીસર, રેશમી કાંડ પાતળ, જરી કેર પાતળ,
જરીની કેર : રૂપરી તપા કોલેરી અને અનારક રૂપમાં અમલી.
- તમારી નામાં કાદી તેમજ રૂસ અને અનારક પટે કાપા તમને અમ પકાં અમલી.
- તમારી કુપી માટે અનારક તપા રૂપકાં કાપા અમે, તમા રેશમ અમલી.
- તમને કામલી રોડ મીસી—અમલકા માટે, અર, કાંડક અને માટે અમને મળો.
- રેશી કાંડકાણું કાપા અમલકાં કાંડ તેમજ કિલામ માટે અમલી.
- તમારી રોડ અમલીના પટે તમારી માનવીની કુપાને અ અમલી :

પેશકાં અમલકા—રૂપરી કાંડ,
અંજન, અમ, અંજની પાતળ
રેશમ કુપાં, જાડી કેપાં અમલકા
તેમજ અને કાપાં અમ કાંડક,
અમલકા.

“એકે નૂર આદમી
કાંડક નૂર કાપા”

આ પાટે અમને મળો!

વિમાનના વાતકો—વિમાન તમા
અંજન, તમા મીસા કે કા, કાંડ
મી, અમલીની કાંડ, વિમાન તમા
અંજની પાતળ, અમલકા, અંજન
તે તમાને મળી મુકાબી, તમા
અને કાપાં અમલકા કે

Phone : 27709.

Residence : 22744.

Manilal Ratanjee & Co., (Pty) Ltd.
136 Prince Edward Street, DURBAN.

*A populace never rebels
from passion for attack,
but from impatience of
suffering.*

—Edmund Burke.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903.

Former Editors: Mahatma Gandhi—1918-1950

No. 42—Vol. LV.

Friday, 1st November, 1957

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DRC SAYS COLOURED NEVER APPROACHED IT TO PROTEST AGAINST CHURCH APARTHEID

REPLYING to a letter from the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (Dr W. A. Visser 't Hooft), the Rev. W. A. Landman, on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, wrote setting out the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Churches towards the Native Laws Amendment Act and race relations generally. The two letters are now before the Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk van die Kaap, which is sitting in Cape Town.

Dr. T' Hooft wrote that the world council was concerned about the discussions in South Africa on the Native Law Amendment Bill (as it then was) and did not yet see clearly how we must interpret the attitude which the Dutch Reformed Churches are taking.

To enable the council to give a fair interpretation of that attitude to other churches Dr. T' Hooft asked for replies to the following questions.

(1) May we take it that your Church stands by the principle stated in the "addendum re declaration of policy, in the English edition of the report, 'The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa and the Problem of Race Relations,' namely that 'This professed unity is Christ in our opinion also demands concrete expression not only between denominations but also between believers of different nations and races. Just as the Church is called to strive after a fuller realisation of manifestation, so it is also called to strive after a better experience of the communion of saints.'

(2) May we take it that your Church stands ready to defend this principle, if and when there should be any interference with this principle by the State, it being understood that inter-

racial religious services must never be used as a cloak for other than religious purposes?

Text Of Reply

This is the text of Mr Landman's reply.

'We...hope that our reply will be of real help to you in appreciating the attitude of our Church on this very important and, as you will probably realise, extremely difficult problem.

To the questions you have submitted to us we can reply very briefly. As the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches has unanimously approved the report on race relations to which you refer, hardly any doubt is left on the question as to whether we stand by the principles embodied therein.

This report is the fruit of a very sincere effort on our part to explore our views and our accepted policy on the problems at issue to our fellow-members of the World Council and to other Christians concerned.

(1) With due appreciation of the great need for closer co-operation between Christians of all nations in their endeavours to express their unity in Christ in a concrete and effective way, and

with due consideration for the intricacies of the racial problem in our country, we felt ourselves bound, at this stage in our history, to make a clear statement on this all-important issue.

Assist Christians

In so doing we try to explain ourselves to our fellow members of the Dutch Reformed Church among the Coloured and Bantu peoples, and to assist Christians in other churches to appreciate and understand the line of thought we have been following ever since we started our missionary enterprises more than two years ago.

(2) This report bears witness to the fact that our established missionary churches really are indigenous churches on the pattern advocated by the World Missionary Conference from Liverpool (1906) up to Tamboraan (1938). We are fully aware of the danger involved in any policy and line of action which may disrupt and impair our fellowship in Christ with Christians of a different race, even when, as is the case with us, they belong to the same Dutch Reformed Church and profess the same faith.

We are, however, very
(Continued on page 470)

Govt. Retreats [Temporarily] In Sophiatown

THE Department of Native Affairs has decided to withdraw removal orders issued on Native pass-posestion in Sophiatown who refuse to move.

During last the Rabinowitz case, the Rabinowitz Board member refused their removal orders until and unless it was in appeal, which will take a long time.

In the meantime, so long as the action stand, alternative accommodation for those on whom they were served has to be kept available on Meadowlands and will stand empty.

But when the action is withdrawn that accommodation can be given to those who are not affected by the Rabinowitz case.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 1ST NOVEMBER, 1957

Indian Teachers' Example

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish a report describing the efforts of the Natal Indian teachers to raise funds to build more schools for their community. Apart from "taxing" themselves they have now launched a campaign in which they need the co-operation of the Indian parent to provide schooling facilities for their children. The campaign now launched deserves the unstinted support of every Indian parent or as parent and of every good South African.

The Indian is in such a small minority in this country that his real hope of survival is efficiency—which means education. In other words he must so equip himself that he becomes indispensable to the country as a whole, not only in commerce but in every field of human endeavour. In fact he might be called upon to show how to be a true South African.

We urge our readers to give the campaign now under way every possible help and congratulate the Indian teachers on their public-spiritedness and exemplary sense of social responsibility.

Alan Paton And Yehudi Menuhin

ABOUT a fortnight ago the White Press announced that the South African author, Alan Paton, had written to Yehudi Menuhin pointing out to him that he was allowing his name to be used to give respectability to a cultural organization with a colour bar in this country. Most people who do not see their fellow-men from the perspective of race were shocked that this organization in question was race-conscious even though it styled itself *non-racialist*. But most shocking, particularly to the non-Whites, was the knowledge that the great Menuhin was a patron of an organization whose members were members of race.

In acting as he did Mr. Paton only added to the very warm regard, respect and admiration which his integrity, deep understanding and sympathy with his fellow-men and love of justice have won for him among large sections of the non-White community.

Responsibilities

The heaviest responsibilities often fall upon the shoulders of the persons who have achieved most in life. By rising to these Mr. Paton showed not only courage but a readiness to suffer the consequences of challenging so aggressively and with so much determination the most sacred things in the average White South African's atti-

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Cyprian And Verwoerd

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

NEITHER Cyprian, Paramount Chief of the Zulus, nor Verwoerd has reason to be very happy about the bargain in which the former agreed to become Bantu Authorities chairman Number One. The Department of Native Affairs got very heavy gramma on the Paramount Chief to accept the Bantu Authorities in the belief that his example could be exploited to convince the other Chiefs that Bantu Authorities are good for them also.

In yielding to the pressure, Cyprian obviously paid a very high price for standing in the Government's good books. He risked alienating the entire Zulu people. Not that he did not know the perilous state of Zulu opinion on apartheid generally and the Bantu Authorities in particular. Meetings had been held in Zululand where support for the Authorities was canvassed. At one time Verwoerd himself had come all the way from Pretoria to talk things over with the Zulu.

300 Moriamen

According to White Press reports, which, in matters affecting the African, often reflect the White side in unambiguous light, the arrangement was that about three hundred Zulu Moriamen were to have met Verwoerd some miles outside the Zululand township in which the great conference was to be held. Clearly had been conspired from every part of Natal to meet the Great White Elephant. No business carried up on the appointed day.

And, when the debate opened and Verwoerd got across the party line the Zulu told him one thing: Biko (the Zulu word for Bantu Authorities) has only one legal and political meaning in the Zulu mind—overriding independence. If the Afrikaner Nationalists had at last come to return to the Zulu his overriding independence, then Verwoerd was most welcome.

The Press reports reported, further, that after that Verwoerd was in such a temper that he rebuffed the Zulu gathering and refused to wait for the famous display of Zulu dancing.

All Warned

Having made their private as clear as Bantu Authorities the Zulus expected all interested to take notice, public note. When, in the face of these personal warnings, Cyprian, Verwoerd rushed headlong to do the exact opposite of what his people obviously wanted, it was plain that he was heading for heavy weather.

It did not take long before the gun broke on his head. At a

meeting in Zululand some of his people demonstrated publicly against his decision. That virtually broke up the meeting. Court proceedings followed in which those who had taken a leading role were convicted for contempt. They appeared in the Supreme Court in Mariköppel where their appeal was upheld.

The effect of this was seen damping on the Paramount Chief's influence as Bantu Authorities chairman. But that was only the beginning of his real troubles. The woman in Natal followed his identification of himself with politics (his acceptance of the Bantu Authorities was so regarded) with a disposition which went up to his head to enlist his support for the anti-Pass campaign. He did not possess much, but he definitely did not see much virtue in the Passes for women either.

Dismal Effects

This provoked dismal effects on other Zulu opinion. A few weeks ago he came down to Durban to attend a series of functions. He went to Chatsworth, son of Durban's African location where he was to have spoken. When his wife came up to speak, "Pater" reports that she was escorted down while some of the Zulus walked out of the hall.

One or two other Chiefs in Natal have already accepted the Bantu Authorities. But so far Cyprian has had to risk losing his wife and sons. To get them, alas, Verwoerd has had to place Cyprian in a most embarrassing position. Neither of the parties to the bargain seems to be making much out of it.

Tamil Teacher Wanted (Male)

Applications are invited by Tamil teachers throughout the country for a Tamil teacher to teach Tamil at the Boman Tamil School.

Applications must be directed to the Secretary of the School at 22-2nd Street, Asiatic Township, Boman.

Salary and other particulars will be furnished on application.

Campaign To Meet Crisis In Indian Education

THE year 1957 opened with a crisis in Indian Education. A total of 9,307 Indian children could not be admitted to any school because there was no accommodation for them in the whole province. To solve this problem the Natal Indian Teachers' Society decided to intensify their efforts to raise funds to build more schools, and what follows tells the inspiring story of what they have done so far.

In 1951 the Natal Indian Teachers' Society opened the Natal Indian School Building Trust and set themselves the goal of raising £150,000. Of this amount the teachers volunteered to pay £25,000. In less than three years they have already contributed £15,000. A most encouraging feature of this effort is that several teachers, eager to see more Indian children given education, have already donated their contribution of 4 per cent of their annual earnings.

Expanding Ocean

But engagements at these standards have been, to date 9,300 children out of school reduces the teachers' contribution almost to a drop in an expanding ocean. The problem is one of growing urgency. This has driven the Indian teachers to the extreme of asking Indian parents to share the burden of establishing more schools for the community. It is known that most Indian schools have been built on all funds raised by the community itself. The calls on the limited resources of this section of the nation have been very heavy. The teachers are confident, however, that on this occasion, as in the past, the community will rally and that henceforth in the endeavour to enable more children to have the opportunity to learn will be sought.

Expansive stamps have been printed and cards prepared to enable every parent to contribute at least two shillings per month over a period of two years. The sponsors of the campaign believe that this magnificent example given, no matter how humble, will contribute his share to the common effort.

Up to now the response has been most encouraging. As soon as they heard of the new campaign, three parents together sent in contributions totalling £18-15-0. Several have bought complete cards and promised to make additional contributions.

Education Department

The Natal Provincial Administration has embarked on the launching of this scheme through the schools and teachers are kindly

re-sponsing to reflecting and multiplying the donations to the Trust.

The over-aim is to provide accommodation for every Indian school child within the next two years. The call, therefore, is for a supreme effort to give as much as is possible. The urgency of the problem is such that no man and no woman can afford not to give support to this worthy cause.

Cheques should please be made to the Natal Indian School Building Trust, c/o The Secretary, Natal Indian Teachers' Society, Saint College, Durban.

Federation Now Has Non-Racial Party

(From Our Bulawayo Correspondent)

A MULTI-RACIAL political party—the Constitution Party—has been formed in Lusaka, the capital of Northern Rhodesia.

At the beginning it was announced that the party would oppose any legislation which would lead to an increase in the status for the Federation. If the legislation was not in accordance with the preamble to the present Federal Constitution.

The party—formed at a meeting of more than 100 people at the home of Lusaka's Independent M.P., Dr Alexander Booth, the "grandfather" of liberal politicians in Central Africa—accepted that racial rank days as the constitution becomes the constitution of the country, it will be based by the present Federal Constitution, and is therefore the preferable.

The Federal and Territorial elections will be contested by the party.

Dr Booth said that every one was represented and that no other party in the Federation had ever had such a start.

American View Of India's Naga Policy

THE "New York Times," writing under the caption "India's Naga Problem" said: "Recent dispatches from New Delhi indicate that India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru is taking a constructive realistic view of the problem raised by the demands of Naga tribesmen for independence. He is prepared to make out a special status for these people in which they give consent to which they give consent. The idea of an independent Naga nation will not be entertained."

"This is a realistic phase of approach. It is not possible to conceive of a really viable independent Naga State. The tribesmen are vigorous and liberty-loving, but they are not in a position to assume full responsibilities of self-government except upon a limited local scale. Economically this position, completely land-locked, would be impossible of improvement. Politically, while they may rightly desire to have a sense of freedom, they have no equipment with which to conduct affairs of an independent State."

"The Indian approach to the question at this point seems a wise one. If Naga tribesmen do not wish to come under the administration of the neighbouring Assamese, a special position for them can certainly be devised. This has been done successfully in the past and it can be done again."

"What is really important is that the Naga people understand that they have Government that is of their choosing."

Babies Rescued

The French Army went to the rescue of 40 babies whose lives were endangered by a strike of electricity workers in France.

The babies, prematurely born, were in incubators in a special annex of Dijon Maternity Hospital. The incubators had to be kept at a constant temperature.

When the main supply was cut off, the hospital started its emergency generators, but this broke down and the babies were in danger of dying if the current was not restored within half an hour. Army troops got another generator working in time.

Alan Paton And Yehudi Menuhin

(Continued from previous page)

vide to the race problem and that is just what needs to be done at the moment.

It will be a long-drawn-out fight in which, we are certain, Mr. Paton will turn a very large section of White opinion against himself. For our part we find consolation in the fact that his is a just fight and that whatever the cost, it is right that the enemies of apartheid should go on the offensive.

Offensive

People on both sides of the colour line will watch very closely the effect of the Paton offensive against apartheid because, in itself, it is a very significant move in the struggle to turn the tide against apartheid. For some against it must be exerted on every plane and in every direction to bring the whole rotten doctrine crashing to the ground. And for having used his great prestige in the civilized world to give momentum to the processes by which apartheid is being isolated, the shining gratitude of men and women who love liberty go to Mr. Paton.

The Port Elizabeth Group Areas Case-1

AFTER the public hearing before the Group Areas Board Committee in Port Elizabeth last November certain issues were taken to court. The initial suit by an Indian applicant against the Board failed and the case is now being taken on appeal to a Full Bench of the Eastern Provinces Division of the Supreme Court. As these proceedings will take some time, I propose now to give a factual account of the history of the case and of several interesting issues before the court. All comments will, of course, have to wait until after the Appeal Court's decision.

The P.E. case began on July 15, 1952, when the Local Townships (now Group Areas) Board advised for proposals by Indians as persons for the whole (or any part) of Port Elizabeth and Umshango. On February 16, 1953, the Board exhibited a map showing proposed group areas for certain parts of P.E. and invited representations about these designated areas otherwise within a month. So far as can be ascertained, neither the City Council nor any private person had submitted proposals in answer to the first advertisement. The proposals advertised were, therefore, made by a committee of Government officials, known as the Reference and Planning Committee, which goes around submitting proposals where municipalities are reluctant or not at all with "the spirit of the Act." The Reference and Planning Committee went on work in Port Elizabeth during January 1953.

In response to the advertisement for representations the Board received a large number of replies, mostly protests by non-white residents against the areas proposed for them and the whole philosophy of the Act. On March 11 and 12 the Board's committee (herein also called "the Board") held its first public inquiry in the city.

Replying to allegations that the Reference and Planning Committee was either an adjunct of the Group Areas Board or merely a tool of the Minister of the Interior who must eventually decide the final proclamation of Group Areas, Mr. T. H. van Rensburg for the Committee said:

"The Committee was appointed by the Minister and consists of representatives of

various Government departments, i.e. Native Affairs, Housing Commission, Road Transport Board, Dept. of Coloured Affairs, Provincial Administration, S.A.R., etc. The Government as such is obviously as interested as any private person and it is quite competent for the Government to appear before the Board and put its views. The Reference and Planning Committee is in the same position before the Board as any other party. It is merely an administrative Committee whereby the implementation of the Act can be initiated."

By

C. W. H. GELL

After an inspection in loco, Mr. van Rensburg addressed the Board about the Reference and Planning Committee's proposals. He explained that the Committee was interested in the whole area but was at this stage only submitting its opinion in areas "considered to be areas which could be dealt with by the Board right away." It was sometimes considered that the Act could not be brought into operation until a whole area had been planned but his Committee did not believe this was the best way. "In fact, it is an impossible way of applying the Act." It was intended to start "with areas about which there could be no doubt." There would arise a "need" about which the whole plan for the region would take shape. They would provide "a sense of security" immediately and, by concentrating "the actual migration of the various groups," would assist in solving the problem of the "difficult areas" which should not for the present be considered to

Mr. van Rensburg then called as witness Mr. A. C. van Tonder Rector, then chairman of the Reference and Planning Committee, later Secretary and now a member of the Group Areas Board. Mr. Rector underwent a very grilling cross-examination by counsel for the City Council in the course of which he admitted that he was not a town planner, surveyor or architect and, in fact, knew very little about town planning. After some further argument the Chairman of the Group Areas Board (Mr.

G. F. de Vos Hugo) adjourned the hearing sine die, agreeing with the municipality's contention that money should not be paid "by fiat" but according to an overall plan for the whole city.

The Reference and Planning Committee went to visit Port Elizabeth and district for a fortnight in June, 1954. Exactly what took place between the Committee and the City Council may be in issue in the present legal proceedings. But it is common ground that the Committee would not agree to certain relevant features of the Council's town planning scheme which incorporated race zoning proposals. The contentious points were the Council's desire for—

- (1) an all-Coloured (i.e. Cape Coloured, Malay, Indian, Chinese) area in Keurboom and possibly part of South End,
- (2) "line" (i.e. zoned) trading areas where houses of any race might appear there,
- (3) a 60-year period of immutability.

The Committee insisted that (1) be for Cape Coloured only, that (2) be at most proclaimed as "dedicated group areas" and (3) be limited to a maximum of 15 years for the "difficult" (i.e. seriously mixed) areas. There were also some differences between the Council and the Committee about the zoning of certain residential areas (e.g. for the Indians).

In October, 1954, it was announced in the local press that the Reference and Planning Committee was adamant and "had given the City Council until October 31 to submit its scheme." The press report also said, "The Council has been given, undoubtedly, the scheme proposed by the Committee." It was also reported (and subsequently this was confirmed at the Board's next public hearing) that the City Council had had to accept that "the Government" would not recognize its proposals for "line" and "all-Coloured" areas. The Council, therefore, while still performing its town planning scheme with persistence (1) to (3) above, tem-

porarily put forward alternative proposals for "zoned group areas" (the hope was somewhere expressed that the period of immutability would not be less than 25 years), tried to give some non-white traders some "accessibility to other groups" and suggested that the small Chinese community (300 people, 230 houses) should be left unmoved as its present site and houses.

On February 24, 1955, upon incorporating the full-scale proposals of the Reference and Planning Committee, the City Council and some others were exhibited and representations again called for. This resulted in a flood of protest from non-white and a number of demands from whites for still more drastic removal of non-whites from particular areas. Not a single white voice was then heard as the non-white side, through some Churches and other public bodies found their voices eight months later. Owing to matters unrelated by themselves to any discrepancies in the statistics of the numbers of people affected by the proposals. For the most probable figures for those to be uprooted under the Reference and Planning Committee's proposals—the worst case plan submitted—see Whites, up to 5,000 (but not likely to exceed 1,000); Coloureds 25,000; Indians 50,000; some 26,000 of these have now been moved "voluntarily" to non-designated Indian 3,000 (230 houses), Malays 3,000 (Chinese 1,300 (210 houses)). Under the City Council's tentative group area proposals the numbers would be rather less but not greatly so, and the Chinese were to be cramped. Under the Council's town-planning scheme the displacement would be appreciably less and more gradual, and shopkeepers would be uprooted.

Having thus given the factual background, I will now attempt to analyze the various proposals to discover all that occurred at the Group Areas Board public hearing in November 1954. I will confine myself to describing the more important issues which the courts will be called upon to adjudicate.

(To be continued)

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GANDHIJI— The Story Of His Life Freedom At Last

CHAPTER XXXIII

OVER fifty years of Gandhiji's life were spent in working for the freedom of India. How his heart must have rejoiced when at last that dream came true!

How much he had suffered during those long years! How many times he had been sent to jail for supporting the foreign Government! How many times he had fasted when all other attempts failed to secure people's freedom! How great his happiness during those fifty years! His name was known to the highest and the lowest all over the world. He need only have expressed the wish and grateful feelings would have been his a prison or splendid as any in the world. But he wanted nothing for himself. All that he had ever wanted was freedom for India from the British, freedom for the Marjans from the white Indians, and that Hindus and Marjans should live together as brothers. One of the last acts of

his beautiful life was a fast to bring this about.

When at last freedom came, his dear Kasturba was no longer by his side to share his triumph. She had died a little while before. But gently as he felt her

By

Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Corree

Author of "The Story of the Life of Mahatma Gandhi"

loss, he would not grieve. He said that when a man or woman has lived and died well, there is no cause for grief. It was when the Army showed us desire to live well, that his fatherly heart was crushed with sorrow. When Indian Hindu Indians, just because they belonged to different communities, and in the very moment when freedom had been given to all Indians—that was when his heart was once to breaking.

So in the last year of his life, old and frail, he wandered on foot from village to village, calming the anger, comforting

those who had suffered, bringing peace wherever he entered. There he began his last great fast, ready to give his life in pursuit for the sake of his foolish children.

Once more his gentle bravery won the victory over violence, and peace returned.

It seemed as if at last Gandhiji was to enjoy the reward of his years of labour. He had finally overcome the British by love and gentleness, for they had willingly given up the rule of India without any fighting and were now India's friends. Though in the past they had often thrown him into jail, they now honoured Gandhiji as a hero.

All over India the Marjans were allowed to enter the temples at last in worship side by side with their Hindu brothers. This victory brought happiness to millions who had lived in misery for centuries. In schools and village centres all over the country Marjans were now learning handicrafts and studying the various sciences.

The spinning wheel, which so we had used to know about

a few years before, now hummed daily in millions of Indian homes. It was bringing clothing to the naked, work to the unemployed, bread to the starving.

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(To be continued)

S.R. Has Own "Education" Bill

(From Our Natal Mercury Correspondent)

A NEW Native Education Bill which will give the Southern Rhodesia Government control of all African schools throughout the Colony, has just been published.

The Director of Native Education, Mr. H. G. Finke, said that the main aim of the new Bill was to prevent "political bias or or subversive activities" being taught in the schools.

Under the new Act, all African schools in Southern Rhodesia must seek the approval of the Director, who has authority to register or close a school.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Lagos

In the representative of Ghana's Government to say criticism by journalists spending in Nigeria?

This question came immediately to mind on October 14th when news reached here of a proposal made by Chief Oduro Ametewee, the Premier of Western Nigeria, Chief Ametewee, who can be described as the most liberal of the three Nigerian provincial premiers, in an address to the Action Group conference at Ibadan on October 12th, said the "Daily Times", a British owned paper which belongs to the same group as the "Ghana Graphic" on which the depicted Biafra Times weekly, was a member of the best interests of Nigeria and so the most selfish and selfish manner encouraged strife and discord among the Nigerians.

"Let us make no mistake about it," he said. "If we do not put an end to the 'Daily Times' as at present exists, the paper will surely put an end to Nigerian negotiations unless very soon." He proposed that the proprietorship of the paper should be taken over by the Nigerian Federal Government in the next two years and full compensation paid to its owners. The "Daily Times" has the largest circulation of the 5 dailies published in Lagos.

Accra

Meanwhile in Ghana itself the Government's recent actions have succeeded in setting the opposition groups. On October 17th six of the regional and tribal opposition groups met in Accra to form a new opposition political party, the United Party. The conference was presided over by Dr. Busia, the leader of the Parliamentary opposition. This is the largest group ever to unite in opposition to Dr. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party. Symbolic of the challenge to the Government is the fact that the United Party will make its headquarters in Kumasi, and to that it will have a provincial assembly body. Now the challenge to the C.P.P. is becoming more serious.

At the meeting Dr. Busia declared that the C.P.P. was

preparing the ground in order to force charges against the Opposition as a pretext for suppressing acts of opposition which they have threatened. There was a "receiving dictatorship" in Ghana.

In a press statement the new party set out its aims which included ending the centralisation which they have threatened to be strictly adhered to; preserving by force and by words the fundamental rights and liberties of the individual and securing free freedom and justice in accordance with the declaration of human rights by the United Nations; making Ghana's contribution towards the liberation of colonial territories to full independence in co-operation in schemes for the rapid development of Africa in general and West Africa in particular.

Chiefs Oppose

On October 16th the Government made an announcement which would appear to be the end of more which Dr. Busia had in mind. It stated that the Government had withdrawn recognition from Kofi Aducci Aducci II, chief of Ashanti Abanbwa, the largest state in southern Ghana. The issue appears to be that Aducci II and the Abanbwa have opposed openly the C.P.P. whereas they should be theoretically politically neutral. Their supporters would claim that the issue on which they have opposed the C.P.P. have not been party political issues.

It was expected that the Government's withdrawal of recognition would prevent Aducci II from attending a meeting of the chiefs from all regions of

Ghana which was held at Dodowa on October 17th. In the event he attended the meeting stating that he had received no direct notification from the Government of its withdrawal of their recognition, and that the traditional bodies associated with his chieftainship had decided that he should attend "pending official notification".

Mr. Ametewee II, who presided over the meeting, said the chiefs were not gathered to discuss party politics. Their purpose was to discuss the position of chiefs at a national level. The "Ashanti Pioneer" described this as the "honourable restoration of chieftaincy in Ghana." Ametewee declared that the chiefs must have concerted action in avoiding the common danger presented by the "sword of Damocles" over the institution of chieftaincy.

A major clash between Government and chiefs at this stage in Ghana's history could be disastrous. The whole question of democracy and the institution of tribal chieftaincy is a great one, and Dr. Nkrumah as an inevitable task in trying to solve the issue. However, the iron hand which he appears to be using at present seems more likely to exacerbate the matter than to smooth it. It is hoped that he will go more cautiously and that Mr. Aducci is not given too much scope to make inflammatory speeches against the chiefs who still attract a great deal of loyalty in the provinces.

Washington

A footnote in a more interesting vein comes from the United States. On October 8th Mr. Gbedemah, who is Ghana's Finance Minister, was named out at a roadside cafe in Dover, Delaware, along with his Negro American secretary. They were told "coloured people are not allowed in here". As a

demonstration of his disregard of what had happened President Eisenhower invited Mr. Gbedemah to breakfast at his White House next day. One wonders if Gbedemah would rise to the occasion with equal aplomb. Can we see him inviting a Negro politician to breakfast because the latter had been turned out of a cafe because of the colour of his skin?

Aged Indian Lady Tells Board Won't Leave Home

A 65-YEAR-OLD Indian woman, who said that President Kruger was an early customer at her shop and had sometimes eaten meals there, told the group some hearing in Rotterdam. "I have lived in the same house since 1887. It is impossible for me to go anywhere else now." She was white-haired but, Fatima Blyth, eldest member of Rotterdam's two strong Indian community. She said: "Relations with the Europeans in the town were always friendly."

Dressed in a white sari and giving evidence through a Gujarati interpreter, Mrs. Blyth said that when her family came to the town it was "like a lion."

They had always dealt with Europeans. Whenever Paul Kruger came to Rotterdam her husband's horses and carts were made available to him. Once he had bought 25,000 worth of goods from their shop during a military operation.

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India Better

(From Our Own Correspondent)

17th October, 1957

PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN AID

THE Indian Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, has said that he had six days' talks with Government leaders in London but had been unable to obtain any firm pledge of British aid for India. "I cannot say I go back with any great hope in my heart," he told a news conference.

He said in the next 25 months India would face a shortage of 120 million to 250 million pounds in foreign exchange needed for India's five-year plan.

Foreign commitments called for an expenditure of slightly less than 1,200 million pounds over that period.

Concept Of National Freedom

Foremost leaders of public opinion expressed the view at a symposium in Bombay on Wednesday, October 23, that freedom of the individual and freedom of the nation went hand in hand and there could be no freedom of the nation without the other.

Mr. H. V. Dandekar, Mayor of Bombay, was in the chair.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, said that the concept of a nation, as now understood, was a modern concept. The human race began as tribes and aspired for one world. Living in a tribe had become impossible while the one world idea was unattainable, he added.

Looking back over the course of history in Europe, tribal life under a chief led to the establishment of feudal states and subsequently gave place to an absolute state and then up to a "quasi-democratic State" or a "modified State". Mr. Gadgil traced the growth of the concept of a nation.

Pakistanis Fire On Villagers

One Indian citizen was killed and two were seriously injured when a group of Pakistanis armed with rifles fired on the border village of Jalalpur last week-end and opened fire on the villagers, according to reliable reports received here.

The armed men, according to the reports, entered a house on the evening of October 13 and blamed the members of the family for alleged smuggling of a person. After some signature, the Pakistanis shot dead five women from one house, injuring three villagers. A police party from a nearby town rushed to the scene and removed the three injured to a hospital where, later, one of them died.

Mr. Nehru On Way Home

Mr. Nehru arrived in Rangoon from Hong Kong on his way home after a ten-day official visit to Japan.

The Burmese Prime Minister, U. Nu, and other cabinet Ministers were present at the airport to greet Mr. Nehru. Large crowds of Burmese and Indians lined the sides of the roads to cheer Mr. Nehru as his plane touched down.

U. Nu accompanied by the Indian Ambassador to Burma briefed the plan and a few minutes later shouts of "Pashit Nehru ki jai" rent the air as the two Prime Ministers emerged from the plane.

After formalities at the house Mr. Nehru and U. Nu drove in an open jeep across the town towards crowds which broke into loud cheers.

Mr. Nehru was scheduled to cruise along the Rangoon river and have lunch with U. Nu aboard a government steamer. This arrangement was cancelled as Mr. Nehru was tired and having a slight cold.

Mr. Nehru left Rangoon by air on October 18 for New Delhi.

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Religion is of very little use if it cannot restrain our passions and enable us to live with conscientious purity and discharge our various duties with fidelity and earnestness.

—Kutub Chander Sen.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933.

Former Editor: Manilal Gandhi—1918-1950

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FORMER DRUM EDITOR SAYS AFRICAN CONSCIOUS OF NEW POWER

A NEW, fierce feeling of independence and political power among non-Europeans may explain the big increase in payroll robberies and crimes in Johannesburg, says Mr. Sylvester Stein, a former editor of the "Drum," a South African magazine for non-Europeans.

Mr. Stein, who was editor of the magazine for three years and in close touch with non-European opinion, resigned recently and took his wife and family to England. He has written a satirical novel on apartheid which is to be published in a few months.

He explains his crime theory like this: "The political attitude of the 10-million Black South Africans has changed noticeably, especially in the past year.

"Much of this political thinking has been unobserved by the White man, who only sees what he is allowed to by his domestic servant. Ideas have moved fast; thinking is robust, while European political thought has edged along slowly, as reflected in certain cautious acrobatics on the borders of the big parties.

"It seems now, in the Africa, that he has graduated to a position where it is worthwhile, and no longer suicidal, to stand up for his rights.

"He has gradually begun to do this in practice.

"In the past year there

has been the bus boycott, the affair of the Mamabola, the dogged opposition to women's passes and the demonstrations against the petrol raids in the Johannesburg Western Areas.

"The Africans rather surprised themselves at their success in the boycott and they certainly surprised their leaders, who found themselves leading from the rear.

"The success of these actions gave the man in the location street a tremendous moral uplift—a digging in by the Africans had forced concessions from the Government. The success has spurred him on to a still stronger feeling of independence, and has lifted a blanket of frustration off him.

He Is More ["Cheeky"]

"He became more 'cheeky'—as the White man puts it.

"The extra feeling of confidence has been reflected, too, in a distorted way, among the criminal section. One can possibly put the increase in payroll robberies down to a political cause.

"What there is a big payroll theft a great many

of the town's Black population applauds it, as a measure of 'success' against oppression.

"What has brought about the new feeling of strength? Many things—the increasing degree of integration and adaptation to town life, a realisation that the rest of the world was almost unanimously behind their cause, the realisation that the Nationalists themselves were at last beginning to experi-

ence a slight loss of confidence.

"Also," says Mr. Stein, "the new feeling of confidence is because of the knowledge that elsewhere in Africa there was speedy political progress.

"All these effects are likely to increase in the next few years and one can expect a decided strengthening of the African morale.

"If there is not a readiness to negotiate from the White side, it will go hard with South Africa."

PROGRAMME OF INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE NEXT MONTH

THE main racial Conference in Johannesburg in December is likely to be one of the most important gatherings ever held in South Africa. The Planning Committee has decided that, rather than submit resolutions to this Conference, all discussions shall be summarised and findings presented to plenary sessions of the conference by a special Findings Sub-committee.

The Conference will be organised on the basis of commissions to discuss the various items on the agenda. These commissions, consisting of approximately 30 delegates each, will meet simultaneously and parallel discussions will take place on the same subject.

The function of the Findings Sub-committee will be

(a) To attend commissions and take careful

notes of discussions.

(b) To meet after the commissions have taken place, to ordinate points emerging in discussions and draft findings for submission to the plenary sessions of the Conference.

At least a members of the Findings Sub-committee will be present at each commission.

(Continued on page 493)

OPINION

FRIDAY, 22ND NOVEMBER, 1967

Welensky Can't Understand

SPEAKING at Botswana, Southern Rhodesia, last week, Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, disappointed bitterly against the attitudes with which Great Britain gives sovereign independence to the "backward areas of African people" while withholding it from the predominantly White Federation. He just could not understand how this happened. Of course, almost like Strijdom who sees vice and virtue invariably from the perspective of race, Welensky can't understand how real White people in Great Britain cannot take his word against that of the man of colour.

And that is precisely where the *Key's* real difficulty is. He cannot be made to understand the real meaning of the fact that the majority of the world's population is not White, that the non-Whites have as much a right to an effective say on how they shall be ruled as the Whites, that partnership in the Federation is designed to keep the man of colour in the position of the White man's inferior, that no great power in the world can continue to support such a policy in the face of world changes and the mood of the African people themselves.

If Sir Roy threw off his racial blinkers and won the confidence of the African people, Whitehall would give him all the independence he wants tomorrow. But like Strijdom, Sir Roy will not see the most in his eye. And as long as he does not see it he can remain assured that he will never get sovereign independence for the Federation. On the contrary, he might only well drive Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia along the Ghana road.

Strijdom is Still Right

MUCH as we regret the South African government's refusal to accept Ghana's invitation to the "African personality" conference, we realise that the Union did not have much of a choice.

Dr Nkomo's case is that the *indigènes* was going to be attended by sovereignly independent *peuples* in Africa. That explained its somewhat peculiar, *gripoidal* composition. South African representatives would be the only Whites present. Apart from *indigènes*, the *indigènes* in this would lie in the fact that the White Powers in Africa would be slighted and would regard South Africa's participation in such a gathering as not wholly friendly.

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Luthuli, Oppenheimer And Paton

By JORDAN K. HOUSANE

AS these pages are written reports circulate freely that Chief Luthuli is giving very serious consideration to the idea of urging anti-apartheid White voters to support the United Party in the general elections next year.

Apart from being a queer role for the part of the African National Congress, such a course would have repercussions on the anti-apartheid forces which require close study.

On the one hand it has been said that Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, Treasurer of the United Party, met with ANC leaders in Johannesburg not so very long ago. This would suggest that certain people in the United Party regard the ANC as something in the nature of a partner to refuse work in the South African political situation. The ANC's alleged readiness to consider backing the United Party, would in turn, have the appearance of a tactical demonstration of growing strength. The use of this strength for purposes of working even with the United Party could very well demonstrate that the ANC seeks to use its power not to advance what "One Stopper" calls the ends of "Bantu imperialism" but to accelerate movements towards a broader South African settlement in which Black and White would be equal.

Glaring Weaknesses

At the same time it would serve no useful purpose to be blind to the fact that the ANC's attitude, if recent reports reflect the actual position, would be dictated also by glaring weaknesses in its organisation at the moment. It seems probable there has grown inside the movement a dangerous mood of frustration. Some critics from both office here, or during earlier stages of the women's anti-pass fight in Durban, have treated in ways which amount to deliberate abuse some of the high-ranking leaders of the ANC here even coloured to disparagement as the "Dull Milk Gang".

In Natal the attitude has developed to extremes as exemplified by Chief Luthuli's has had to intervene personally to correct imbalances. The ferment is an evidence to Natal. "New Age" now and then publishes letters from Congressmen which are sharply critical of the influence of the Left on the ANC. The process behind these must be strong, as John "New Age" to publish

the letters.

This simmering revolt springs partly from the absence of experienced leadership and partly from what looks like the reluctance of the established leaders to encourage the emergence of new leaders in this neutral in the circumstances created by the recent trials.

Political Leader-Ghost

Added to these handicaps is the new role in which Paramount Chief Cyprian will figure—as political leader-ghost of the Zulus. This will place him in the position of being Chief Luthuli's most dangerous political rival in Natal. There is no reason to believe that Cyprian could ever destroy the ANC in this position. But a Congress inspired by the reaction to the new role and partly by internal frustration on the other would be in a relatively weak position for purposes of leading Natal effectively as against Cyprian and the government.

What then weaknesses do it in the spotlight as what the Congress could hope to get in a marriage of convenience with the United Party if the UP were returned to power—obviously the ANC might be thinking that there is a chance of this happening, otherwise Congressmen would not have considered sitting with a serious change of front—the best it could do would be to stop the rush to place more oppressive laws on the Bantu Book. That would give the ANC a breathing, during which it could settle its internal problems, regroup and prepare for attack on new ground.

Amnesty Bill

If the ANC leaders are convinced, the ANC could hope to see the United Party pass an Amnesty Bill to free them. Beyond this it is difficult to see what tangible good the ANC could hope to get from an alliance with the UP.

Important as these two advantages are at first sight, it must be realised that in any event the United Party would have to do something about stopping the volume of apartheid legislation,

to stabilise the internal situation.

It would also have to do something about those convicted for treason, possibly stage a re-trial, with Swaraj giving the prospect to go overseas. The point I am driving at is that what the United Party could provide the ANC in the circumstances is what it would have to do in any case, to show that it is a democratically determined nation ready to restore racial peace.

Against this background the ANC comes out of the hospital rather badly. If the reports referred to earlier are true what Leuba would have done if he decided for a white face would be to pay Oppenheimer to do what would in any event be the duty of the United Party.

What effect would ANC support of the United Party under these conditions have on the creation of an effective anti-apartheid front.

White Moderates

The ANC would most probably overtake a substantial section of moderate White opinion that it (the ANC) is a "reasonable" body. Moderates have joined United Party. Whether or not these people would reciprocate by joining the anti-apartheid front now is the province of historians in quite a different proposition.

At the same time the Congress white face would be a definite step in the face for the White Liberal, who has been most inspiring in his efforts to support the treason trials. There is no valid reason why the United Party Free could not claim that the African National Congress thinks Oppenheimer a better chap than P. W. Botha. This could quite easily be a distant in the as a separate issue to the left of the United Party which could show some progress towards a united anti-apartheid front.

The problem which arises in these circumstances is: What can the United Party do if it is to be a credible force in the anti-apartheid movement?

Two Ways

It could either carry on its bloody warlike but happened as a moderate decision on the light of what would have happened. On the one hand there would be a way to the party extending itself to be led by the mass by a Congress which

confused expediency with principle. On the other hand there would be little virtue in taking a position which could, if the United Party failed (as it is likely to), be interpreted as a Liberal step in the back for the anti-apartheid front.

For my part the wisest course would be to withdraw the decision to stand for the elections to allow individual members of the Party to do as their consciences dictated and to concentrate on building up the anti-apartheid front in readiness for the bigger battle after the elections if the State is returned in power.

It will not be an easy decision. It might make the Liberal Party look very foolish in the eyes of some people. Most Liberals might argue that they have been and unacceptably by the ANC to advance purely United Party interests. But an argument which seems doubtful here is that the Liberals should not allow themselves to be measured like a trap where they might one day be sprung, wrongly in this case, of having established the anti-apartheid front in the back.

A National Scandal

TWO cases under the Immorality Act reported last week are from Bulwer, Natal, the other from Wolmaransburg—provide further evidence that the administration of this law has become a national scandal which no self-respecting country should tolerate any longer.

In both instances it was the families of two separate trials being held on allegations of immorality between White and Black. One of the parties, the Native woman, pleaded guilty to cohabitation and went to jail, the other party, the White man, is tried later, pleads not guilty, and is acquitted on technical grounds in spite of the testimony of the woman and other witnesses.

In the course of things the defence lawyers two persons who must be equally culpable if there is any culpability at all. It is impossible for one of them to be defence party and possible while the other is found innocent and allowed to go free. With the law—or rather those responsible for the operation of the law—see permit this mockery of common sense in its operation and will not, without a fight, stand back and let the scandal—"Star."

Programme Of Interracial Conference Next Month

(Continued from first page)

The following is the agenda for the Conference:

Tuesday, 3rd December:
9.30 a.m.—1.30 p.m. Plenary session on Human Relations.
3.30 p.m.—6 p.m. 4 commissions on Religion, 4 commissions on Education.

Wednesday, 4th December:
10 a.m.—12 p.m. 4 commissions on Economics, 4 commissions on Civil Rights.

Thursday, 5th December:
10 a.m.—1 p.m. 8 commissions on Political Arrangements.

Agenda

1. Opening program
2. Opening address by Rev. E. F. Mahabane, President of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) on the theme of the Conference:—

"Human Relations in a Multi-racial Society."

Followed by discussion embracing review of the various political themes propounded

during recent years as suitable involving human relations in a multi-racial society.

3. Responsibility of Religious Communities in a multi-racial society.
4. Educational policies for a multi-racial society
5. Economic rights and duties in a multi-racial society.
6. Civil rights and duties in a multi-racial society.
7. Political arrangements in a multi-racial society.

After discussion and findings on items 2—7. Conference should consider:—

8. Necessity for further deliberation and action, and close with
9. Closing address.
10. Closing prayers and benediction.

Reminders of the Conference of African people held under the aegis of IDAMF at Bloemfontein in October 1956, will be presented to the Conference for the information of participants.

Strijdom Is Still Right

(Continued from previous page)

We should like to urge Dr. Mburumba not to give up the idea of a more broadly-based assembly. The idea of an "African personality" come-together is inherently sound and a more representative gathering could produce only the best of results for all concerned.

Nehru And The Children

A RECENT article in the "Daily News," from its correspondent in London, quoted the "Manchester Guardian" as taking Mr. Nehru to task for allowing children to be used for purposes of holding him publicly on his birthday. This was regarded as indicating that the cult of personality had shifted to India.

There is certainly no virtue in publicly indoctrinating children for party political or personal ends. We are certain in our mind that a man who loves children as Mr. Nehru does would oppose that with the utmost vigour. But the point which arises is: What happens when the children, who regard Nehru as their friend, clamour to see him? Over and above this is the "Manchester Guardian's" less than fair comment that the children's demonstrations are a personality cult build up. That statement should be seen against Nehru's decision that no building or public institution should be named after him.

South African Profile

Man In An Iron Lung

MR. CHRISTOPHER GELL, a regular contributor to this journal, was recently honoured by the leading Sunday paper in London, *The Observer*. His life and work were described in a "profile," one of a famous series of articles about the world's foremost men of thought and action.

We reprint the article here, with a salute to *The Observer*.

The man trail for both thousands ever being stilled in South Africa is undoubtedly intended to serve as a warning to Europeans and non-Europeans not to continue in their struggle against the racial policies of the National Government.

The number of whom people prepared to join with non-whites, openly but without reservation, to combat racism is exceedingly small. You could get all of them into a ship's hold.

Yet there are many white South Africans who say about the way things are going. Most of them do nothing about it because they are not members of the conventional racist society to which they belong.

It is, therefore, surprising to find that one of the most determined enemies of racism in South Africa is a man who was born and bred in conventional beliefs. Christopher Gell was deflected by personal catastrophe from a life which might otherwise have been careerist and perhaps bettered.

Except for a few hours a day he spends all his life in an iron lung. He was born in Edinburgh in 1917 and was paralysed by poliomyelitis when in the Pacific with the Indian Civil Service twelve years later. Now living in the big front room of a suburban house in Port Elizabeth on the Cape Coast, a South African citizen-made because he would not join in an accident in a private light, he gives virtually all his conscious moments to writing articles for South African and British papers and *London* to Editors which raise the authorities, expose the bogus liberal and make it abundantly clear that he is on the side of those who favour the emancipation of non-Europeans.

He was not brought up to believe like this. His father was a Captain in the Royal Navy. The family background was firmly Conservative; Dame Plummer Bingham is Christopher's maternal aunt.

Although he was turned aside from the Navy by poor eyesight, Gell was not driven into self-defensive isolation against the idea of leadership based on a specialised class training. In the Army Staff at Wellington and later at Cambridge, he was severely touched by those horse-drawn man whom tradition had contemptuous.

The Indian Civil Service was his own final choice. But he still saw himself going out as a sort of head perfect, guided in doing his duty towards Indians by certain acquired principles. He did all his service in the Punjab. He can remember being dimly aware of things that were wrong, but he felt very little, and curiously did nothing, about them. On the contrary, he says now that he was "naughty and obstinate, treating people who ought not to have been bullied."

He had married in Lahore an attractive South African girl, English settler in background and outlook, whom he had met when she was working as a physiotherapist in London. His wife, Muriel, has nursed him always, even when he was in hospital. Doctors have deferred to his opinion and speak with awe of Gell's survival and endurance at things not anatomically possible. Besides looking after him through the years, unshakable schools of his day, she runs the house and runs most of the living. Also she has come to share her husband's ideas, which, having regard to her attitudes South African background, is almost remarkable at his own conversion.

They went out to South Africa in 1947 to escape the English winter. With a pension of only £156 a year Gell took up unpaid partly to earn money and partly as therapy. The surviving members were just enough to let him use a typewriter propped up on his propped-up legs.

He began by having an opinion. His early judgments were led by the later ones give of his old respect for established authority.

It is not easy to explain Gell's

change of mind. He himself suggests that, although he had never stopped to think about what he was doing in India, the first seeds of doubt were sown before his illness. Enlightenment and anger set in progressively, helped by his second-up Indian reports and all the suffering and long periods of anasthetic contemplation he was going through. But the positive Gell ultimately came to rule up was largely the result of his severe concerns for truth. When he writes he is led by the moral judgments of a man who has been compelled to consider what he must do with the fragments of his life to him.

It is said sedulously when by the *Times* that Gell's criticism of South Africa's race policy is based on ignorance. But there are few people who know more about the country than Gell. At first he acquired his knowledge by reading everything he could lay his hands on. Gradually he built up a considerable network of correspondents who wrote to him from all parts of Africa. When he became better known all kinds of people opened the door to him to get to him at the Gell bedside. Africa, India and Ceylon had leaders, while newspaper editors and correspondents, frustrated liberals, even worried members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

His courage and acceptance led him to conceive and launch a journal and edit a publication, the *Africa X-Ray* Digest, which came to be known as one of the best-informed intelligence reports on the affairs of the African continent.

It was natural that at times the political police should come around to see Gell and to question him about his "anarchy." They were clearly embarrassed and have never been back. The signature of Dame Plummer Bingham is far from being a Commemorative. He is willing to work beside anyone

who publicly states racial discrimination. By the same token he welcomes admiration from those whose liberals who repeat discrimination as they do not see to these levels.

His relationship with the African and Indian Congresses is as complete as they are willing to make it. If the leaders come to his bedside and ask for advice he gives it, he never offers it, because he thinks that would be "obnoxious." Ordinary Africans think the world of their champion and and some go in for it. Some think that his fabulous knowledge comes to him suddenly when he lies in the moribund that his his knows with a rhythmic chanting. They just call him "Christopher." And when the leaders come they heard and someone starts making a speech condemning all whites, a white is ever to about: "What about Christopher?"

There is very little left of Christopher's long body under the blanket. All his vitality is crowded into his head. His eyes flash with life and we behind glasses he is always radiating on a bulbous nose. One of the long he becomes increasingly using extremely developed atomic-muscles to hold up his thousand eyes and let the air flow into him. He talks continuously, trying to get from every breath the maximum number of words. Yet he is so relaxed, unimpeded and so humorous that one thinks of him only as an air conditioner whom the doctor is keeping unnecessarily in bed. As a private and public man, his constant batch of letters to a girlfriend live on the floor, usually above the blanket with him.

Gell does not pretend that he is wholly frustrated in his crippled-down life that every day hangs on the balance. He is sure to go into hospital and whether he recovers or not again is not in question. But whatever life is left to him he remains absorbed by what he is doing and is happy in it most of the time. There were few many battles, troubled with South African who almost every line.

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People In Lo Du Plessis Said

FIFTY-SIXTH of Prof. J. J. du Plessis's defence of
various Apartheid Bill before a London audience
directly opened arguments which Mr. Viljoen, Minister
tion, had used last May in piloting it through its
in the House of Assembly.

His audience gave him a
poor reception.

Professor du Plessis, of Pot-
chefstroom University, had
been flown over by the sponsors
of the meeting and accommo-
dated in a London hotel for
three days so that he could
present the South African Gov-
ernment viewpoint—at a cost
which he himself estimated as
approaching £400.

Before reaching his 30-minute
summary of 10, Viljoen's
arguments, he gave his audience
the historical reference to the
original speech—as it is likely
that the London critics could
have had the lot on far cheaper
terms.

The meeting was held on
Saturday evening and attended
by about 350 persons, including

a number of non-
practically the whole
apparently having
associations—was
the committee of
Freedom in South
Africa Association of U.
Teachers.

Professor du P.
volunteered to be
led unilaterally by
Dr. J. E. Holloway,
African High
London, had
the case or so and
emitted to do so.

Five professors and
Michael Scott—put
the United
early two hours
Mr. Viljoen's Bill.

Among the anti-
was Prof. W. Koster,
from Deft to protest
opinion.

Another was Prof.
Kirkwood, who was
University of the
and, taught at the
of Natal and is now
at Race Relations
Anthony's College, C.

He and Mr. Scott
over the 15 minutes
each speaker.

After all that . . .
Plessis—who had been
ly hailed by the
audience college and
issued in the law, . . .
at an audience (which
ceded by three

He pronounced in his
pleasantries that he
to create an
followed up by
Michael Scott did not
be as wild as to
out in his M
back home.

The lecturer was
silent at first but
tasted some of his
with bursts of scornful
and cries of "Shame,"
du Plessis was still in
when his time
delivered his own
fare minutes or two.

"I can say," he
thick Mr. Stofboom
Voorwoud are more
stilled to Stille (used
and calls of hear,

Indian Firm Lends £158,000 To African Traders

AN Indian commercial firm
has lent the Northern
Rhodesian African Chamber of
Commerce and Industry—with
a capital membership of 21,000
—an amount of £158,000 in-
terest free over 20 years. Mr.
John Tsembe, president-
general of the African Chamber,
told members of a conference
recently.

The loan was granted only
this year after talks with an
official of the Indian firm who
few and to Northern Rhodesia,
said Mr. Tsembe.

The money will be used to
build offices for the chamber
and for other developments.

No Politics

"But," he told the meeting,
"If the various branches of the
chamber do not stop mixing
politics with business and con-
tinuing to cause trouble, the
money will be returned."

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a well-organized and pro-
fessional association and not the
arena of mouth-political or
otherwise—that the white races
happens want to make it,"
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S.A. Journal of Economics—S. F. Van Der Merwe	1	0

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n Laughed When ijdom A Democrat

"But I know them well and they are Westerners and Democrats (some too) and Christians. Their ideal is to develop the Coloured people to self-determination in all respects. But they think this can only be done gradually and democratically. It requires racial hatreds are developed for the (wrong) racial groups. We are prepared to do it in South Africa among the various groups and give to each full control in its own racial territory as is the basis of every Western nation. The problem was well explained to me by the white man. About forty-five minutes of discussion

followed during which several questions were put for him.

Reply

In his reply Professor du Plessis said: "We do not believe in the inferiority of any race (nations). We only want conservatives that suit the national character as you have in England and America (laughter). If I were in England or America I would be an internationalist too. The Negro, Indian and coloureds, if it is proved, would destroy our national character (burst of protest—a voice: "They were there before you").

New Group Areas Crimes

By the Political Correspondent of the "Star".

THE Group Areas Act, which came into force in its revised and consolidated form on November 1, is being used to apply statutory apartheid for the first time in contrabandments and social matters. Witkiesio apartheid in these fields has been observed either by conversation or (as in Johannesburg) in terms of notices issued by local authorities.

Now all races are prohibited, except under permit, from attending public meetings, restaurants, taverns or clubs in areas belonging to other races.

A proclamation simply says that to do these things constitutes "unlawful" and the Act prohibits occupation of an area except by the race for whom it is designated.

The proclamation does not make it clear whether the law would apply to a cinema building which was being used to present a play, not a film.

I am told on high authority that it will apply to the building, for whatever purpose it is used, but that it "would not be difficult to get an exemption."

Permits

Already, I understand, some restaurants have permits to open their doors to more than one race. The intention is not to make hardship but to bring the situation under control.

The proclamation will also make it impossible for interracial clubs to carry on except under permit. In view of all criticism against such institutions from responsible men in the Government it seems unlikely that permits will be forthcoming.

With this proclamation are others which cover the prohibi-

tion against employing non-Whites in supervisory, executive or technical capacities and Whites, except as permit. They also prohibit Whites from working in group areas designated for other races, again except as permit.

Mrs. Pandit's Message To N.I.C.



In a short and terse message to the N.I.C. Conference Mrs. Pandit says:

"The fact that I have always been deeply concerned about the deteriorating conditions of the non-white people of South Africa is very well known in and outside Africa. I feel that it is the people of South Africa themselves to conduct their struggle on principles of truth and non-violence."

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Some Facts About Kenya

MR. FENNER BROOKWAY, the British M.P., recently wrote in "Times News" analysing the new situation in Kenya after the Mau Mau. Some of the facts he dug up and which we reproduce below shed valuable light on what goes on in that country at the moment.

The facts which I have checked with the Colonial Office are:

	Population
Adenese	5,800,000
Arabs	150,000
Europeans	10,000
Asiatics	25,000

Membership of Legislative Council

Adenese (direct)	1
Adenese (indirect) Non-Muslims	6
Non-Muslims	3
Europeans	16
Asiatics (direct 1, indirect 1)	2

Industry and Agriculture

Domestic Europeans	8
--------------------	---

Government Members

Non-Muslim members	25
--------------------	----

(5 Europeans officials, 7 Other Europeans, 2 Adenese.)

2 Asiatics (1 non-Muslim, 1 Muslim), 1 Arab.

European ex-officio members (advisers)

Three Europeans among the royal representatives,	1
--	---

two Asiatics and one Arab, one Muslim and one non-Muslim.

There is a further elected by the Legislative Council.

It is unlikely this membership will get any considerable results.

1. Half the members are composed of ex-officio.

2. Of the Government Party of 25, no fewer than 25 are composed of ex-officio. This gives the Government a permanent majority of six.

3. The Racial Groups provide:

1 African for each	750,000 of their population
1 Asian for each	25,000 of their population
1 Arab for each	15,000 of their population
1 European for each	4,153 of their population

4. The racial composition of the total membership of the Legislative Council is: Europeans 27, Africans 26, Asians 3, Arabs 3. This gives:

1 African for each	250,000 of their population
1 Asian for each	18,750 of their population
1 Arab for each	10,000 of their population
1 European for each	1,057 of their population

Bursary For Indian Doctors

THE Board of Rajaw Selatun Election Charitable Trust has decided to make available six Medical Scholarships to Indian Students for the next Academic year. The successful candidates to attend the Medical School of Westerstend University, Johannesburg.

Applicants from suitably qualified candidates must be lodged with the Secretary of the Board, P.O. Box 705, Potchefstroom, on or before the 15th December, 1957.

1. The scholarship will include cost of tuition, books and incidentals.

2. Applications for admission to the University must be submitted direct to the Registrar of the Medical School, University of the Witwatersrand, Special Bldg, Johannesburg, on or before the 15th December, 1957.

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

MR. NEHRU'S PLEA

THE Prime Minister during that no request should be made to him for using his voice in connection with any 'initiative'.

"From time to time I receive requests for the use of my name in connection with some institution. I shall be grateful if no such requests are made. I am deeply of opinion that career of living persons should not be used in this way," he said.

China Issue May Come Up At I.L.O. Conference

The "China issue" which disrupted the present International Red Cross Conference, is expected to figure at the current I.L.O. Asian Regional Conference, it is learnt.

India is understood to have given notice of a resolution concerning the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to ensure that China is represented at the conference by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

China has not been invited to send a tripartite delegation to the conference and expresses the view that the absence of the true representatives of one of the largest countries of the Asian region detracts from the valuable conclusions of the conference.

China is a member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and of the Asian Regional Conference but is represented by the Government of Formosa.

Invitation to the conference are issued by the Governing Body, and Formosa has been invited. Committees of Government delegates, it is explained here, cannot be considered at the conference, while those of employers' and workers' delegates can be considered only on the basis that they are not the 'real' representative organisations.

While Government China is, thus, not officially represented at the conference, two of its trade union representatives are attending the conference as observers. They have come on

behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a body which has consultative status with the I.L.O.

Right Of Occupation Extension Lectures

The speeches at the banquet given in Lisbon in honour of General Sebastião Mota, President of Portugal, are a very interesting one on the policy pursued by Portugal. Portuguese hardly feel inclined to learn of the complete identity of interest between the economy and Portugal.

The Portuguese President spoke of two countries as being 'victims of similar methods of aggression.' Here the most ardent advocate of a balanced world must admit the truth of this remark. Portugal is after all a colonial power. It has no other right to be in Goa apart from that established by military conquest.

The identity sought to be established by the Portuguese President only gives an edge to India's contention that Portugal's status in "East Kashmir" is no better than that of Portugal in Goa. The only difference is that Goa was occupied four hundred years ago whereas the Portuguese occupation of "East Kashmir" is ten years old and as all the more untenable.

Was any advocate stronger in favour of the case of Portugal and Portugal? In the occupation of territory which do not belong to her to each other.

Unsparring Work Nehru

Mr. E. M. S. Gokhale, Ambassador to India, New Delhi said Mr. Nehru gives "unsparringly of his" in making possible the "dignous achievement" in credit of India since her independence.

Speaking at a Nehru dinner held by the United Nations Youth Association, Gokhale said "I venture to say that none of us for his (Nehru's) ability is equal to people's sense of dignity feeling that they had won themselves the capacity to do their destiny, not all great progress would have been possible."

Mr. G. K. Pillai, Union Minister for Orissa and former President, and Mr. G. B. Sankar, India's Ambassador in Washington, were also on the occasion, also spoke on personality and action. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, is "consolidating India and raising India's status in the world."

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The Nursing Apartheid Debate

(Continued from page 354)

are not capable of carrying the responsibilities it can use them having a confidence. It has been said both by the medical and nursing professions that non-Europeans cannot be left to take charge of things because they are not fit to do so. We want therefore to give them training that would fit them for work in their own hospitals. The sense of responsibility of a European and a non-European were in different because their outlook on life is different and we must therefore train them differently if we in the end want them to have the same sense of responsibility. Once you train them differently you must regard them differently."

Adv. Ven. K. R. Narayana: "We are asking for this right for any one person is for Europeans and another for non-Europeans, from which the right to keep separate registers will be derived. Instead, if we are going to give different treatment we will have to register them separately. They will have the same education, but they will have a different syllabus which will correspond to the European syllabus. It will be a basic and practical syllabus which

will be of help to the non-Europeans as such. The content have one standard for a highly developed race and the same for a lower developed race."

Adv. Sankar: "More emphasis should be placed on the psychological and anthropological aspects of non-Europeans work, to give orientation to the differing aspect of her training course. A separate syllabus for the non-Europeans will only be the start to the European syllabus in the course of two-thirds."

(To be continued)

Inanda Indian Welfare Society

The postponed fourth annual Dinner Sports of the Inanda Indian Welfare Society was held on the Inanda Indian School grounds on Sunday, 17th November, 1957 under ideal weather conditions.

Mr. E. Ranganathan, Vice President of the Society, announced a warm welcome to everyone. **Mr. G. Mangray,** President, was the Chairman of Sports. **Mr. H. H. Ranganathan,** a pillar of the Society and a prominent member of the community presented the prizes. **Mr. South East,** hon. secretary secured a vote of thanks. Refreshments were provided to all.

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નવી સત્તાથી આફ્રિકનો સાવધ છે

૬ ખ યાપના માણ તંબી ચી. રવેશચંદર કે જેણી યાજમા વાંઠન છે તેણેજિ 'વેડ' લેખમાં જણાવ્યું છે જે, "આઝાદી અને રાજકીય સત્તા વિશેની જે કડવે અનુભવો છે તેને સર્થે લેખની માધ્યમના ધીન-કોરાસમાં પોતી અને હુડ પુઠાને વધારેનો જોગ થાય છે. રાજકીય માનવને હોપે કિંકે કોઈક સ્વાધિકરેણે" વગળા જેવડા પોઠા વચ્ચેની પાણું ફેરવી નાખ્યું છે. ઠરી જાણુવામાં આવેતી આખી જેની રાજકીય નિતી ગોસલે લખેલી રાખલ કરવામાં આવી રહી છે, અને એણે તેને કદાત પોતાના નોકરે તંબીજિન નાખે છે.

આ નિર્ણય સારી, જરૂર રીતે અમલમાં આવી રહી છે. અને નિર્ણય અનુસાર થવા બધું છે. તમારે ગેરસ રાખવીથી: ખોલે ખોલે જોતાં અમલ નહીં હોય. રાજીવાણી ને પદની શોધ-ખોળી જાણવું પડતી રહ્યા છે.

જાણીએને કવે યાને છે કે,
 જો કેાણે ને જાણી કવેા છે કે,
 કવે જિજાના કહેા: માટે માત્ર
 ન જીએ તો જાણ/યાજા કવેા
 પડેા.

અને હવે તે ક્રિયાતીત્ર મતે
જાવ છે. ઉચ્ચા ચર્ચામાં અમ
ભાગીદાર, શ્રીમોના પદા સાથે
મુખ્ય વિરોધ, અને પુનર્ગીતના
હક માટેની યોર દાર મુદ્દાઓ.

આચાર્યશ્રીના અધ્યક્ષતા પરીણામ
થી આશ્ચર્યના પાતેજ આયર્ષ
અમિત સવા હતાં. આ સફળતા
થી તેઓ આચાર્યશ્રીના આજ્ઞા
તરફ આજ્ઞા તરફથી સંતોષા. તે

મિત્રો! કહે છે "એ જગદે
કેવલ મયો છે." ઉદ્ગેષ્યમણી
વ્યવસ્થા મનનાં નિર્ણય પર
જન્ય છે. જ્યારે મિત્રો મિત્રો
જન્ય છે ત્યારે કલેષમણી મિત્રો
જન્ય છે કાલની વચ્ચે તેને જાણે
કે જાને વચ્ચેની જિંદગી તેજસ
મિત્રોની વચ્ચેની જાણના તેમાં
જિંદગી છે.

આ નવી વાગવાના અગ્રે હું
પરીણામ આપું ? કહેવડની

પણીમાં વધારો થયો ચિંતા
કાચની ફેબ્રિકાને તેમના
સમાક્ષને ટેકો છે એવી જાનવાર,
અને નેશનલિસ્ટોને પોતામાં
અતીશય છે એવી અમર.

જામાવામાં બી. રહેન સહે છે કે, 'આ જાણવાને ટેકો મળે! તે કાચુ તેનો જાને છે કે સ્પષ્ટિમાં ખરડમાં બીજો વર્ણુ સઘી શાસ્ત્રીય જાણવણી દેખાઈ રહી છે.

મોઢાક થયો બાક આ જાગવા
વધુ તાપી જમણી જાડી બાને
આપણે માફ નહીં છોડ તેટલું
આરિફત મેલીક બલ જમણું
જાડી.

ले कार्यरत आदिवासी नेताओं का मतलबी इच्छा दर्शवाते नहीं वरन् वे यही प्रमाण प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं कि आदिवासी भाई एक ही हैं।"

કે હોને યાદ ભાવણી ક્યાં મુઠી ચો
ભાવણી ક્યાં રહીયું? મોલી પાઠા
નિા અને રેલ માર્ગે ભાવણીને પાઠા
રહુ કે અને યાદે યાદે પાઠામિને
પાઠા રેલોને પાઠા.

હવે જરૂર મેલણા થઈ નાવરોડે
ડેરણા પડે નાવરોડે રાખવું! ને
ડેરણાના રાણી પડે પુરોડે પડે નહીં
મેરે મેલણા પડે! રાખ પડે ડેરણા
નાવરોડે થઈ નાવરોડે.

આપજીવ્યાંથી મેં આજ રૂઝ આજ
 જોયું કે કે દુનિયામાં મારી સુખસ
 છે, એ તે વિચારની પામજીવ્યાંથી નહીં
 પરીજીવે છે. આવી આપણે ઈશ્વર
 ના મેલમાં પડે આજ રૂઝથી કે
 મેલે આજ વિચારને કાળ ન આપણી
 તેમજ સજીવ્યાંથી વિચાર છે.

ਸਫ਼ਾਅ ਨਹਿਨਿ ਸਫ਼ਾਅ ਹਰੀਸ਼ੀਧੀ ਅ
ਭਾਸੀਓ ਭਵੀਃ ਘਰੀਃ ਸਿਵਦੁਖਭਰਿ
ਭਾਸੀਓ ਸਿਵਦੁਖਭਰੀ ਨਹਿਃ ਘਰੁ ਭੀ

આ અડી કાગિરોએ મેદાન કે
મેંને કુતીયાની કાંઠી જણાવી પૂરી કે
તેણે મારાથી અંધ મારાન કાઠીની
જાખોને કાઢીને, જીંમે પડેલો કે જ
નહીં, બેજાણીને કુતીરો ત્યજી જાયો
કાંમે પડીજાય જાયો.

आदर्श शिक्षण

Garrett

[illegible]

મોટા ભાગી કે અર્ધનિર્ભર મિટરો
કામ કરવાની કસોટી. આપણને કામ
જમ કે રોક પડાવે જવું છે. જવું
રહેશે તેમ. અર્ધનિર્ભર કામ એટલે પાસા
થાં ને પાસાઓનાં જ રહે છે. કોઈ
રહેશે નવજુદાન નથી. નવી પાસા એને
(પરજીયાન થઈ જાય છે તેમજ જ.)

બેઠક પ્રધાન સામે રાજ્યજનો પ્રકાશ

ଆ ବୃଦ୍ଧି, ଯଦି ଜାମଦି
ବଦଳାଯିବା ବାଡ଼ି ଗଲେ
କରିବେ

કર્તા બાપણે તમારા પાપથી મોક્ષ
દે બાપણે પશ્ચાદ્ધર્મ, તમા
કર્તા બાપણે તમા બાપણે દર્શી
પ્રજ્ઞા દે તમા પાપે બાપણે મોક્ષ
કર્તા બાપણે પાપે દે, તમા જેલ જેલ
તમા બાપણે મોક્ષ દર્શી મોક્ષ
મોક્ષ મોક્ષ મોક્ષ મોક્ષ મોક્ષ

પિટામની શેડિઁ બાપુએ મેરુ
ભરેલા નરે બાપુએ ૩, બીજાની
શેડિઁની રહેલ, બાપુએ ૩ નરુ
એ રહેલા બાપુએ ૩ રહેલ બાપુએ
૩ નરુ.

પરિણામ: અભ્યાસમાં મળેલ ચકાસણીથી એ સ્પષ્ટ થયું છે કે ગુજરાતના અગ્રણી કવિઓએ જોયેલા અને લખેલા ગદ્યના અભ્યાસથી આપણને ગદ્યના અભ્યાસમાં મોટું ફાયદો મળે છે.

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(φ -adic) p -adic π -adic π -adic

કચ્છના વિશેષ કાર્ય નહીં બાંધવામાં
આવે તો, પણ તે બાંધવામાં
પાસના ભેદથી સુરક્ષિત રહેવા કો
યે તે રહેવાની કલ્પના.

ચીજ ટેન્કો કે સહકારકી ભંડુ
કામ. મોર્ટલ કુખ ટેન્કો સેટ કામ
તે તે માન. કામ નવાને ન દેલ
કે ખબ આલ નીવના કુખથી લઈ
તેને પણ રૂપ નીવે તરી ન તે ખબ
માન.

[illegible]

Deep it is as we sleep, feather
It, dash it with gold, lace
it, and ring snaggling song
about it, what it was, now
sings out of us, but murder
is unknown!

—Douglas Jerrold

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933. Former Editors: Madan Lal Gandhi—1933-1956.

No. 46 —Vol. LV.

Friday, 25th November, 1957

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CONVICTS, DACOITS HOLD UNIQUE CONFERENCE IN INDIA

HISTORY was made last week in an Indian city when perhaps for the first time in the world spokesmen of prisoners and ex-convicts mounted the rostrum of an unusual conference and gave solemn pledges to society that they would become useful and law abiding citizens.

The occasion was the Convicts and Ex-convicts Conference—a new psychological experiment undertaken by the U.P. State Government. Three speakers, a man and a woman undergoing imprisonment and a discharged prisoner, gave this assurance because they said they were now being treated by society not as condemned men but as human beings who needed understanding and help for their rehabilitation. The dignity and self-confidence with which they spoke indicated that they meant what they said.

Thirty three convicts, 25 men and 8 women, sat in the conference hall with 32 ex-convicts like delegates of any other conference. The prisoners on parole wore Gandhi caps and were dressed in hand-spun and woven clothes. They could not be distinguished from the social workers also attending the conference.

Patients

Inaugurating the session, Dr. Sampurnanand, the State's Chief Minister, said that as psychologists and men concerned with the practical

sides of jail administration, they had to realize that they could not change society in a day. They had to look upon those in their charge as patients suffering from ailments that could well have been avoided if society had been a little more considerate and far-sighted and a little less callous. Now they had to send these men out with their personalities repaired, with frustration and irritation washed out of their minds, so that they are willing to live and work as normal citizens.

Dr. Sampurnanand said, "We can certainly lay claim to having carried out some bold experiments in prison reforms. We have had open air camps with several thousand prisoners working in open air like other labourers with the barest possible minimum of jail officers to supervise them," he said.

... The Government, he added, was allowing the prisoners to go home on parole at harvest season and the privileges thus conferred had not been misused. The number of escapes was insignificant.

Happy Experience

He said, "Our experience with first offenders released on probation has been equally happy. We sent some of our prisoners to work at Sariya in Benares where a new bridge was being constructed over the Varuna. It was a mixed camp where our men were to work in company with free labour, composed of a large proportion of women.

"We are confident that Indian culture, which has been imbued into them and their fathers for centuries would give them the strength to withstand any temptation. Yet we know that the experiment was

fraught with danger. But to our infinite relief not a single unwise incident happened," he added.

A convict, Pratap Bahadur, who was convicted for dacoity and undergoing a sentence of 15 years' rigorous imprisonment, said he was attending the conference as a free man and was happy to be in the galaxy of social reformers.

Duty

A women convict, Ganga Devi, said "I may be a good or evil element, but the fact is that I belong to society and it is the duty of society to reform me, if I am on the wrong path.

Ganga Devi was convicted for murdering her husband.—I.S.I.

Former Governor Says No Desire For Dictatorship In Ghana

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE, formerly Governor of the Gold Coast, said in London that there was no desire for dictatorship in Ghana, nor was there anyone who would make an effective dictator.

He told the Royal Empire Society that as effective opposition was now emerging in India, which had had many years of independence.

There had been two failures in Ghana. There was no African-trained civil service and the local government system was not re-organized in time.

Seven years before self-

government was achieved, the Convention People's Party had been demanding it.

"I don't know whether it would have been possible to slow things down and still retain their goodwill. If that goodwill had been lost I wonder if Ghana would still be a member of the Commonwealth," Sir Charles added.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 25TH NOVEMBER, 1987

Tightening The Screw On Apartheid

AT his conference in Durban recently the Natal Indian Congress resolved that 'the time has now arrived to consider whether democratic South Africans should not issue a world-wide appeal for an international boycott of South Africa in the field of sports and culture.' This is a courageous decision with which we are in hearty agreement.

The race oppressor is successful in this country not because he is very clever or very strong. Brains and strength he certainly has. But over and above these he is successful because his opponents have for too long believed that they were too weak. It has needed forty-five years of unending struggle by the African people to make the descent in the non-African groups realise that the race oppressor, after all, is not as invincible as he imagines he is. It required the resistance movement to convince all democrats that their united will is the most powerful single force with the capacity to overthrow apartheid.

Time Turns

Since that demonstration events have been steadily moving in the direction of turning the tide against apartheid. At this moment in history we can soberly say that the tide has at last begun to turn against apartheid. This has happened not because the apartheidists are undergoing a change of heart. It has happened because of the increasingly relentless pressure put on the Nonwhites by men and women of democratic persuasion on both sides of the colour line. It is this pressure, exerted with increasing determination over a widening area in the life of the nation, which alone will destroy apartheid and make this a land fit for free men, women and children.

In calling for this pressure on the international plane the Natal Indian Congress merely reinforced a trend which already holds our bright prospects for ending apartheid to see a little more reason. Just how bright was shown a few weeks ago by the one-man battle waged against apartheid by the spirited chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Alan Paton. In his attack on the cultural colour bar he was able to persuade Yehudi Menuhin to place the advocates of discrimination based on race in cultural matters in a very slight spot. We supported Mr. Paton warmly then because we saw in his action the launching of the offensive against race discrimination. His move, we are satisfied, has focussed a lot of attention on the cultural colour bar. We need to focus more world attention on apartheid. The NIC resolution is important precisely because it does this.

(Continued on next page)

Comment On Men And Events

Time For Changed ANC Policy

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

FOR quite a number of years now informed observers have known that there was very serious trouble in the ranks of the African National Congress. In recent months "New Age" has had to fight what was largely a lone battle to stabilise the whole position. Just even these efforts, beside as they have been, have not stopped the seepage in the Treasury. It was only to be expected that faced with a visible crisis the best "New Age" could do would be to tell the country the truth. And in its issue of November 21 "New Age" has done just this.

It is of the greatest importance that the real nature of the ANC crisis should be gone into if the most effective action is to be found.

On the other hand the basis on the leaders of the ANC and subsequently the reasons which imposed crippling strains on the functioning of the movement. On the other, even if that trouble had not arisen, the ANC was heading for an internal crisis of its own. The whole slowly delayed it. The explosion in the Treasury, where a number of branches have virtually passed a vote of no confidence in the provincial executive, is merely the symptom that was bound to come, sooner or later.

New Factor

In the resistance movement the African people introduced a new factor in the South African political situation. This was the initial will of democrats on both sides of the colour line. Apart from African Nationalism, the will was the strongest single force capable of destroying apartheid. Its emergence constituted a new aspect of the value of the ANC as a force in politics, with the light against apartheid. People from the Left, the Centre and the Right across the ANC in this new light. Events convinced them that the ANC was then strong enough to be one of the principal guarantors of racial peace and democracy in this country. That, in turn, started a rush to win the support of the ANC.

Unfortunately, this rush imposed strains on the government which was later to prove fatal. The ANC has never been a political party. It has always been what the Left call a national liberation movement. In its ranks it had men and women from the Right, the Centre and the Left—all united by the desire to overthrow race oppression. The various pressures created

as the various sections in the ANC accentuated the ideological differences among the organisation's component groups—with the result that ideological group consciousness was intensified as it had never been before.

Struggle For Power

This could have only one effect: the intensification of the struggle for power inside the movement. And this, in turn, forced the ANC with the raising of the danger of split. The Left wing of the movement severely tested itself gravitating in the direction of the Left in the other sections of the nation. The Centre and the Right also sought their sides.

This process had just started when the Treasury crisis came. They had the immediate effect of making the existing sections. But as the truth deepened, the situation began to come to light. People who had never supported the President's Charter wholeheartedly began to find that they had been tricked and "tripped" by the Left. The national-minded Africans denounced it as an instrument by which the Left had succeeded in destroying the leadership of the African people and in turning the ANC into a branch of the so-called Congress movement.

For example when the Natal African Congress, under pressure from the Natal Indian Congress, "abandoned" the apartheid bar imposed by Durban Africans to support their leaders at Alexandra Township, very many members of the ANC began to feel it was time they changed their course. Critical voices were raised inside the movement. Domination of the ANC by the Left was denounced with increasing vigour. It was enough on this tide of criticism that "New Age" itself was forced to publish, now and then, letters in which the Leftist influence was attacked.

"New Age"

This was a very significant development. "New Age" had been foremost in encouraging the ANC's shift to the Left; in honouring the Freedom Charter; in supporting the so-called Congress Movement; in denouncing everybody from the ranks of liberalism to African nationalism.

When the treason trials came the people who had shouted themselves hoarse in condemnation of the liberals found that they could raise funds for the treason suspects only in a limited way. The decision by the liberals to help by raising funds for the defence and maintenance of the accused exposed the real weakness of the Left. The Left had virtually pulled Chief Lutshuij by the nose to trouble and was not able to do much to see him out of it. Capitalist money was asked to keep the suspects defended and well looked after. And the liberals were the only people capable of providing that money. All that brought out the real weakness of the Left.

Matthei was not impressed by the whispering campaign run by the Left against Chief Lutshuij, personally. In letters read in Cape Town some of his Left-wing "to be sure" the most cruel things were written against him. In other letters, which have since fallen into the hands of his closest advisers, he continued to do himself

the Freedom Charter rejected completely as a statement of ANC policy. If there is need for a Charter, that of the United Nations has a lot to commend it.

Sheltered Case

The real point which emerges is all this, however, is that underlying the difficulties just described is the fact that the African National Congress is in trouble because it has been too slow to realise that there is no longer room for an organisation which speaks its doors to members of one race only, the tide of apartheid. Up to the time of the resistance movement there was a certain case for an exclusively African Congress. But the success of the resistance movement shattered that case.

The forces of democracy are no longer to be led along racial canals. The leaders of the ANC know this. They know, also, that the people they lead know this. But they are afraid of opening their doors to all races lest the African Nationalists are given the green light.

Behind the leaders of the ANC are behaving like typical politicians. Only they are anathetic. They are in the Drill Hall, most of the time. They are for non-segregation and yet still hesitate to tell their people that a multi-racial Congress is the monumental capable of leading democracy at the moment. Instead of doing this they have taken the democratic road of asking the ANC to be a part of the Council of Churches Movement and to this way ended the pride of their own community and introduced internal dissension.

Political Anathemism

One of the things the multi-racial conference in Johannesburg might do would be to make the ANC, with its present movement a political anathemism. But if the ANC opens its doors to all real democrats, it might still play a decisive role in South Africa.

The letters which all of us are mentioning will be built by all the votes waiting to gather in mixed organisations. To be group-conscious in the circumstances created by the serious trials and apartheid's modern art to fuel internal trouble, it is, in fact, suicidal. But if Congress wants to lead again, that will entail complete rejection of the Freedom Charter. It will entail withdrawal from the Congress Movement.

or, it will entail a complete re-orientation of outlook. The question this raises is: Will Chief Lutshuij have the courage

to lead Congress in the direction demanded by the present state of relations between Black and White?

Tightening The Screw On Apartheid

(Continued from previous page)

Sectional Lines

But tightening the screw against apartheid cannot succeed if it is done along sectional lines. There are people in this country and abroad who will listen only when the Left speaks. Others will listen only when they hear voices fresh from the Centre. There are others also who can understand only the language of the Right. To enlist the maximum sympathy of all these people it is of the greatest importance that South African democrats should abandon sectionalism and realise that they are most effective only when they speak as democrats; not democrats of the Left, Centre or Right.

We are glad that this fact is being appreciated with increasing clarity by the enemies of apartheid. It is this appreciation which has made it possible for all democrats to support so magnificently the treason trials fund, for example. It has also facilitated the calling of the multi-racial conference. And if the democrats stand together in their appeal to world opinion, it is absolutely certain that they will succeed. Let little time be wasted in making discussion on how best to make this appeal.

Gabriel remembers

Just the other day, as I sit in my room, Mr. Gabriel Nkomo, who was also looked out of the Natal provincial presidency when the ANC held its conference in Maritzburg. The criticism levelled against his presidential speech, the attack on his executive's report all showed clearly that his days were numbered.

In all the time the Left is actually trying to support criticism of it, to coach independent thinking and to force the ANC to the Freedom Charter line. There is now a definite trend against Lutshuijism in the ANC. It is this trend which goes a long way to explain the present trouble of the ANC.

Efforts are being made in the Transvaal to patch the developing rift. They might succeed, they might not. But it is quite clear now that there is a definite and growing cleavage of African opinion which wants

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Bombay Hunger Marches And Queues Revive War-Time Memories

LONG queues and a scramble for food grains at low-price shops in Bombay and hunger marches in four or five other states, revived memories of war-time shortages and rationing. The highlight was an suddenly raised up a precarious food shortage, generally caused by flood, drought and scarcity, that the country appeared to take a holiday from the foreign exchange crisis hovering over India's planners.

As long as the country has to depend upon a foreign accession, which moved funds in some parts of the country and failed partially in other this year, self-sufficiency will continue to be a mirage. As it turns out, the crisis has been brought about as well by an unrealistic, unrealistic approach to planning, as a natural two per cent increase in the population actually not a substantial change in the pattern of consumption.

Preliminary figures indicated an increase of 20.8 per cent in the food production during the First Five-Year-Plan. Later, the increase proved to be only 15.7 per cent or 7.5 million tons against a target of 7.5 million tons. Because of natural factors, the range of variation in production is often as high as 7 per cent, from year to year.

Today, in India, the per capita

availability of food amounts to 2,700 calories against 3,000 calories, which is said to be the minimum for proper nutrition. This statistical average is misleading because there are thousands of people do not secure even half of that. Between 1954 and 1956, the availability per head per day fell from 18.1 to 17.

Demand

Again, the demand will be the order of 50 million tons at the end of the Second Plan (1956-61) against an estimated supply of 57 million tons. It is interesting to recall that even this production figure is expected for next. Some Governments fear that no more than 60 per cent of the target set in the Second Plan can be achieved. The obvious conclusion is that the target is more unrealistic than

realistic in view of the shortage of resources necessary for such an increase in production.

Even in a normal year, there will be said to impact two to three million tons of food grains, forgetting the foreign exchange problem for the moment. If weather conditions are adverse and if industrial trends are introduced by the impact of deficit financing required for an admittedly ambitious Plan, the demand and prices are bound to rise, as they did in the immediate post-war.

The Government of India has of late grown sufficiently alive to these factors. An earnest of its intentions is the prompt publication of the report of the Food Grains Inquiry Committee, headed by the anti-Communist, Pro-Socialist Party leader, Mr. Ashok Mehta. Does the report offer a work and advance towards a permanent solution of the problem?

No Man's Empire

The report makes heavy reading and summarising, course a vast "no man's" empire between

control and discontrol when it promotes *extensive* mobilisation of the food trade and suggests that an immediate solution to the food problem "lies somewhere between complete free trade and full controls in the area of consumer rationing and procurement."

Obviously, in one comprehensive way, "the crucial question of an equitable distribution of the available supplies, which are bound to be eaten by demand, all but escapes the committee." The call is a refusal to learn from experience.

The committee recommends a number of countervailing steps and wants the economic climate to be conditioned by an appropriate mix of monetary, fiscal and credit measures. To stabilise runaway food prices and to secure a buffer stock, it makes several suggestions involving the creation of special organisations, which "should plan, store, plant and distribute food grains."

Some days ago, the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, said let people arrive if it would help to carry out the aim of the Second Plan. Yesterday he said the Government would not let anybody starve.

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The Nursing Apartheid Debate

(By A Special Correspondent—Continued From Last Week)

THE Select Committee's evidence quoted last week is really the kernel of the whole debate. On the strength of it the Minister could claim that his Bill was supported both by the Council and the Board. Dr. de Wit said that "everyman who gave evidence before the Committee asked for the separation of the races. There is not a single person here that has come from the Government. They were asked for by the Council and Association." He cited

Mrs. Berchard: "I assume the European prefer to meet together and so do the non-European. They want to keep themselves pure the same as we wish to keep ourselves pure." And in a memorandum to the S. A. Nursing Association she wrote: "In the representation made to the Committee your Executive has faithfully carried out the mandate entrusted to it by the biennial congresses of 1951 and 1956. The standpoint of the majority of nurses in the country has been stated and is on the point of being approved, in most respects, by Parliament." 1-5-57

Mrs. Smith: "The great majority of nurses favour racial separation in the profession. A very small minority, approximately one-fourteenth, do not agree with it...The non-Europeans meet here European representatives (on the Council and Board), otherwise they will stop us. If we had known at the time that the policy of the provincial authorities was (in non-European areas for the full certificate in any subject), and I for one, would certainly not have agreed to the

1956 Bill. We would have fought it to the last ditch."

Mr. Viljoen added that he had met both the Council and the Board after the Bill was published and, apart from some verbal assurances, "we our member entered a word of protest against the Bill."

Mr. G. P. van den Berg (Witwatersrand), a member of the Select Committee, was left with the impression "that each and every one [of the witnesses] wanted to see the principle of apartheid introduced."

The Opposition view, that the Bill interfered with the autonomy of a professional association, depended on drawing a distinction between these racial members of the profession and the rest of the profession and the rest of the country. Only Mr. Haggis (Blenheim) was bold enough truly to tackle this "very serious members of the Nursing Council have allowed their race prejudice to run away with their better judgment; they have allowed their better judgment to be clouded and subjugated by race prejudice." The controversy that is now raging outside Parliament and inside the profession is to what extent the views expressed in the evidence and quoted extensively during the debate were, in fact, representative of the profession as a whole; whether (as many would attest) by non-White nurses of the same qualifications as White nurses does not make them in fully equal status. If the present demand for a re-foundation (?) on the much wider provisions of the 1957 Act (compared to the 1956 Act on which the previous referendum was held) is met, either the Government will be obliged to be not supported by the majority of the

profession, or the latter will be in serious trouble with the International Council of Nurses.

For, as Mr. Haggis, Mr. Balmiger, Mrs. R. S. Searson (Houghton) and Dr. Searles (Queensland) stressed and many Nationalists obviously in their hearts agreed, the logic of the Government's past demands against non-European associations for such strict. That formidable apartheid legions, Dr. Berchard, has said.

"Dr. Berchard says that non-Europeans will be called members, but in reality they are not members. For that reason it would be more honest to give them their own association in which they could play their own part. Otherwise the anomaly will be reached that an association (one day) predominantly of non-Europeans will be controlled by a Board elected by the European minority—a position which will in due course become untenable."

Mr. Haggis pointed out that representatives of the Nursing Association had argued against such a course on the grounds that (1) non-white nurses might fall under the influence of agitators, instead of being "guided, helped and controlled," by white nurses; (2) the White Association would lose non-White nurses; and (3)—more important—its affiliation with the I.C.N. would be in jeopardy.

Mrs. Berchard: "One of the stipulations of the I.C.N. is that membership should be open to all races. Once that is done away with, membership is cancelled. The Board of the Association can only support racial division within the Association which would mean that the

S.A.N.A. retained its membership of the I.C.N."

Otherwise, not only might South Africa's nursing qualifications cease to be recognised internationally, but even (white) nurses would lose the opportunities for overseas study, work, attendance at international conferences, etc. Government spokesmen assured White speakers that the Bill would be accepted internationally because it "retained our Association in which every nurse belongs." Mrs. Searson declared in: "I should be very surprised if the I.C.N. is taken so by the moment, because sooner or later they will realise that this is just a facade to allow the S.A.N.A. to remain within the fold of the I.C.N." Even the more cautious Dr. Zee de Beer (Midland), who thought the I.C.N. would be taken in, added: "But in so far as it is in our minds that we shall only manage to retain that membership by a minority—by supporting the Association, by its racial groups, keeping all groups in one Association and making some of them inferior to others."

Dr. Carol de Wit, of course, saw this as "aggressive suggestion to the I.C.N. to depose the S.A.N.A. of its membership." But actually the real damage was being done by his own party. Mr. M. C. de Wet (Natal) (Wanderbosch), in the course of his speech "heartily thanks to the Minister," explicitly promised a South Nursing Association operating "with full autonomy" as the *Race Act* and "scrapping the same provision there as the S.A.N.A. occupies here." Dr. de Wit himself promised a South Nursing Council in the future. Somehow however under that South Nurses would be "back" in their own area. The Minister cynically said that "when they eventually reach the same standard as the Europeans when member nurses (from the one favoured by the Bill) is required, such a system can be introduced." But as the States be kept satisfied: "If you wish to experience difficulty in trouble in that your standards will constantly differ to such an extent from one another, then you should bring two or three councils into being in order that they may fix these standards." And, of course, any such multiplication of controlling organisations would exclude membership of the I.C.N.

Another matter which was barely discussed was the few people by regional areas. The Bill empowers the Nursing Council to raise the several regulations for each area from



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Holloway's D Makes Britis

DOCTOR J. E. HOLLOWAY, South African High Commissioner in London, took part in a students' debate at Leeds University—but the motion, denouncing the South African policy of racial segregation, was adopted by 358 votes to 35.

Though the debate had its high-spirited features it was on the whole conducted in an unusually serious tone. Dr. Holloway was the last of the four speakers. His principal opponent was Professor H. Kirkwood, Professor of Race Relations at Oxford University.

and formerly of the University of London.

"You want," Dr. Holloway told the audience, "to tell the world, in a country's political ideas proper put and spread over South Africa—in a country which has not seemed to think as you think."

"During the time you burn undergraduates here as a punishment of the students, in the Max Kopeck, and in the human sacrifice."

"Only a fortnight ago took Judge in Maseru 14 men to death for human sacrifice (Giles of 'Shame' and was human sacrifice.)"

Friction

"Nowhere in the world you meet primitive civilised races without friction. Apartheid is simply keeping people in groups."

"If you mix two and a primitive advanced culture will be destroyed."

"When the High Court was interrupted by some to be said: You laugh you people simply do know."

An African in the stood up and called "You don't know, Sir."

Dr. Holloway explained he meant the British of the audience.

Applaud

When he added "We give better educational, and hospital services than we are doing in the world."

The other speaker on Holloway's side was Mr. Lloyd, a barrister, an ex-fug and a former of the Cambridge Union.

Mr. Digby Foot M.P. was to have spoken. Professor Kirkwood could get away from the Commission in time.

Professor Kirkwood "Apartheid is essentiality,

No War Against Whites: N.R.C.

Natal

THE President General of the African National Congress told a meeting of about three thousand Africans that there was propaganda aimed at "assimilating the same of Congress in England."

"They want to tell them life about us to make us appear wicked so that they can destroy us in Britain."

"But I do not think our friends in Britain will be fooled by this," he said.

"If this report of us taking troops and armies and leading children to hate the Europeans was true surely the police would have stopped it."

"If this is true why have the police not taken action?"

"The whole thing is a lie. They are trying to force the Government's hand against Congress."

Non-Violence

"My remarks at Chibhaya last time about our policy of non-violence were received with alarm by Europeans in the Federation. The comment in the Press was hysterical and very untrue," he said.

But their fears were groundless, said Mr. Msimbumba. Congress did not mean to come out in open warfare against the Europeans.

"The only thing that may happen is that we may not be able to discipline members who talk of violence."

Federation member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly alleged recently that the African National Congress was organising "hate schools" against the Europeans.

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Ice Of Apartheid Laugh

gustus and dishonest. The Government of South Africa have since begged for it but have overcompensated it.

Affront

"What affronts me most are the affronts to human dignity from which many Africans suffer and which people in this country can scarcely appreciate."

The other speaker for the motion was Mr. J. M. Ntsepo, a missionary student.

He drew laughter when he quoted Mr. Ben Louw as saying: "The South African Government believes apartheid to be a democratic system in a democratic country."

Two South Africans joined in the argument from the floor of the House.

Mr. G. Heyman from South-

west fought against interlopers to side freely with Dr. Hloliway.

Miss Jourdain, an Indian student, described herself as a victim of the segregation laws. She was loudly applauded after reading a catalogue of disabilities to which she said non-European in South Africa were subject.

Non-Whites speakers were in the majority on the floor. Those actually sided with Dr. Hloliway, but two of them so qualified their arguments as to give little real support to the South African Government.

A spirited English student appealed to the High Commission to resign his post.

And after the debate had formally closed an African addressed Dr. Hloliway's and Mr. Lloyd's notes "so that I can show my children in time to come that such people really existed."

Ghanaian Discovered "Conflict" Among Africans Here

(By The "Star" Correspondent)

SOUTH AFRICANS are not as bad as we generally think they are—that is what Roland James Simpson is saying, now that he is back in Ghana, from his one week visit to the land of apartheid, whereas a Ghana Government spokesman had attended a conference convened by the Council for Scientific and Technical Co-operation in Africa south of the Sahara.

Mr. Simpson was hastily writing his report on what he saw officially—and unofficially—when I called on him during the week-end.

"South Africans," he told me, "are faced with real problems which constitute a challenge to all races in that country. Conflicts there are not the same as they are here in Ghana or in Britain, and it would not be fair to condemn South Africa without a genuine objective study of their problems."

What struck him most during his Ghana visit was that all races—Black, White or Coloured—were very nice comrades.

"Apartheid was opposition to this outlook and it turned up in their conversations with me all the time," he said.

He was also struck by how few Africans in the Union had a notion about that of communism or "forward pass."

Mr. Simpson told me that all Africans whom he had met in the Union, especially the more educated, betrayed some latent

coyness.

When ever he said he came from Ghana, their faces lit up and often he was told, "then you must be happy."

He expressed a wish to come and live and work in Ghana. Both Africans and Coloured people whom he had met expressed upon him the great hopes they placed in Ghana and their belief in achievement of independence inspired them for the future.

Mr. Simpson said that he was extremely happy during his visit. All the Europeans whom he had met were courteous and friendly towards him and showed no dislike of his presence. Africans were allowed to visit him at the Mount Nelson Hotel when stayed in Cape Town. He was told by one African that they were not usually allowed there.

He was also continuously treated at Ruiters Langham Hotel in Johannesburg where he had lunch.

It was from Press reporters that he learned that he was the first African admitted there.

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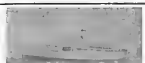
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Equal Pay For Equal Work Agitation In Italy

A NATIONAL study meeting on the subject of "Equal pay for equal work" was held in Milan, Italy, from October 4th to 6th, 1955. This meeting was organised by a committee which included the Italian sections of important international organisations: The Union of Italian Women, the Italian Women's Alliance, the National Council of Italian Women, the National Association of Nurses and Health Workers, the National Federation of Women Lawyers, the Italian Federation of Women Graduates, the Young Women's Christian Association of Italy, the Union of Italian Lawyers as well as the National Association of Women Parliamentarians and Councilors and the National Women's Union of Milan.

The following reports were made to the meeting by experts from various political sections: Equal pay in legislation, article 37 of the Italian Constitution and the International Convention 100 of the I.L.O.; characteristics in the employment of women in Italy;

elements making up Italian women's wages and a comparison with Convention 100; economic aspects and remuneration of women's work; vocational training for women; legal rules of the International Convention of the I.L.O. and the action undertaken to achieve its implementation in Italy.

Personalities in politics, experts in the fields of economic and social science, university professors and workers from all kinds of Italian organisations attended the meeting. The Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Women's Alliance, the International Committee for Co-operation between Women's Associations showed the great importance they attach to this problem by sending representatives to the meeting.

The meeting had the support of political circles and of the broadest sections of the press as well as of public opinion and the working world, who followed the thorough discussion on this subject which is very topical in Italy today, with great interest.

Canadians Attack University Apartheid

EXTENSIVE correspondence conducted since the beginning of this year between the sector and vice-chancellor of Frederic University, Prof. C. H. Rastbach, and vice-chancellors of British universities and the Canadian Society of University Teachers, has been closed.

The correspondence dealt with the Union Government's proposed Bill on separate university education.

In similar letters the British and Canadian heads of universities informed Professor Rastbach that they have objected openly in Britain and Canada against the Bill. Their objections are based on the grounds that the proposed legislative "will undermine traditional academic freedom and also the freedom of speech."

In reply to these letters Professor Rastbach has stated that he was convinced that some system or other of separate university education for the different ethnic groups in South Africa would render the greatest practical contribution

to their future happiness and prosperity.

In reply to the British and Canadian university heads' assertion that "the university is a free community has the basic right to decide whom to teach, by whom, and in what manner." Professor Rastbach wrote that limits were imposed on these freedoms by the free community for its continued existence as a free community and as visualised by its responsible leaders.

Professor Rastbach also points out that the Frederic University's Senate and Council had as far back as 1954 expressly requested the Government for a system of separate university education for Afrikaners, and further similar requests of this request "make it obvious that the university is in favour of the general principle incorporated in the proposed Bill.

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India Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

NEHRU URGES END TO STRIFE IN INDUSTRIAL FIELD

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, described the striking of inter-plantatory spaces as a triumph of the human mind which had not a lesser demonstration of prosperity to all mankind. But, at the same time, the world, which was engaged in a cold war, was entering this new age with a growing fear which constituted a major obstacle to real progress.

Inaugurating the fourth Asian regional conference of the International Labour Organisation at Vientiane, Mr. Nehru blamed the world in a broad-based and explicit manner for the fear and suspicion. The great problem was to shed this fear. Everybody wanted peace, but lived in dread of war.

Mr. Nehru pointed to Gandhi's teaching the way out. The Minister had stressed the importance of employing right mind if strife were to be avoided. Self could not be satisfied by itself. Good could not be imposed.

In the sphere of labour relations, he suggested that common methods and primary tactics should be avoided. Once conflict could not be ruled by aggravating them to the point of self-destruction.

Mr. Nehru conceded that labour had the right to strike and take collective action is proper in interests. In principle this right should not be thwarted. But, in practice, in the modern world, strikes and lock-outs were an obstruction in India, where the problem was to produce more wealth. Industrial strikes were extremely wasteful.

Labour ought to realise that every strike was a blow not merely against its opponent but against itself. It was applied with greater emphasis to management. The rights of the consumer, too, would not be overlooked, said Mr. Nehru.

India Urges Pakistan To Pay Canal Water Dues

The Government of India is understood to have urged Pakistan to make "immediate payment" of the latter's dues amounting to over a crore, and were liable of ransom for the supply of water in the Indus main system.

In a recent communication, India has also indicated to the Pakistan Government that the

East Punjab Government had intended to continue the supply of water to Pakistan for the 1957-58 winter season despite heavy dues.

India's steel water is supplied to Pakistan under the 1949 agreement arrived at between the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Premier.

The same agreement provides that India's Prime Minister should in the annual Pakistan would have in per year quarter towards water supply. Accordingly, the Government of India is understood to have notified the Pakistan Government that for the quarter beginning with October 1 last, Mr. Nehru had said that Pakistan should pay Rs. 2,51,000—its 25,000 to be paid to East Punjab Government and Rs. 2,30,000 to be deposited with the Reserve Bank pending settlement of dispute. These payments according to 1949 Agreement will have to be made in advance.

Basic Structure Of Second Plan Not To Be Altered

Expectations that the Prime Minister would throw light on the present state of the second five year plan and the line of policy to be pursued hereafter were built in the Lok Sabha. Mr. Nehru did not speak, but his silence bore, as tellingly directed to such a path-break of industrial side issues in his observations.

Mr. Nehru commenced his 60 minute statement with reference to China's foreign exchange difficulties and ended with a peroration on the need for revolutionary thinking in the economic age. The subject under discussion was the Second Plan.

In between, there were "oblique shots" at family planning, atomisation, the relative merits of new drugs and atomic energy as sources of power and perspective planning. The House heard all this with remarkable patience.

The Prime Minister did not think that the Plan was over-ambitious. It was intended to stretch the country to the utmost and was based on aspirations of "national effort" by the people and others outside on our behalf.

Having said this, Mr. Nehru expressed grave concern at what he described as the amazing lack of capacity for self-help at all levels in the country. Unless this mentality was overcome, there could be no real progress. His statement that the community development programme had achieved something in this direction was, however, met with cries of "no no" in which several Congress members joined.

Cabinet Crisis In Pakistan Again

The month-old coalition Government of Pakistan became shaky again when the largest group in the coalition, the Republicans, decided not to make any change in the electoral system as envisaged by the Prime Minister, Mr. I. I. Chaudhry.

The Parliamentary group of Republicans on October 18 had agreed that in the coming general elections polls would be on a basis of separate electorates.

The Council of Republicans has now rejected the Parliamentary group's agreement and upheld its earlier position that the polls should not be held on the basis of separate electorates.

Mr. Chaudhry called a special session of Parliament for November 26 to which he expected the Republicans would vote with his Muslim League Party.

The Republicans Party's decision to go back to its earlier agreement with the Muslim League to support the Government in the Pakistan Parliament. If the Republicans stick to their present decision,

the constitutional implication is that either the Chaudhry Government resigns or the forthcoming parliamentary session be postponed until the issue is clarified.

Congress Role In Kerala

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, M.P. a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of India, stated in Bombay recently that if Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders failed to stop the leaders of their party in Kerala from indulging in conspiracy against legality "there will be very serious consequences" in all the other States.

He said "national reconstruction work will be greatly hampered if Communists also take to a left-for-all policy".

The Communist leader was addressing a press conference on "Eight months of Communist Ministry in Kerala."

Asked whether the situation in Kerala could not be dealt with by the State administration and why he was calling upon Mr. Nehru to intervene, Mr. Gopalan said he wanted the Congress to define its role as an Oppressive party in Kerala.

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કાસિની કાસિંગને મળી છે.¹⁷

એક કેસી, પ્રતાપ બહાદુર,
એ કુટુંબ વહીવટી રાજ કરતી એક
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માં જન્મ્યાનું કે, 'તું જાણે
એક સ્વર્ણન બાહુલ્ય વહીવટી
બહાઈ આપ્યો છું'. અને સુમાત્ર
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ની અને સહજ સંભાળ છે."

એક બીજા શ્રી જેતું જામ
જામ દેવી છે, એને જણાવ્યું કે,
“હું ખરાબ કે સારી, તથા તેવી
જેવું” જમું હું સમાજની એક
માફતી છું અને સમાજની ફરજ
છે કે તે અને તમારે.”

જા'ના દેવીને, ચેલાના વણીદ
જુન કાના માટે સજ કાનામાં
કાલી કાલી.

તાજમાહલમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને બનાઈ

[illegible]

સાનસાર્થ જાણ્યું છે. હિંદુઓ, આ
વધુ સેવેશર્થ જાણનારો રાખવો
નહીં હેતું.

[illegible]

"In the right to set the bread which his own hand makes, be (the Negro) is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."

—Abraham Lincoln.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

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MULTI-RACIAL UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND TO BEGIN NEW TERM NEXT YEAR

WHEN the multi-racial university of Rhodesia and Nyasaland begins its new term next year, White students will share a hostel with Africans. This means, in the opinion of most Federation residents, that the university's first teaching year has passed off successfully.

The university, which has 30 students this year, has received 120 new applications, of which 40 are from Africans and three from Indians. About 30 of the African applicants are expected to have the necessary entrance qualifications.

At present there are eight African students (seven youths and one girl) and one Indian girl student. The African girl is already sharing the same residence as the White girls.

White youths applying for admission to the university—the only one in the Federation—have been told that there is not enough accommodation for all of them in the residence now occupied exclusively by White students.

They have all been asked, privately, if they would object to living in the residence occupied by Africans.

Of the 80 White youths to whom this question was put, only two said that they would prefer a room in the White boys' residence.

Dr Walter Adams, energetic, idealistic principal of the university, said that the youths gave their decisions "quite naturally—they were not trying to be nice to us.

Dine Together

"We told them that we wanted to put them in the residence where they would be happiest. When the mixed residence is established next year, the White and African students will, of course, eat at the same table.

Dr. Adams believes that the Federation's multi-racial university is now firmly established and that—although it was not planned specifically for this purpose—it will have a profound effect on race relations in the Federation.

The fact that a large number of enrolments have been received for next year is taken as a clear indication that parents in the Federation and their children, on the whole, have accepted the university as part of the partnership ideal.

A number of the students at the university are Afrikaans-speaking youths whose parents have settled in the Federation.

Although some of them have professed a belief in segregation, they have not hesitated to discuss the matter with African fellow-students on amicable terms.

There have been no incidents at the university.

There is anti-racism

in sport, too. There is a mixed hockey team, and next year there will be mixed athletics teams.

So far the African students have shown preference for soccer, while the White students have taken to Rugby.

Sports Leagues

Nevertheless, the Rugby team has an African student as a reserve, and next

(Continued on page 519)

BISHOP OF BLOEMFONTEIN SLASHES APARTHEID

THE new Bishop of Bloemfontein, the Rt. Rev. B. B. Bornet, delivering his first sermon at his enthronement in the Cathedral of St. Andrew and St. Michael in Bloemfontein, said:

Bloemfontein.

"I wish to assert plainly that we shall in this diocese continue to stand under the direction and judgment of God in connection with the doctrine of race separation, we unite with almost the whole of Christendom in rejecting the doctrine as repugnant to the word of God.

"It is sometimes said by those who differ from us that the church of the Province says one thing and does another," the Bishop continued.

"This is partly true. We

do but fitfully and poorly express our unity in Christ because though we be saluted in the New Testament as the word we are also sinners. We have inadequately expressed unity because there are linguistic and cultural differences to be bridged and because our hearts are filled with fears and pride. But let us persevere in our duty to express the essential unity of Christians of all races and tongues, for it is better far to fail in the performance of what is right than not to attempt it at all."—Sapa

OPINION

FRIDAY, 6TH DECEMBER, 1957

Giving Nats Their Medicine

NOTHING brings to light the sinister side of the Nationalist mentality more forcefully than the Group Areas proclamations which came into force on November 1. According to them it will be a crime for people to join mixed groups in areas which are not marked out for their race.

On the face of it the Government will be merely putting into force an Act of Parliament. But in actual fact, what is being done is to use the Group Areas Act to do what could not be easily achieved through the use of the Native Laws Amendment Act.

Destroy Mixed Groups

It is clear that the proclamations are designed to destroy mixed clubs and similar institutions. But they go further than that. They are intended to isolate the various racial groups and by so doing to destroy the economic achievements of the Indian community in particular.

All this is part of a well-known plan to starve the Indians and in that way force them out of the country. But a warning must be sounded here that nobody must ever be under the illusion that this wickedness will end with the Indians. They are being singled out for isolation and ruin first simply because they are the weakest.

Afrikaner Nationalism has set itself the goal of making the Afrikaner Nationalists the boss nation. They believe they cannot reach their ideal without crushing dangerous groups. The Indian is being attacked first because he is the most vulnerable at the moment. There are indications that the English-speaking are high in the list. Nor would the Jews have reason to be happy about what is happening.

More Powerful Force

The clear intention is to reduce all whom Afrikaner Nationalism is afraid of to the position of political or economic impotency. In these circumstances it becomes clear that survival for the threatening groups lies in building up a new force which will be more powerful than anything which Afrikaner Nationalism can produce.

While this weapon is being forged it will be necessary for the threatened to go on the offensive wherever they can. In our last issue we supported the Natal Indian Congress's decision to mobilise world opinion to face apartheid with the reality of a boycott in the cultural and sporting fields. The Nationalists are absolutely deaf to reason. The only language they understand is that of irresistible pressures. And wherever these can be exerted, let them be exerted by relentlessly. For years

Comment On Man And Events

Cyprian And Luthuli

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE Zulu Press spends considerable amounts of energy exhorting the Natal Africans to refuse from involving the Zulu Paramount Chief, Cyprian, in political struggles. "Dange lase Natal," which has led to this campaign, has conveniently ignored the fact that it is not the African people who have dragged Cyprian into the political arena, but the government.

By pressing him to go about patrolling in the role of a virtual Zulu Ambassador agent, charging the Zulu-speaking Africans with a free riding spirit, it, with its Bantu Education, threat of expropriation to southern Natal African landowners, Passes for women, job reservation, etc., has government clearly forced him into the position of a political pawn. His silence and non-involvement will be viewed as that of one who has already taken a particular political stand and if this draws criticism on his head, the government will be largely to blame.

At the moment the government is bent on doing all in its power to destroy the African National Congress as a vehicle to crushing all opposition groups. This threat can be met in a variety of ways. The threatened opposition can go underground and operate from there. Underground organisations are always dangerous.

But, perhaps we are not very far from the day when the government will force all its opponents underground.

Help ANC

Or, the ANC might be helped to carry on as far as possible. This would entail giving more powerful support to the treason trials and encouraging those Africans who cannot join other political protest groups to join the ANC.

Or, the ANC could realise that at this point is better the situation no longer calls for two co-existent organisations. In that event it would open to them to all who share its ideals and hopes. But as it would involve dissolution which would be the end and lead to its dissolution, in the dissolution of organisations with its own outlook in the other racial camps and the formation of a new and more effective mixed political organisation.

There is a very strong moral case for backing the ANC in the

strife it is undergoing at the moment. This needs no debating. At the same time, however, the fact must be faced that support for things like the treason trials is received by most people in the various racial camps as support for individuals. The fact that this support is defence for a vital principle of democracy has not been driven home effectively enough in the minds of very many people.

Dangerous

This opens a dangerous bludge in the wall of anti-apartheid opinion which we are all building. For Natal, it might very well play right into Cyprian's hands, group-conscious ANC

Correction

IN Mr. Ngubane's feature article last week it was reported that Mr. Gabelo Ntombi had been kicked out of the Natal Paramountcy. This was an error on the part of the printers. The relevant passage in the copy read: "Mr. Gabelo Ntombi was almost kicked out."

—S. O.

would be poorly-equipped, to criticize Cyprian where he panicked. Luthuli. When "Dange lase Natal" says Cyprian should not be driven into political flight when it comes, in fact, is that he should not be attacked for possible treason.

But if he practices this, as the government has announced he will positively do, the effect of his activities will be to split the African community very sharply. What these splits might look like we have already seen in the later-African riots at Johannesburg and Bloemfontein.

A group-conscious ANC would be able to remedy this worse case very effectively at the moment. In addition, the problem of manpower would be in the way. Congress, like all the other truly democratic groups, has shared resources—both in terms of manpower and finance. This would mean to suggest the need for a new regrouping of forces on the part of the democratic side.

(Continued on next page)

Maximum Organisation

The few men available and the limited resources would be spread out to affect maximum organisation of the oppressed within the shortest time possible. Such organising would have one more additional advantage: it would eliminate sectionalism. Cyprus would throw its full weight as a single unit against the Congress handicapped by the absence of its most experienced leaders but against the united will of all democrats of all colours.

Now, Cyprus is not a problem for Chief Luthuli only. He is going to be a problem for all democrats. And as he goes about the country preaching Zuluism and the like, all of which will have the effect of poisoning sympathy in the African community, it is of the greatest importance that he should be countered effectively.

I do not know what the members of "Isanga laseNatal" are in attempting splits in the African community and, by implication, also of the type we have seen in Johannesburg and Johannesburg. But I know that nothing places the men of apartheid more than the spectacle of new African group working together. It places them because it undermines the ANC directly. I can very well visualize a situation in which African masses at Johannesburg would tell Luthuli to go back to his own Zulu. What would stop Dufoina Africans telling Matthews to go back to his own Buthwana? And when that happens the Africans' potential to destroy apartheid would be realized.

Saving Potential

The only way to save it and reinforce it in the present circumstances is to not let any foundations of unity among these who oppose apartheid. Up to now the African community has organized itself on the basis of race. But the enemy has launched dangerous counter-attacks. Zuluism is one of them, with its very high potential to produce communal riots. As I have said, a Congress which is ineffective considers an all-race united itself effectively against Zuluism.

Some people will say: The Congress movement is a step towards a broader fighting front. Quite frankly, it is not. People who think so I do would have no place in it. The Congress movement has political preferences which would divide rather than unite the anti-apartheid forces. In my own the Congress movement, with its commitment to the Nonviolent Charter, is certainly not the organization to give a lead in the circumstances to be caused by the Johannesburg racialist conference. Above everything the Congress movement is, in actual fact, a blessing to Cyprus and the Government—work its present conception and method. And as my sloganizer for "Isanga lase Natal."

One need of the moment might be to convince Chief Luthuli that the Congress movement is not the only answer to apartheid in the present circumstances. And when he is convinced, he will be in a very much better position to give an effective answer to Cyprus's Zuluism.

manoeuvre. Furthermore, it is the conviction of the Party that the future of South Africa depends on the farthest acceptance, by people of all races, of the principles of racial co-operation for which it stands. The acceptance will certainly not be achieved

by shutting our eyes to facts simply because to reveal them is likely to prove unpopular. We shall do much more harm in the cause of Liberalism by continuing silent than by exposing what appears to us to be wrong.

Multi-Racial University Of Rhodesia And Nyasaland To Begin New Term Next Year

(Continued from first page)

year, perhaps, Africans will be getting their heads down with Whites in the streets.

On the question of affiliation to various sports unions, the university has been granted membership of the Hockey League, and can also play league cricket, but cannot take part in full league competitions.

An application for affiliation to the Rugby Union as the Federation has been returned to the parent body in South Africa.

The university, a series of newly modern buildings on a site called Mowat Plains, just outside Salisbury, is situated at present in its infancy.

It hopes to establish a medical faculty. Meanwhile, it offers Arts, Science and other courses. Its research examination is higher than in South Africa (South Africa), and according to Dr. Adams most of the students are smart, mature and knowledgeable.

Until the establishment of the university, many Rhodesian youngsters used to look to South Africa for a university education. They will no doubt turn to Rhodesia.

ly new to the multi-racial university on their doorstep.

Gradually, too, the Union Government has been throwing up barriers against the entry of African students from the Federation.

In any case, these African students have taken flight at the publication of the Union's university apartheid bill.

From South Africa

The situation might even arise, soon, where African students in the Union would try to seek "segregated education" by seeking admission to the Federation's multi-racial university.

When questioned on this point, Dr. Adams said that the university would admit them, provided that they entered the Federation legally (the Union Government probably would refuse them passage).

University leaders, too, in the Union are raising their eyes to the Federation's new university. Every port advertised by the university has brought a number of applications from South Africa.

Giving Nats Their Medicine

(Continued from previous page)

the Nationalists have put on the screw against everybody else. Now is the time to start giving them doses of their own medicine.

Big Events

The boycott must not be confined to sporting and cultural activities of a minor type. Spectacular events like the MCC tour must not be encouraged. World leaders in art must be encouraged not to visit South Africa. And in this regard we must express, on behalf of the victims of apartheid, our gratitude to Sir Lawrence Olivier, the British actor, who, according to Press reports is this country, has already indicated his intention to go back a colour-conscious Arts League in this country.

And, as the proclamations extend to many parts of the country, the non-Whites must seriously consider how best to boycott all the stores which have the colour bar. The Group Areas proclamations are designed to force people to keep out of certain institutions. Let all people who love justice retaliate by keeping out of certain stores on a national scale. That should tell some into the thick Nationalist heads.

Liberal Party Of S.A.

Support To Mr. Paton

THE Natal Division of the Liberal Party wishes to extend its support for Mr. Alan Paton in the stand he has taken against the practice of racial discrimination by the International Arts League of Youth.

The Liberal Party agrees that it should have fallen to Mr. Paton's lot to reveal that this "international" league is in fact an apartheid organisation. In view of the publicity of its title, it was, in our view, an obligation on the league itself to reveal its true nature to its prospective sponsors when making their request. That it did not do so is difficult to understand. Its feel-

ing of grievance now that they have found out is quite justified. In our opinion the league has nobody but itself to blame for its present unhappy position. We are not drawn in this opinion by the knowledge that Mr. Paton has stated the league that he would do nothing provided it dropped the name "international" and adopted something more in keeping with the scope of its activities.

We support Mr. Paton for another reason. The Liberal Party opposes discrimination whenever it is found and it is the duty of its members to expose its practice wherever they see it.

Some Misapplied Indian Lessons

By C. W. M. GELL

(Indian Civil Service Retired)

A recent article in the *Central African Review* on "What the Federation can learn from India" interests me in grave doubt as to whether the author was ever in India at all. And so we doubt whatever that he has drawn most of the wrong conclusions from the story of how India achieved her independence.

His story may be briefly summarised thus. India passed from imperial rule to independence by a series of steps, each designed probably to render a greater degree of responsible self-government. But each step was full short of what politically conscious Indians desired, such was its time "unacceptable", going to the "boys" and providing the "agents" with his opportunity. Thus "we" were hesitant in taking necessary steps before the initiative was really ready for them and this "ended in a hasty and unguilted relinquishing of responsibility at the last moment, with our task uncompleted, our kind of a united self governing Dominion shattered and with some of shameful corruption and mismanagement being exposed under our eyes" (Indian italics).

"Such", wrote Mr. Halliday, "was the background against which the British Government, after 46 years tried in vain to keep alive with its self-applied such of bringing responsible Government to a united India. Our last act of fiasco was in sharp contrast; we suddenly gave up all hope of guidance and ran away, with disastrous results. That was the classic example of the Juggernaut, that was brought by chance—control government." From which Mr. Halliday concluded that "the ultimate authority of the British went" carried a similar threat to the Federation, that "the only real protection of Africans' interests resides in the good sense of the Europeans living in the Federation" and thus, therefore, the ground should be set from beneath the feet of the "reactionaries in Westminster" and the "reactionaries" (black and white) in the Federation by securing "the London consensus" in the shortest possible time.

This description of India brings India at least from "we" this only. And even then it denotes the facts. As one whose service was in the Punjab, I

grieve fully as much as Mr. Halliday over the "misery" which followed the partition of that province—and on a larger scale of English law. But it is now absolutely clear that "we as the ages" were wrong—not only in being (together with the Hindus and Muslim leaders) to insist and provide that earnest; but, far more significantly, in not seeing that the Gordian knot of partition and communal misrule had to cut quickly or else would would hold. To their credit, Lord Mountbatten and the British Government courageously recognised this essential truth, against the almost unaided advice of their local "experts".

I cannot here attempt to re-construct the whole of Mr. Halliday's portrayal of pre-independence Indian history. But he went as far as criticism of the fact that "we" was not the only, or even the ultimately decisive policy of view. Many things contributed to the eventual partition. Some of them were our own earlier crimes. Some belonged to the Indian politicians, notably the Congress political movement of 1917-18 whose indifference to Muslim interests finally divided India for Pakistan. But the even more significant is that both Hindus and Muslims, wherever their differences with each other, were overwhelmingly united in their desire that we should go.

The strength of that joint desire lies in the fact that we failed to keep almost of our self-appointed task of bringing self-government to India. In fact, there was a lot of difference

protestations and destruction—movements from the best of motives and intentions—by both the "sons of the ages" and the Conservative Government in Britain. Sir Winston Churchill was one of the worst offenders. The effort made in 1947 by Sir Stafford Cripps on his behalf (quoted by Mr. Halliday) were too little and too late. They could not overcome (even the minds of Indian politicians) the effect of the legally unresponsible but psychologically dominant desire by the Viceroy to declare India at war in 1939 on his own, unaided initiative at a time when a large measure of self-government was operating under the Government of India Act of 1935.

What then are the lessons of all this for the Federation?

First, that "we", the British, have not been too slow in making the virtually uncompleted dream of all politically conscious Indians. But this lesson is not applicable to the Federation on the simple basis suggested by Mr. Halliday, because the facts are not comparable. Even if, as is not certain, the entire white population of the Federation were unanimous Dominion states, articulate African opinion is as unanimous against it (this stage). And we know from India that when the politically inarticulate confederates that today, their characteristic states will support themselves. Their weight of opinion in the Federation, taking the population as a whole, is undoubtedly against independence today. The home of India, to be so in Africa, would mean by agreement forcing that opinion by delivering independence into the hands of the few Federal minority until the latter has made themselves such a reality that Africans themselves support the demand for independence. When Federal opinion

is, indeed, united for independence, no one can withhold it.

Secondly, reaction and mobilisation as a "reactionary" British Government may often be in itself, pernicious as the impossibility of desperate people on either side may be during the interim period before full independence is conferred, it was in the end "the son of the ages" in India who was in the wrong and the reactionaries (on the basis of the 1945 Labour Government) who were apparently right in refusing the moment to sever the link. In the perspective of history the millions displaced and the one million killed in the Punjab, who weighed so heavily on our consciences at the time, will probably seem a small price to have paid for forwarding such views. May not the same be said of the risks and frustration of the present withholding independence from the Federation until the white minority has reacted by its denial of possibility of a "South African solution" to its problems with all that that entails?

And the more is, therefore, we that minority today to take such step as means that the Africans want to say "in"—and get drive them to get out in contempt and despair, as the Indian Congress movement of 1931-2 finally drove British and the Muslim League. Of all the lessons India could teach the Federation, this last is perhaps the most important. The plight of a small minority which presently allows a large subject minority is far worse than that of a majority which demands a permanent majority.

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World Boycott Of S. Fields Discussed At

THE Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress, Durban during the week-end passed a resolution which stated that "time has now arrived to consider whether South Africans should not issue a world-wide appeal for an international boycott of South Africa in the field of sports and education now obtaining fields."

Many of the prominent members of the Congress were unable to attend the three-day Conference as they are appearing in the Transvaal Inquiry and the conditions of their bail is that they attend no meetings. The Conference passed resolutions dealing with the Group Areas Act, the Job Reservation question, and on many political questions including apartheid and the forthcoming General Elections.

The resolution dealing with colour bar in sports and culture called upon the incoming executive committee as a matter of urgency, to request the South African Congress to go fully into this matter together with "allied democratic organisations, with the object of taking the necessary and appropriate steps to expose to the world the

Conference policy of racialism in these fields and about the effects of "proclamations under the Areas Act which made it impossible for people of colour to have the same of human equality," and which have far-reaching effects in the field of culture and

After stating that "white people in the U.S. are starving culturally," the resolution said that the U.S. of Separate Amenities Act in 1953 by the had exploded the myth that "white and non-white are equal."

The Conference's important decision of Separate Amenities Act of the United States of America, rightly rejected under the "Separate but equal" holding that separate facilities for people on grounds of race must be equal and separation even in leads to psychological damage with serious and mental effects. It also stated that the necessity of a community and solidarity.

Group Areas Strongly

After spending a time on the subject of Group Areas, Conference strongly issued an urgent call to the Indian people of "organise all their forces to be ever vigilant in order to the immediate threat to them under the Group Development Act."

The resolution said that laws "with their severe consequences and those of education have made Douglas second only to Vorster in the U.S. a political force in the U.S."

Slipped of the hills surrounding these they were nothing but

Portuguese Discrimination Against Indian Passengers

New Delhi.

MRS. LAKSHMI MENON, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, told Parliament that the Indian crew and passengers on the ship Karanja were not allowed to land at Lourenço Marques when the ship arrived at the port recently. The Portuguese authorities had informed the Commander that no Indian crew or passenger would be allowed to get down or visit the town.

The order was strictly enforced without exception. Even a supervisor was not allowed to go down and work in the shed.

Mrs. Menon said that no protest had been lodged "as protests with the Portuguese authorities do not produce any results."

Prime Minister Nehru said that whenever occasion arose, reciprocal action could be taken, but very few Portuguese ships called at Indian ports. He did however think it was not good to irritate others in these matters.

Bamboo Helps Science In Indonesia

THE versatile bamboo tree which has been traditionally used in Indonesia to make anything from water containers to musical instruments now has a new career ahead of it in nearly a dozen Indonesian science teaching centres.

Bamboo is only one of the ready-at-hand materials which are now being used in Indonesia to construct low-cost laboratory apparatus. With the help of waste ingenuity and the assorted bamboo, raffia and other reeds now being supplied to schools as a "pop-cupable" list of equipment bamboo science can be converted into force pumps or tilt pumps.

This is all part of a new trend in Indonesian science teaching recently reported at Unesco House in Paris by Dr. M. H. Grantham, a Canadian educator who has just completed a technical assistance mission to Indonesia for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Practice

As Dr. Grantham put it, the trend consists of science teaching methods which stress "learning by doing instead of sitting

and listening." To carry this out, Indonesian educators have opened a Science Teaching Centre at Bandung with apparatus supplied by the United Kingdom under the Colombo Plan.

Equally important is the understanding of the Bandung Centre into ten provincial centres offering on-the-job training to science teachers will be opened on the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, Acheh and Sulawesi (Celebes).

Forty courses for teachers have already been conducted at the Bandung Centre. Nearly 500 teacher-trainees and experimenters have gone through these courses.

Dr. Grantham, a five-year veteran of Unesco technical assistance service, first came to Indonesia in 1950 from Vancouver, Canada, where he served as vice-principal of the Vancouver Institute of Technology. Then, from 1954 to 1956, he carried out similar work in

science education in Jordan until he returned to Indonesia in August last year.

His latest work in Unesco, which has already taken him to the

Middle East and to South-East Asia, is now bringing him to Africa, where he will head the Unesco mission to Liberia. —UNESCO.

Communist Activity In Ethiopia

A REPORT in the "Kezra Daily Mail" of November 8, 1957 says:

Within about two months more than 300 Yejember teachers and librarians have been taken on a five visit to Harar, and Ethiopian College students attended the youth festival. Groups of musicians and artists from behind the iron curtain have given performances in the new Harar Solomonic theatre in Addis Ababa.

The activity has not been entirely directed to economic matters. A group of Ethiopian teachers and librarians have been taken on a five visit to Harar, and Ethiopian College students attended the youth festival. Groups of musicians and artists from behind the iron curtain have given performances in the new Harar Solomonic theatre in Addis Ababa.

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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Federation Crisis Might Start Commonwealth Explosion

Rhodesia

ON 25th November the House of Commons held a debate on Opposition motion on the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Bill. Under this Bill the members of both in the Federal Legislature are increased, the African members being doubled in number and the Europeans increased from 26 to 44. On the face of it this appears to be a move in the direction of increased African representation. In fact it is the reverse. For the Europeans will be most of the electing, and will have a greater say in who goes into the Legislature than they have had hitherto. A great number of speeches have been spoken in Britain over the move and the Government throughout the month.

The issue was clarified when the Federation of African Affairs Board, which was set up to watch over the interests of the Africans in such cases as this declared that in its view, the project was "discriminatory" against the Africans in the Federation. It was always assumed that, if the Conservatives were going to follow the spirit of their proclamation in 1953 when the Federation was forced on the Africans, that the Board's views would be ignored and set as a safeguard for African interests. But on this, the first occasion when the Board has declared an act as discriminatory, the Tories at Westminster have ignored it.

Selling Point

In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" on November 22nd, Dr. Nina Mvumba, a prominent member of the Fabian Society and one of the country's leading authorities on African affairs, stated that behind the debate on the Rhodesia development was an even more important thing—"the whole question of whether we are going to permit the transfer of power to the local Europeans and to open the way to a re-orientation of South Africa's minority story." She went on to accuse the Government of beginning to "hold the post", the lesson that if the Tories

were meant through we might well have a crisis in the Commonwealth in 1959 (when the Federal Constitution comes up for revision) with "Britain, South Africa, and Sir Roy Welensky against Canada, India and the West."

Throughout the month opposition to the Government's proposals has come from all quarters. In the "Manchester Guardian" on 25th November, Mr. J. T. S. Lewis, Executive Officer of the London Branch of the Capricorn Africa Society said: "The Society are thus entirely opposed to the proposals and are convinced that the United Kingdom Government's endorsement of these in spite of the African Affairs Board's condemnation, will be a retrograde, senseless and even disastrous step. All who are working to reduce racial tensions in Africa should urge the Government to reconsider." Even the International Department of the British Council of Churches expressed strong opposition. It felt that the failure to heed the views of the African Affairs Board would further undermine the confidence of Africans in the intention of Britain to see that Europeans in Central Africa were not allowed to build and perpetuate state out of the Federation. The editorial of the "Manchester Guardian" on the day of the debate in the House of Commons on 25th November said that the Rhodesia case "should have carried more weight at Westminster than in fact it has done."

100 Protest

Nearly a hundred people attended a meeting of protest in London on 25th November. It was sponsored by Mr. Pomeroy Brockway and was attended by representatives of many national groups in London, from Asia and the Caribbean as well as Africa. Besides Mr. Brockway there were two speakers from the Central African Federation, Mr. Kenneth Kumbo, general secretary of the African National Congress from Northern Rhodesia, and the speakers were drawn from the Federation secretariat and the South African set-up.

Mr. D. Chibwe, organizing secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress, said that Africans were beginning to feel bold. He said that, though the Africans recognized the achievements of the last Labour Government and appreciated the Labour Party's sympathy with the African people, they were often disappointed that, when in power, the Labour actions were not as liberal as the Conservative ones. The latest amendment, he declared, was a grave breach of promise and faith. After the meeting groups volunteered to lobby MPs before the House divided.

In the House itself the Opposition motion was tabled in the names of Mr. George Jones and Mr. Griffiths, both former Colonial Secretaries, Mr. James Callaghan and Mr. Brockway. During the debate Mr. John Douglas, who had been Minister of State for Colonial Affairs in the Labour Government also attacked the Government's policy. But it was to no avail, when the House divided the Government was upheld by 307 votes to 125.

Black Chapter

This has been yet another black chapter in the sorry story of Conservative action with regard to Central Africa. All one can hope is that the Ab-

raham in the Federation will have noted that there was considerable opposition in Britain, and that they are not without considerable numbers of white friends in this country. It is foolish to be happy that left in Britain will learn from what has taken place and determine to see that no more steps are taken which will put power into the hands of Central African Europeans at the expense of the African people. There is still time to avert tragedy in Central Africa. Pray God that Britain will seize this opportunity promptly.

Indian Beads Were Currency In Sanzibar 2000 Years Ago

Indian glass beads—believed to be 2,000 years old—were recently found at a beach in Zanzibar, Dr. W. G. M. Van der Steen, Director of the Royal Anthropological Institute of London said. It is believed in the course of a lecture at the local museum last week.

Dr. Steen, who is now on a short visit to India, to see the collection of beads in different museums, said that about 2,000 years ago Indian glass beads were used as currency on the East African coast. These beads were believed to have been carried to East Africa by sailors who went along the Indian Ocean coast.

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રોડેશીયા અને ન્યાસાલેન્ડની
સંયુક્ત વિદ્યાપીઠ

આ વેળે વર્ષે જ્યારે આ સંકુલ વિનાશીક વાદ્ય થયે ત્યારે હૈદરાબાદના મોરારી વિભાર્થિયા આફરેકો સાથે સહકાર આપશે. આવી હૈદરાબાદનું સુખ મેષ પહેલે વર્ષે જ કંઈક સુધર થશે જેમ આનખના આવે છે. આ વિનાશીકનું જ વિભાર્થિયા કૃષ્ણ અને આનખ વર્ષ માટે ૧૯૩૧ની અરહતનો આવી છે. એમાં ૪૦ આફરેકોની અને ૨૫ હૈદરાબાદની છે. આમાંની ૩૦ અરહતની અરહતનો સ્વીકારવા સા છે.

હાથમાં એ વિદ્યાર્થીનિ રહે
 છે તેમજ, મોઢા, હોળી, અને
 ભૂદઈ જપા શ્રાવે વિદ્યાર્થી ભોજન
 માં રહે છે.

૨૦ તારીખ પુણેમાંથી આ જીવિ-
જનકોને લઈને રોડપટ્ટામાં વહેવા
આડે આવતા હતાં હતાં. પ્રત્યેકને
પુણમાંથી આવતું કે તેમણે કિલ્લા
કોરવામાં, ત્યાં વહેવા પામી છે કે,
કિલ્લામાં, આગળથી હવેતે જ જાણે
કેમ કે તે કિલ્લામાં ગોળામાં
આ કિલ્લામાંથી વહેતું તેમણે
જાણે જાણે.

પિન્ડ-પીપલે ભેખિને કહ્યું કે,
અમારી પાસા તમને સાથે
સાવળાવી છે કે, અર્થ તમે
મથુ: આત્મકર્મા વગર પાસા
કર્યો. અને અમારે જાણતો રહ્યો
પતુકલ રહેકાવ્યો. મને તમારે
બિજા ટેબલે સાથે મેસવાનું
પણ મળે.

આ જાહેરાત વિચારપૂર્વક કરે
શો. જાણી તેની ખરાબ અસર
માં ભરેલા પુસ્તકના ભયભક્ષકોમાં
જારી પડશે. એવી આ.સ.સ. તેના
કર્તા પાસેથી શરૂ થશે, એ કે
એ ઉપરથી આજ કાળમાં
નથી આવતી.

કે અસાધ્યે બાની કે તે
પાણી ફેરવેતરમાં વસતા' એવા
મા ગાંધી પાઠનસીધું એમ
લિખકારે કે એમ કાળીત મામ કે,
'જ્ઞાતા અસાધ્ય ફેરવાકે વિષા-
દાસો, અધિકારજ મોલનસ

ડૉ. અને કે.કે.કે. કોલેજના અરજીદારો સાથે એક પ્રિ-મીટિંગ
 ખર્ચા-અનુભવ છે. કમીટી પ્રેમ આ માને છે. પણ હજારો યુનિવર્સિટી
 વિવરણ દ્વારા એક જીવન સાથે સમાપ્ત એ છે કેને પાસવર્ડ
 ચર્ચા નથી કરતાં અને નથી નહીં જાય.

કેળવેલ ડીઝ દુઃખાન ભરેલો ડીઝ અમને કોતરશે. દરેકની પણ
પણ ભલામ ભલામ પામે... ભરણખો (પુનર્જન્મપાથી) ખાલી
કાળે ભરણખો પણ છે.

આ દેશમાં આપણી શું કરજી ?

એ ન ભણીને સમાજ દેવતા અને વિજ્ઞાને દેવતા પ્રતી આ
દેવતા મળવા અને પુણ્ય, શાં શાંના દર્શન. તેના જે અવાજ
અને પ્રતીક છે તે દિવે ભાવિને બોલે.

[illegible][illegible]

સદગુણાવાળા દુનિયા સતી,
પણ ભીખનું હાથ ભેગની ઘણા
ભે બાણી પડું કે અને તે
પણ કો છે. આ નૈહિક
સમીક્ષા સુલભ અને નેપાથી
કાળી, રેડ, કાલ અને બાંધે પલન
ચાલ છે. સદગુણાવાળી અને
ભીખનું હાથ ભેગની ઘણા ન કહે.

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આ પહેલે એક નવો માનવ
નિર્માણ કરવાનો છે. આપે
નેને યેઠાઈ "શિશુ આનંદ"
ને નામે ઈશ્વરપ્રેરિત છે. આપે
આપણી સાથે નાનકડો, અનવ
રેખ્ય છે. તેમાં નારીસિદ્ધિ,
કેટલું આત્મસેવો, કેટલું જીવનપ્રત્યક્ષ,
કેટલું અંધારો, કેટલું અન્યત્ર, અને
કેટલું ચાલકાક પદપ્રવાહો, એવું
છે. પારિસ્થાનનું કીડીદુવાનને
આપે રેખાંશ, કીડીદુવાનના પારિ-
સ્થાનને આપે રેખાંશ. રહીયા
મધ્યેથીને આપે રે, અચીત્તી
રહીયાને આપે રે. આપું એક
શીમાન પણ નથી ભેદનું. એ
જાવળોને તોરે છે. આપણને
એનો વિશ્વ મેળવે છે એ એક
લીઘને ભેરે. તેજામાં કુલ્લો
વખતે માથેમાથાં ઉપજીવું કહું
જાય તેહું એની ખજાઈના થઈ
પડી. આજ નાજ કાઢવિ તે
સુસંદીમ થ. હાથાંને ન થયે.
કેટલું નાજ કાઢવિ તો કીડી-
તુલ્લીકાને ન થયે. આજ
કાઢવિ તો નાનકડો થાસ કે
એમો એક ખંધપર એકા
કાઢે છે. આપે રેખો-આપણે
ઉપર કે એ અ.પણને એવા કાજ
ને બહોલે છુટા કરે? અપણે
નાથે પણ દુરવને કઈપીડ
કરી કીડી. નંદી, સાગ, રંગ,
ખજા, પંખ, પક્ષ અજણાં ભેટી
આપણને તોડકાક નવા, કાજ-
નાથ એકાંક નથી, અને આપણે
કીડીકાંક અની નાજ અજણ
કાજો નવા. આપણને નવો
"શિશુ આનંદ" કીડીદુવાન
આપણની અવને મેળવે.

હીંદની મોટામાં મોટી વિમાની કંપની તમારી સેવામાં

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ન્યુ ઇન્ડિયા ઇન્સ્યુરન્સ

કંપની સીમી28

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સેવા અને નિર્ભયતા

માટે ચામૂને મળે।

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હવે તમારે નિરાશ થવાની જરૂર નથી !

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आयुर्वेदम्

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સાચી સાચો તમે જાણ,
અધિકારક સત્તાવાળી કોણી

- તપાસી આનીવી યાદી—અવલુક જરી કોઈક, અનાદુષ દેશમાં, પેણુસી, સીકિન, કાપોતી, જરીકોનસી, હોર પાપન, દેશી પોપાન વધેરે ઉલ્લી ડીકાન-માં જાવી મુકુ હા!
- તપને ગમણી પેણુક—અવલુક પેણુક, દેશની હોર પાપન, જરી હોર પાપન, જરીની હોર : દેશી દેશ કોનેરી વધેરે અપાઈને રૂપમાં મળશે.
- નાસોતનમાં યાદી તેમજ રૂક અને બસીકો દેશી હોર પાપન તપને ખન વધક મળશે.
- તપાવી રૂપી માટે બસીકો દેશ રૂકુક હાપ અને, વિષ દેશમાં મળશે.
- જાને લગાવી રૂક : પેણુક—પૂખ્તો ખાત, જર, હોરુ વધેરે માટે અપને ખોલ.
- દેશી રીપાકુ પેણુ જગ્યામાં કાદ તેમજ રીપાકુ કાલે મળશે.
- તપની રીપે જરીકોપાત માટે તપાવી રૂકની કાલે જ અપોરે :

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આપણા છે.

“સૌને નર બનાવે”

மேலும், அந்தக் காலத்தில்

આવડેલા સમયગાળામાં સરકારે કરેલા કાર્યો

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બેબન પ્રજાશિલ ગણે

અમને મળે,

સુરેશી જમજુના અને રમેશદીસ મોમે.

શ્રી કૃપાનિધી નવજ દેવોજ નીચે પુનઃવચના અને યોગેશીઆના હાઈ
પણ આપનાં હાથને પ્રજાશિલ આવી રહેઈ શકાયને અને સ્વચ્છ કરે.

કેપીટન્સ બાલ્કની હોટેલ

(શ્રી કોર્નર મીઠાઈ હાઉસ)

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and without hesitation, for
there is no grace in a benefit
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—Service.

OPINION

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KENYA AFRICANS REJECT NEW PLAN TO INCREASE REPRESENTATION

THE eight African elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council rejected the constitution proposals put forward by the Secretary of the State for the Colonies.

The statement declares that the new proposals were put forward under methods used in the past to preserve colonial rule and in this case to continue to ensure white domination. They express the hope that white colonialism would prevail and that Kenya would be saved from blind folly leading to disaster. Here is point by point comment on the various proposals:

African Representation: Having accepted the fact that the African people are under-represented, they are surprised that the Colonial Secretary offered six more seats while implying that such increase was complementary to the other changes announced in this proposal, thus nullifying any attempt to rectify the present anomaly. "His insistence on a package deal or nothing precipitated the deadlock on October 13, and now leaves us with no alternative but to reject the proposals as a whole," they add.

Reference is also made to the suggestion that in future expansion in the Legislature will "only be in terms of selective seats and not communal seats." This adds to

development we have always sworn to fight against."

Little Say

The African Members also say it is obvious that with the present composition of the Legislative Council, and assuming that all Members will vote as individuals, the Europeans on both sides of the House will determine the election of African and Asian Members whereas the Africans on their own, or even jointly with the Asians, will have little, if any, influence in the selection of European Members.

Council Of Ministers: Parity as between the European and non-European unofficial is to be retained without justification,

Not Needed

Council Of State: Though its powers and composition had yet to be defined, it would seem it would hold vital control over the political development of the African people. The African Members considered the Council of State unnecessary since ultimate control of Kenya was still vested in the British Government in addition to the fact that the Governor had veto powers and the Government had a majority in the Legislature. The statement says it had been learned that some of the special subjects reserved for the Council would include education and land, thus it would become the instrument by which to preserve discrimination and European privileges.

On the duration of the new constitution, the African Member said they had always maintained that it was unrealistic to try and commit them or anyone to a standstill since they could not bind their successors, and since constitutional changes were dictated by circumstances which were either impossible to control. The stability that was sought could only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual confidence, trust and co-operation.

—Kenya Daily Mail.

I WOULD say that if the village perishes, India will perish too. India will be no more India. Her own masses in the world will get lost. The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited. Industrialisation on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use. Provided this character of the village industry is maintained, there would be no objection to villagers using even the modern machines and tools that they can make and can afford to use. Only they should not be used as a means of exploitation of others.

—Gandhi in "Harijan", 29th August 1926.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 13TH DECEMBER, 1957

Ganging-up Against Afrikaner

THE interracial conference which met in the Great Hall of the Witwatersrand University last week defused the real issues behind South Africa's race problem in the clearest light possible. The delegates, tired of the sterile strife based on race, projected before the country the ideal of a common society based on universal suffrage on a common roll as the only unifying ideal. It is this unity which is the most potent single cure for race hatred and inequality.

In doing that the delegates gave the country two alternatives. People might choose for themselves a Smaller South Africa based on race conflict or a Greater South Africa based on agreement. The delegates made it quite clear that they saw salvation for themselves in the ideal of a Greater South Africa.

Unanimity

What is most welcome about this decision is that it showed to what considerable extent democrats on both sides of the colour line agreed. It is as well that they demonstrated their unanimity so publicly.

Having laid the foundations so soundly for what could one day be the Greater South Africa Movement, the delegates rightly left it to the people of South Africa to decide for themselves on the nature of the pressures they would exert together to defeat apartheid.

The interests represented in the conference showed that the will to oppose apartheid and create a just social order is distributed widely in the life of the nation—as widely, it was gratifying to note, in sections of the White community, as among large sections of the non-White peoples. The task before the Continuation Committee as well as before all democrats, then, is to ensure that the collective power of these interests is organised and canalised along directions where they might exert the maximum pressure in the most effective ways. This is the real challenge of the Johannesburg conference.

Afrikaners

And in exerting this pressure it is of the utmost importance that no opportunity should be lost to point out that the Johannesburg conference was in no way an attempt to gang up against the Afrikaner. It was certainly a move by democrats and Christians who regard Man as an end to stand together against evaluations of Man based on race. And in that move there was, as there is, plenty of room for the Afrikaner democrat or the Afrikaner Christian who rejects race as the main determinant of the individual's worth.

We have no intention to tell the Continuation Committee how best to do its work. But we think Bishop
(Continued on next page)

Comment On Man And Events

The Great Interracial Conference

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

ABOUT 600 men and women from all the main racial groups of the Union met in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand last week to hammer out a formula for a South Africa in which all would be free to make the best use possible of their lives.

Quite early in the conference Raymond Z. R. Mabebe, who presided, made it known that the conference was not an anti-apartheid or an anti-government gathering. Very many delegates hastened to disassociate themselves from this view on the grounds that attendance at an assembly called to look for an alternative to apartheid meant taking a definite stand against apartheid. But the impression I got from both Mr Mabebe's plea for objectivity and his comments on apartheid was that what he believed the conference had been called to do precluded wrangling about apartheid details.

Agreement

Although important details were not overlooked conference never lost sight of the importance of agreeing on goals. And the agreement on objectives was, in my view, its most important achievement. This alone marked it out as a turning point in South Africa.

After lengthy deliberation the conference agreed to set itself the goal of a multi-racial society of co-operating and interdependent individuals, one in which civil rights would be guaranteed and one in which citizenship would be based on universal suffrage on a common roll.

The acceptance of this decision by the conference established the fact that there is now a definite split in the White community. This is a very important point. On the one hand it underlines the unity of the fact that in needed the Afrikaner Nationalists to split White opinion in ways to make the Johannesburg conference and decision possible. On the other, it takes the commonest of the African Nationalist argument that the White Liberal is a leader-post with the intention of perpetuating White domination is a new goal.

White Domination

With the White community so effectively split, White domination is undoubtedly weakened and if the dissenting minority

dominates, it would be a dominance of brains and not of race. But it is difficult to see how dominance could be perpetuated without frustrating the will of the majority and in that way dynamising all progress to a truly democratic society.

The truth of the matter is that in Johannesburg we witnessed a triumph of ideals and not a triumph of one race against another. The delegates agreed that the future of South Africa lay in the direction of ensuring that the like-minded stood together to against the absolute racism.

In other words the Johannesburg conference laid the foundation of what could one day be a new force with a real potential to prevent apartheid with the reality of disaster. If this estimate is correct, one of the biggest shortcomings of the conference was to lay solid foundations for the process of isolating apartheid.

Split

On quite another plane, and was impressed by the splits of give and take from all sides of the colour line. All were concerned with finding the most effective solution to a problem which affected their vitality. And in their search men and women realised that race or colour were extremely unimportant—which was a very big step forward. People committed themselves with solemn guarantees of a certain way of life and not with mere survival.

In this light the conference reinforced a trend which had begun to be visible in recent years—the belief that the ideal of a common society is not a halfway house between Afrikaner Nationalism and African Nationalism; it is a third way out based on a disinterested set of widely new loyalties in the South African context.

The anti-apartheid have been horrified by the unanimity achieved in the conference. This can be explained, among other things, by the fact that the conference gave the liberal-minded in all the racial groups the opportunity to tell one another the things they have always yearned to say. The race representative are shocked to find that there is now, in fact and in deed, so much agreement between White and non-White.

(Continued on page 520)

How Foreign Students Work And Live In India

(By A Special Correspondent)

THERE are 250 or more visiting scholars, representing 44 nationalities at the Delhi University campus today. Strolling down in groups from lecture halls to the library or the campus coffee house, they present the picture of a happy family, students and scholars given to loud argument. Yet, refer to them, even in jest, as "foreign students" and they are ready to blow up in multilingual explosion that will demonstrate through the common laugh of the visiting scholars.

What forms in fact, a common bond, uniting these different individuals with conflicting views and mental outlooks into a single sympathetic unity, is their common goal to realise the connection of the term "foreign student" and India, for the time being, at least, a home-from-home in India, the country of their choice for furthering their individual knowledge and education.

In attempting to sympathise and merge their personalities with those of their Indian counterparts, the visiting scholars hope to have their most important lesson—education is international living and thought. It is this objective which prompted them first young men and women to leave last year the Foreign Students Association, an organisation which shortly hopes to shed its narrowness in favour of something like International Student's Club, a name more truly indicative of the status and aspirations of the members. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, founder-president of the association, has been in glowing terms and has been responsible for some excellent and timely advice on the maintenance of a liaison between the visiting scholars and their Indian counterparts, besides the furthering of local contacts.

Quest Scholars

It is believed that annually 3,800 guest scholars from other countries visit India for courses of study in the various universities. Almost 80 per cent of these are Government scholars, on the basis of reciprocal exchange fellowships. About 15 per cent of the visitors, who seek admission in Indian universities out of their own personal resources, are research scholars doing postgraduate work on some aspect or other of Indian life and culture. The remaining five per cent are "desires from families of embassy and consular staff posted in the country, generally sons or daughters of ambassadors and other diplomatic personnel.

Delhi's share of foreign students, compared with the rest of India, would not be a little over twelve per cent. One reason for this, according to a local statistician is that the majority of visiting

students, Africans particularly, seek technical education in the fields of engineering, medicine or architecture, for which better facilities are available elsewhere in the metropolitan towns and centres of the country. The preferred attraction for foreign students in Delhi is the study of the liberal arts and humanities. What perhaps confirms this assumption is the fact that nearly 40 per cent of the visiting scholars are girls.

Not All Foreigners

Not all the students in the Delhi University, however, are foreigners in the true sense of the term. On a rough analysis it has been found that at least 60 per cent are of Indian origin, these persons having settled down years ago in places like Canada, East Africa, the West Indies or some other country. Though far removed from their original Indian background, these students do not always find the problem of adjustment as difficult. In fact their presence has helped considerably in parting away to the visiting scholars the Indian viewpoint, way of life and customs.

For instance, there are not a few American and European girls in the campus who find it difficult to understand why their Indian friends are averse to "dressing". Allen Math, a distinguished beauty of Lebanese extraction whose parents had from New York, is no great friend of modesty's garbings, who she plays the business with natural poise and perfection. Attending college in Delhi while her father is holding an engagement to a writing programme of electrical engineering in Rashtia, Africa, seems perfectly tickled by the attention she has been receiving from the local students. Yet, it is difficult for 21-year-old Allen to explain to her Indian sisters that her sensibility is a perfectly innocent thing, indulged in by every teenager in college campuses in the United States.

Difficulty

Children-born Mary Sewell is another visitor who had difficulty in explaining to Indian girls that it is quite common in

the United States for boys and girls to take up jobs like dish-washing, or waiting at tables, to pay their way through college. The average Indian boy or girl, Mary feels, is shocked by such a casual confidence and usually overreacts the impression that the visitor must hail from some generous family in underdeveloped areas, to them, are "degraded" jobs.

The Indian student's idea of his American counterpart, according to her, is drawn largely from the movies. As a student of child education in the Delhi University, Mary Sewell feels she is gaining excellent practical experience correcting students' suppositions about her lived back home.

Lawrence Sebela, the lady coloured boy from Uganda who is studying law after graduating from Columbia as economics, is a shy and soft-spoken young man of 25, who has a debater's manner in life—politic. His countrymen, Sebela told me, have now a freedom for this field, particularly in the wake of African nationalism and Ghana's independence.

A cheerful lad, despite his coloured status, Sebela has a certain aloof attitude in the matter of colour and the resources it produces among other people. It is true that he is reported more sympathetic treatment from brown-skinned Indians, who are in doing ideological problems in relation to the White man. But then, Sebela interrupted, he might have corrected me much. Calcutta, he is now convinced, is an attitude of mind. He has no clear surface equality on this score.

Discrimination

Discrimination exists in every sphere of life, whether it is between the wise and the not-so-wise, the beautiful and the not-

so-beautiful, or the intelligent and the not-so-intelligent. When such is the case, the attribution of the colour factor to such sort of discrimination amounts to reading more into a situation than really exists. Of this truth Sebela is now convinced. He has met a few people who have embarrassed him about his pigmentation. But this, Sebela asserts, does not mean that ignorant people the world over. "Why not look around for the skin colour?" he asks, and that just about sums the issue so far as this scholarly African is concerned.

In effect, however, the presence of these students has helped to serve an important cause—that of experientialism in international living. The average Delhi student, tell a few years ago, had only an academic knowledge about the living customs and habits of the different states and nationalities. In the past few years, since independence, he has been drawn face to face with their representatives. To co-exist with them peacefully is a security imposed by the diplomatic code of the campus. But to make them feel at home and able to make them forget that they are foreigners is a challenge. It is a new task and a new role that he is quite unused to.

But here, then, is a fine testing ground to demonstrate the Pancasila in practice. The Delhi student knows all eyes are on him and is determined to show the purest selfless that Indian hospitality is of that it has been advertised to be, maybe more. The International House charity is no built for these scholars, will perhaps prove how good India is to her in large an international brotherhood of students in the event of knowledge and learning.

(Continued from previous page)

Reeves' publicly-expressed hope that those who declined to attend the conference might be persuaded to see the light differently is a line of speech people of goodwill might adopt if the agreements reached at Johannesburg will have meaning to a widening circle of men and women in the life of the nation.

Over and above this it will be a magnificent gesture if the Continuation Committee assures the organisers of the conference Sabra and others on the Africans from are said to have in mind, that it will, on behalf of the Johannesburg delegates, be willing to co-operate wherever possible.

The Great Interracial Conference

(Continued from page 520)

The Church

One just cannot exaggerate the role played by the Church in making the conference the success that it was. I had pointed out on several occasions in these columns before that the various groups on the anti-apartheid side were not properly represented in the policy-making committee which planned the conference. Efforts had been made to correct this weakness. But at a critical stage in the conference a delegate came from the floor and attacked this weakness. That shook the assembly badly and the consensus of opinion is that it was the Rev. Canon Archbishop Hurley of Durban who saved the situation by proposing a compromise which made all sides feel little less comfortable.

On quite another plane, Anglican Bishop Reeves of Johannesburg, in his closing address, showed a breadth of tolerance towards the Afrikaner in particular, which has expressed the innermost feelings of most of the delegates. To us who listened to the things Bishop Reeves said, Afrikaner Nationalist des-

criptions of him as an enemy began to lose their meaning.

Conciliation

If Archbishop Hurley was for conciliation as between the various interests represented in the conference, Bishop Reeves was also for conciliation between the dominant viewpoint in the conference and Afrikanerdom.

But over and above all this, the leader of the Church made it plain that it was not enough merely to denounce race oppression; people had to be ready for costly sacrifices both in applying as well as in defending those values of life they held dear. I do not see how the Church could commit itself in efforts towards a fight to the death against the forces which regard race as the determining value of a person. For bringing the Churches as decisively into the fight we certainly have to thank the Native Land Amendment Act.

To wind up the most important thing is not what the conference decided to do next, but the fact that it enabled the

like-minded of all races to meet and to define together the ground on which they agreed. From

that day: All possible.

Indian Congress Durban's Protest

IN a statement issued in the Press the Natal Indian Congress says:

"The strong protest voiced by the spokesmen of the Durban Municipality on the amendments proposed by Dr. Douglas to the Group Areas Development Act sound completely hollow, when we recall the indecent haste, with which the Durban City Council rushed to support the Nationalists, notwithstanding its criticism by members of Parliament from Natal, when this measure was introduced in Parliament.

"After being jointly responsible with the Nationalists," the statement continues, "for actively creating machinery for the legalised robbery of the Indian people of Durban, the Council now seems to weep over the fact that it may not get the substantial share of the spoils on which it had banked.

"What is wrong with the Group Areas measures is not

the such but the principles and which much the Indian. "Without severer directly

tion of these most authorities: of Durban, hundreds of from their

"The Durban Council the were by logical point of step and: white local Dr. Douglas Development' supreme some will of how terrible of these

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બીશપ રીવઝ:—ઇલાયદાપણુ એ પાપ છે

જો કાનૈયાલાલની મીઠા પરિવારમાં બીજામ વીચારું
આપણે જે જેટ જઈએ તેનામ છોડો જે જાણ
નથી આપણે જાણે.

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કાલેની છે. આ તે વ્યવસ્થિત છે નીતી

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 સમર્થ થઈને, પહેલો પતોના
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 હોયને સ્વામી અને એ સ્વામી સેવકો
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સ્વ. અમનાસાલ ગામના ગણુના પાલકા પુત્ર તરીકે મેલગામ ૭
૬ થેના અને પાલકાની હતી અને મોડાપાલકી હતી. તેમની
માતા અને પિતા પુત્ર અને માતા વચ્ચે ગામના છે. કુ. ગણુને તેમને ૧૯૫૧
માં અને તે પછી તેમની આંતરે છે.

[illegible]

(¹⁰સાંજનાં પુરને આપુના આશિર્વાદ¹¹ મનેનાંથી.)

The Twilight Of The Gods

THAT Indians hope to replace Europeans as the rulers of Africa is "the firm conviction" of many white South Africans, not all of them Nationalists. In a recent article for a Netherlands public (reprinted by the S.A. State Information Office) the *Avontuur* Editor of "Die Burger" asserts that this is also India's ambition.

But how subjective an assessment this is appears from Mr. Schalk Pienaar's immediately following comments: In the mind of the White South is no doubt that in the event of his departure from Africa, the swiftest (at least in its earlier part) will be handed over to the Indians and not to the Africans (an unusual word then, both for "Die Burger" and S.I.O. publications).

The "Indian ideal for Africa," therefore, exists "in the mind of the Whites," not in the objectively considered policies of India or the Indian minorities in Africa. And Mr. Pienaar's "conviction" is the more remarkable in view of his belief that "from his experience, South Africa (i.e. the White population) has come to the firm conviction that equal rights for non-Whites in a united society must lead to domination

by the numerically stronger parties."

How then can the Union's 400,000 Indians be expected to "take over" from its 3 million Whites? In the Union Indians form 3 per cent. of the population, Whites 21 per cent., Africans 67 per cent., Coloureds 9

C. W. M. GELL

per cent. Even if the whole of Eastern Africa from the Cape to Nairobi is considered together, Indians barely number 700,000 against 3 million Europeans and some 35-40 million Africans.

Mr. Pienaar's article, perhaps because it was written with a continental European audience in mind, in many ways less completely parades than most South African statements on this subject—less, for instance, than the papers read at the January 1955 Sales conference. But it continually identifies South Africa with either "White South Africa" or the Afrikaners.

Heate the reference to "two million Afrikaners" as "that

section of the population which gives direction to the country's policies." And the emphasis on the probability that "if the Afrikaner is driven out there will be left nowhere in the world a trace of his civilization, history, culture or language." Mr. Pienaar admits that "South Africa" means fully "the moving counter to the opinion of almost the entire world." But her whole rest case is founded on a struggle against impossible odds. In spite of "force" she still exists and in spite of "logic" she hopes to continue existing.

After some further review of the Afrikaner's "history and 'Gedindenswaardig' philosophy of life, Mr. Pienaar comes to the dybbolically moderate statement (in contrast with his opening theme) that India desires the release of her minorities in Africa from subversive status and the eventual participation of all non-White peoples in their Governments. Mr. Pienaar ardently wishes that Netherlands readers are likely to be better informed about Mr. Nehru's standpoint than a M.P. studying medicine:

"South Africa," however, according to Mr. Pienaar, dare not make any concession, for then it would inevitably be forced "ultimately to grant full partnership to the non-Whites."

In view of the numerous disparity, this (it is argued) would lead to "non-White domination," the expulsion of the Afrikaner and "the obliteration of his story from the rolls of history."

South Africa's dispute with India and the U.S. "is literally one for survival." "She" only needs to live—it is as simple as that. "She" realizes that there is little understanding of "her" policies of self-preservation and separate development by Western Europeans. Indeed, "she" often feels betrayed by them, though "she" stands by Mr. Pienaar as "an outpost of Western civilisation on this black continent exposed both to Communism and Atomic imperialism."

Mr. Pienaar considers that this isolated position is "most difficult, if not very dangerous. But if it brings South Africa into conflict with the outside world, she can merely shrug her shoulders. She has nothing she to offer."

This duplicate mechanism by an otherwise highly intelligent Afrikaner writing for an overseas audience underlines exactly what Prof. S. S. Kretzschmar when he said "Either we change our hearts and consciences our fears and prejudices, or we must simply wait the day of reckoning."

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—Schiller.

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1932.

Former Editor: Manilal Gandhi—1938-1955.

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Friday, 26th December, 1957

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LUTHULI REPLIES TO LOUW ON CONSCIENCE DECLARATION

MR ERIC LOUW'S reply to the world-wide campaign of protest against South Africa's official policy of racism has done nothing to vindicate South Africa or the Nationalist Government of the serious allegations made against them by the hundreds of leading spokesmen who joined in signing the Declaration of Conscience demanding that South Africa observe the fundamental human rights in the United Nations Charter.

The mere fact that so many leading individuals from every major country in the world have seen fit to protest against the racist policies of the South African government is in itself an indication that there is serious cause for apprehension over the policies and practices of the government of this country.

By branding the sponsors of the protest as "ultra-liberalists" and smearing them as communists the Nationalist Government will not absolve South Africa from the charges made against it by leading individuals and statesmen throughout the world. The words of Mr. Louw were those of a drowning man clutching at a straw. He refused, or did not wish to see, that the world-wide protest was a movement for justice and human rights for all people regardless of their race or colour and not a campaign directed against the white people of this country.

Far from causing unrest among the African population and racial tension, the

human rights contained in the United Nations Charter and outlined in the Declaration of Conscience will have just the opposite effect. It is clearly the policy of Mr. Louw and his Government that is the danger to racial harmony and to the white people of South Africa.

The main charges outlined in the preamble to the Declaration remain unrepudiated.

...that hundreds of non-whites have been evicted from their homes...

...that the Coloured voters were now being deprived of voting with Europeans...

...that Bantu Education, the goal of which was to prepare the Africans for a subservient role in a white man's society, was being vigorously implemented...

...that the Apartheid policy of the Government was being extended ruthlessly into all areas of human activity...

...that pass laws, job reservations and Group Areas remain on the statute books of the Union of South Africa.

These were not refuted by Mr. Louw.

Instead, he chose, by a series of insults, threats, evasions and misrepresentations to dismiss the Declaration and its signatories as Communists and as having a "decidedly pliant tongue."

His claim that there is freedom of speech in South Africa will deceive no-one. Mr. Louw is well aware of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Racialist Assemblies Act, the Emergency War Measures and the various regulations under the Urban Areas Act all of which have been frequently invoked by the Nationalist Government. Not to prevent the "expression of subversive views" as Mr. Louw explained, but to restrict individuals from speaking whose views were in conflict with the Nationalist Government.

The wide terms of the Suppression of Communism Act have fallen like an axe on Communists, Liberals and Churchmen alike whose views are opposed to apartheid and racial oppression. In view of what has passed in the last ten years since the accession of the Nationalist Government to power, it is a hollow cry to proclaim that freedom of speech exists for all but

the communists in South Africa.

The world-wide campaign of protest culminating on Human Rights Day (December 10th) is a clear indication that South Africa is marching against the tide of the times and stands alone with a troubled conscience in a world impatient for fundamental freedoms.

(Signed) A. J. LETHBRIDGE, on behalf of the National Consultative Committee of the African National Congress, S.A., Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats, S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, S.A. Congress of Trade Unions.

Mrs. Roosevelt Won't Bother About Laws

New York.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt would not bother to comment on comments made in Pretoria by Mr. Eric Louw, the South African External Affairs Minister her secretary said in New York.

Mr. Louw had said in a broadcast that Mrs. Roosevelt, widow of the wartime President, was the head of the sponsoring committee of the "Declaration of Conscience" against South Africa's apartheid policies and was "not a stranger in American left wing circles." Sapa-Reuters.

OPINION

FRIDAY, 20TH DECEMBER, 1957

Boycott And Apartheid

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish a letter from Mr C. W. M. Gell to which we would like to draw the attention of our readers because of its importance. Mr. Gell differs with us and the Natal Indian Congress on the attitude we have taken in regard to some of the techniques to be used in boycotts against apartheid.

At its annual conference this year, the Natal Indian Congress passed a resolution asking for attention to be given to the question of issuing a world-wide appeal for a boycott of South Africa in sporting and cultural matters. We expressed warm approval of this decision in our columns at the time.

PUBLISHERS NOTE

WE wish to inform our readers that there will be no issues of "Indian Opinion" and "Opinion" on December 27, and January 3, owing to the Xmas Holidays. We would like to extend to all our readers and friends, a very Happy Xmas and Prosperous New Year, and we pray for a better and deeper understanding in the New Year, amongst all the people of this country.

Mr. Gell's main basis on the fear that such a course might be vindictive. He suggests the alternative of getting non-European to affiliate to international organisations, compete in world cultural and sporting events and in that way project the South African colour bar in ridiculous light. This is a viewpoint which furnished people will treat with all possible respect. We like to believe that the Indian Congress took the course it did after very careful consideration of all possible lines of attack. For our part, we supported them after we had examined all possible avenues and decided in the end that this, in the end was the best line.

But Mr. Gell's solution might lead to a dangerous and de-sac in two ways. I would leave the segregationists relatively at peace to do what they like on the home-front where they should be opposed with all possible vigour. But ever and above this affiliation can be practicable only if the decisive problem of passports is solved. There is no point in affiliating to a world organisation when Minister Danga will not allow your teams to go abroad.

Minister Danga's refusal to allow non-White teams to participate in world sporting and cultural events where South African White groups were forbidden would ultimately force international bodies precisely to the position asked for by the NIC and ourselves.

(Continued in next Column)

PEACE ON EARTH

It is my firm opinion that Europe today represents not the spirit of God on Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's secrets are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is today only nominally Christian. It is really worshippers Mammon. 'It is only for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle that for a rich man to enter the Kingdom.' Thus really spoke Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possessions.

By all means drink deep of the fountain that are given to you in the Sermon on the Mount, but then you will have to take arduous and arduous. The teaching of Jesus was meant for each and every one of us. You cannot serve both God and Mammon. God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Tolerant Incarnate, allows Mammon to have his own days' wonder. But I say to you ... by from that self-deceiving but destructive show of Mammon.

A time is coming when those who are in the mad rush today of multiplying their wants, vainly thinking that they add to the real substance, i.e. real knowledge of the world, will realise their error and say: 'What have we done?'

It is my conviction that the root of the evil is want of a living faith in a living God. It is a first class human tragedy that people on the earth who claim to believe in the message of Jesus whom they describe as the Prince of Peace show little of that belief in actual practice. It is painful to see sincere Christians driven limiting the scope of Jesus' message to select individuals. I have been taught from my childhood and tested the truth by experience that the primary virtues of mankind are possible of cultivation by the movement of the human species. It is this undoubted universal possibility that distinguishes the human from the rest of God's creation. If even one nation were successfully to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would set in our lifetime while peace established on earth.

If the best minds of the world have not imbued the spirit of non-violence, they would have to meet paganism in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not gone very far beyond the law of the jungle, that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the heritage that God has given us, that, in spite of the teaching of Christianity which is 1900 years old and of Hinduism and Buddhism which are older, and even of Islam, we have not made much headway as human beings.

But there has been the ruling force in the world for thousands of years, and mankind has been reaping its bitter harvest all along, so we who read may read. There is little hope of anything good coming out of it in the future. If light come out of darkness, then there are less chances from hatred.

—Gandhi.

(Continued from previous column)

The real point which arises is: Why should valuable time and money be wasted in affiliation and other forms, selecting teams and practicing, merely to place international organisations, which are already in the process of being converted, in positions which very many of them will take for the asking by responsible people in South Africa?

There is another argument against relying exclusively Mr Gell's line. It could prove effective only on a long-term basis. Unfortunately the pace at which events move is of the utmost importance. Delay has the danger of allowing frustrations to develop to dangerous degrees of intensity. Showouts prevent their accumulation in that direction. The NIC resolution was such a short-cut. For this reason, we still think that the Natal Indian Congress stand was wise and will deal a real blow on apartheid without bitterness within the shortest time possible.

Comment On Man And Events

Africa For The Africans

By JORDAN K. HOBANE

THE troubles inside the African National Congress daily bring to the fore the fact that the Afrikaners are the virulent heirs-apparent of the Lockhoff regime. And this, in turn, makes it of the greatest importance that their attitude should be studied with growing severity.

Their declared goal is Africa for the Africans. They want a society in which Africanism will be the dominant influence. On the face of it Africanism is quite clearly the main road to tribalistic rule. The Afrikaner wants to overthrow White domination and replace it with African domination. In this respect there is no real difference between the apartheid and the Afrikanist.

Totalitarian

A man might be expected for the present. But if he sees himself and his problems from the perspective of tribalism, that is, if he thinks of values in terms of having their validity determined by race, he is a totalitarian. And totalitarians are the same, whether White, Yellow, Brown or Black. In one form they produce States of Police, in another, the Lockhoff Pyramids and in yet another, the firm prison.

But very many Afrikaners insist that they are democratic; that Africanism is merely a rallying-point for the greatest number of the oppressed. I know some of the leaders of the Afrikanist movement. They are good citizens and a fair selection of them are even devoted Christians. But this does not in any way invalidate the fact that an Afrikanist ideology which views the country's problems from the perspective of groups or tribes is necessarily totalitarian.

Contradiction

This brings me to what is definitely a contradiction in the ranks of Africanism at the moment. A section of the movement is broadly democratic. The others are totalitarian. At the moment it is obvious that the wing with marked democratic leanings is in the ascendancy. On the other hand the stress is placed on the Nationalism of the anti-apartheid element will bring more strength to the show of the totalitarian. That will intensify the struggle inside the ANC and probably lead to the position where the Afrikanist will take complete control.

This would be the first step towards civil war. Apart-

heid and Africanism are directly antipathetic and mutually exclusive. It is either one or the other. The one has the advantage of controlling the Police and the army; of having political power while the other has the strength of numbers behind it. The Afrikanist has beyond shadowed clearly that we have reached the point where some Africans are actually thinking of a showdown with apartheid. The reverse is power of the Nationalism will be a signal to the Afrikanist to start attacking in preparation of a decisive showdown.

Terrible Holocaust

The forces on either side are so strong and irreconcilable that of and when they do collide we shall find ourselves caught up in a terrible holocaust. Presently, for us, things are not so bad that all we can do now is to sit down and await the inevitable. Furthermore, I am certain that the aim of apartheid, wrong and stupid as their leaders are, is actually to secure for themselves and not outsiders from this part of the world. But their policies give Africanism all the reason to stand in awe in the expression of the opposition to the only guarantee of survival for the Africans.

I am equally certain that the Afrikanist does not want civil war if he can help it.

In between the two giants stands a large group of men and women from both sides of the colour line who expect reconciliation from their respective groups and who are doing all in their power to move events away from the collision towards which Apartheid and Africanism are pushing the country. Some of them have not been satisfied merely to grope around and do nothing effective to create conditions which will peace. They have banded themselves together in the Liberal Party and are proposing before South Africa the ideal of a non-racial society based on democratic ideals. They are the real and good war faction. I think they have a definite mission at this point in our history to encourage those with democratic leanings on both the Apartheid

and Afrikanist sides to see the democratic truth in increasing light.

Value And Tensions

A growing acceptance of the democratic truth on either side could quite conceivably be a value to release some of the tensions which are piling up and could slow down the speed to a collision.

This needs a great deal of tact—to approach the Afrikanist Nationalist with slightly democratic leanings and bring him in contact with the Afrikanist with similar leanings. Strictly speaking, it is not the duty of a political party. But as pressure groups are better equipped than the Liberals to do it at the moment. As a result, one of the greatest services Liberalism can render to the country at present is to encourage the reasonable men and women in the ranks of Apartheid and Africanism that the greatest need of the moment is not civil war, but a new and more effective regrouping of forces based on the ideal of a South Africa where every person shall have the opportunity to make the best possible use of their lives.

Without in any way sharing its attitude to nationalism from both sides, Liberalism could have so opened mind in approaching the apartheid and the Afrikanist with democratic leanings. This sort of contact, on the personal plane, might turn the country away from what could be disaster to a better future.

Multi-racial Conference

And that task has been made very much easier by the multi-racial conferences. There, such was defined which do not favour any one particular racial group. They will be opposed with greater vigour from the apartheid than from the Afrikanist side. And if that happens it always opens up possibilities of coming to terms with at least a section of the Afrikanists. My own belief is that democracy has more

to gain where it wins the Afrikanist to its side than when it alienates him. Wherever his leader, the Afrikanist wants to be in step with humanity in the civilized world; he is certainly not a tribalist. And if we can convince him that in the Liberal he has a friend—this can be done—we need not fear civil war and need not even fear that apartheid will be with us for very many more years. The essential thing is to ensure that the forces working for change in the Afrikanist mind become democratic influences; for the Afrikanist's boldest most

Uganda Leader Wires Strijdom Against Apartheid

KAMPALA, Uganda.

THE President of the Uganda Progressive Party, Mr. E. M. K. Mubwa, has wired the South African Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, protesting against "your infamous apartheid policy".

The cable said that the Progressive Party "supports all those fighting to overthrow it" and added "Black Africa will soon be independent. In God's name establish your policy now for the sake of the White people, so there are more coloured people in the world whose vengeance you are provoking—SAPPA-Associated Press.

be in the attainment of democratic goals. Where this is appreciated the Afrikanist with democratic leanings will be treated with the respect due to a freedom but desired commoner.

But, whatever happens, it must be made clear to the Afrikanist that Africa for the Africans means civil war. And if they want civil war, of course, they will get it. But for my part, Africa is for humanity.

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Press Review

Summary Of Multi-Racial Conference Findings

THE multi-racial conference held in Johannesburg last week came to the conclusion that a racial change leading to full equality of all races in South Africa in all spheres of life could be achieved peacefully and could be successful. The conference stated that in its opinion this was the desired future for the country.

A new National Convention, representative of all races, should be called to form a new white-minority government which would respect the basic rights and freedoms of the individual in a democratic society, according to the conference.

The report of the conference's consultation on civil rights stated that the rights which should be guaranteed included freedom to participate in the Government of the country, freedom of speech and association, freedom of worship, freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, freedom of movement and the privacy of the home and of correspondence.

To withhold civil rights for persons of race or colour to count was a violation of moral principles and conflicted standards, said the report.

Disputed adult franchise was recommended by the conference's political committee which proposed a working committee to work for this end.

It was said that there was at present in South Africa a disintegrating group and a subintegrating group. The subintegrating group's purpose to disintegrate could either break down or cause disintegration. The danger was that there might be a breeding conflict between white and non-white citizens at disintegration.

"The suggestion of apartheid is not suitable to raise their fear that the danger of the back colour was to drive the white race into the sea," stated the report of the consultation. "But the proposal of 400 people here (in the conference) is proof that life is not the livable hell."

The report concluded that South Africa's future could be a happy one if it was not based on apartheid but on a recognition of the rights of every South African, provided that the rights of every individual be the basis of these rights.

Significance

This was perhaps the main significance and importance of all the resolutions reached at the conference. Chairman stated

that the conference proved conclusively that white and non-white could meet to resolve some a racial crisis and find some solution to the country's problems.

The conference also discussed rights and duties and that the aim should be to meet all discriminatory restrictions based on the colour of the worker, which, it stated, were nowhere in the way of production.

"Living Wage" Campaign For Africans Launched In E. Cape

East London, Dec. 6.

THE "living wage for Africans" campaign launched at a meeting attended by 3,000 Africans in the Duncan Village this week, had its first success yesterday.

The Indian proprietor of an Oxford Street shop announced that he had decided to pay one of his Africans £4 a month more. The African group decided to donate for a month of his labour to help finance the campaign.

The campaign aims at achieving a minimum monthly wage of £12 for the married Africans.

Representatives for higher wages for African workers in commercial and industrial firms in East London would have to be referred to individual employers, spokesman for the British Chamber of Industries and the Chamber of Commerce and industry.

The matter was completely outside the scope of the Chamber of Industries, the president, Mr. Don Hill, told the "Daily Dispatch." He was asked to comment on the "living wage" campaign launched in the city this week.

Mr. Hill said the Chamber would refer those behind the campaign to individual employers.

The president of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. A. B. Johnson, said the commercial enterprise trade was governed by a wage determination regulated

"Religious communities profess the failure of their members to work and implement fully in practice the brotherhood of man," stated the report of the consultation on religion. The consultation stated that religious communities could contribute their share to bringing about a change in South Africa's social structure by teaching and providing brotherhood.

The educational commission stressed on the spirit of the constitution. "The commission always has faith in the common destiny of the various racial elements which comprise the South African nation," it believes that the fundamental social aim should be to promote a religious, political, common, reasonably and the welfare of the common into a single nation-state. — "Daily Witness."

working for those not governed by a wage determination would be referred to the individual firms.

Mr. Johnson said he agreed that in every African worker in East London earned an extra pound a week, it would benefit firms by way of increased turnover.

"But it is not good paying higher wages if the firms are not going to get anything in return—increased efficiency, for example."

He said one large firm in East London started a new wage scheme two years ago by which African employees could rise to £10 a week.

"This firm had put them into jobs which two years ago were done by Europeans. The reason for this was that European youths starting straight from school would reach £10 a month about three or four years and then leave. The firm found that if it employed a good type of African for the same work by the European youths, the African was enabled to have the chance of coming up to £10 a month."

The African, knowing he could gain more elsewhere, was quite satisfied to stay with the firm and give good service.

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What Is The Western Way Of Life?

By Wilfred Wallock

IF the West we talk glibly about the Western way of life, but never stop to inquire what it is or what it consists of. Yet, without doubt, the Industrial Revolution was very much more than a change to industrial mechanisation. It has revolutionised the fabric of entire nations, the nature of their work and of their leisure, their values, their sense of good and evil, and thus the content of what we call life.

The Industrial Revolution first changed the nature of work by making it increasingly repetitive and automatic. Hence more and more men functioned like machines and less and less like creative beings. They then ceased to be whole men and became fragmented men.

This change made them dissatisfied and restless. Efforts to appease this condition took the form of better wages and increased leisure. Very short working hours were promised, but the promise was not kept because invention produced all manner of new gadgets from pencil sharpeners to refrigerators, radio sets, telephones, motor cars etc. But if these inventions were to be used, the workers must have higher wages, and so all the emphasis is put on living gradually full on money. To buy an ever-increasing quantity of goods became the be-all and end-all of living.

We thus had these striking results by way of the Industrial Revolution. The nature of the common man was changed. He ceased to be a responsible, creative worker and became more and more like a machine since he worked like one, and because he did not work creatively he became a fragmented person who lived less and less by thought and increasingly by indulging in his physical appetites. He bought more clothes, purchased food and second of hand entertainment in the use of his recreational and spiritual resources he became increasingly dependent upon his environment for his pleasures, and thus upon money with which he now expects to provide all his entertainment and diversions.

This process further lowered the quality of his mind and his personality. He lost interest in creative activities, regarded education as the means to a well-

paid job, and sought to buy all his pleasures with money and increasingly with commodities such as competitive sports, betting, swimming, football, basketball, horse and dog racing and horse jumping etc. In these games the content is not entirely in the quality of the sport or the skill, but in winning. Accordingly clubs spend huge sums on buying players who can win matches, whereas sports become the interest of big business, an affair of huge stadiums crowded with people who will pay big money for a short spell of mass excitement. The excitement came from the fact, where sports stars now compete with film stars for leading in the world's headlines, having philosophers, prophets and poets and even politicians in the cold and the shade.

Another effect of this money economy is excessive self-indulgence, with its many attendant evils. During the first three months of the present year the people of Britain spent over £900,000,000 on tobacco and beer. Today deaths from lung cancer due to cigarette smoking are rapidly rising, while in America, what are now regarded as "high living" diseases, such as

polio-myelitis and coronary thrombosis, are on the increase, especially the latter. In 1953 this disease was responsible for half the deaths of males over forty years of age, while in 1950 over half a million Americans died of this disease. Worse still, these diseases are not tackled at their source. When people take fright at the revelation of vital statistics, they resort to drugs, whereas in America and in Britain drug-taking has become almost a mania and is rapidly becoming a major catastrophe.

Meanwhile the fever of spending grows, for no matter how much money one has one never suffers. Hence the addiction of every nation of the civilisation to increase its share of the material cake. This struggle has become an encumbering public system, while the practice of buying goods no longer purchase comes is growing so rapidly that in Britain the Government has been compelled to take action to check it.

Now living this way of life will at one continue as we know. What we do know is that it requires degeneration in the human species, a spiritual decline which must end in the collapse of Western civilisation unless it is superseded by a new culture and a spiritual, creative way of life. And that is the supreme issue in the life of our time, the issue which India should face in deciding her future course, that of the Western or the Gandhian way of life.

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Declaration Of

THE Declaration of Conscience, signed by over 100 world's finest minds from a number of countries, is sharply criticized by spokesmen of the South African Gov. and applauded very warmly by democrats in this country. Of its importance we publish the full text of it here:

Freedom and human dignity are to grave jeopardy in the Union of South Africa today. The Government of that nation continues to act and ostentatiously for racist policy of apartheid into the economic, educational, religious and other areas of life. The country's indignation is shared by millions of South African people represent a long and tragic record of freedom.

The Government has arrested and charged with high treason 125 men and women of all races, including some of the foremost non-white leaders whose main endeavour appears to have been to strive for equal rights for all. Hundreds of non-white families have been evicted from their homes and their land has been turned over to whites. After twenty-one years of virtual disenfranchisement of the Africans, now the Coloured voters are being deprived of the right of voting with the Europeans. The Bantu Education Act, the goal of which is to prepare Africans for a subnormal role as a white man's servant, is being vigorously implemented. In recent months the South African

Government has declared its power to force of different colour to God together and has extended this oppressive law policy into the services by ordering the segregation of courts.

All men who hold human dignity and the right that freedom is prerogative of a single group or larger race to sit in the face of this flagrant repression of law justice. As a matter of conscience we call upon loving people everywhere to adhere to this declaration.

Declaration

We support the sovereign majority of the South people, non-white and white, in their determination to the basic human rights the rightful heritage of in the spirit of the U Declaration of Human Rights adopted on December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly United Nations, we declare:

That no Government with justice discriminate any of its people be race, colour, sex, religion, political or social class, national or social property, birth or other. The Government of the South Africa does so in against all of its people in one other than white.

That "all are equal law and are entitled any discrimination protection of the law. Government of the Union Africa has denied the law to people before the law inequality into the land."

That "everyone has the right to leave the country, his own, and to return country. The Government of South Africa is in many of its people of right to leave their own."

That "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion, expression." The South Government has taken and non-white leaders arrested this right.

That "everyone has the right to take part in the of his country." No

Makarios Asks For India's Moral Support

New York, Dec. 4.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, self-styled Cypriot leader, asked for India's "moral support" in the Cypriot struggle for freedom in an interview at New York with the Indian news-agency PTI.

He said: "We have no doubt that India, which herself in the past struggled valiantly for freedom from British domination, will understand our own feelings for liberation and will give us her moral support."

The Archbishop who is now in New York to observe the United Nations debate on Cyprus said this week, said he had met Mr. Nehru at Bandung and Mr. Krishna Menon several times.

He said: "I understand they are most interested in a democratic and just solution of the Cypriot problem."

science: Full Text

of the citizens of South Africa control the Government and have firmly decided participation in it to the remaining four-fifths who constitute the majority.

We call on all men devoted to these principles to join in supporting this Declaration of Conscience and in designating December 10, 1957, Human Rights Day, as a Day of Protest against the organized inhumanity of the apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa.

We ask them to join us in calling on the Government of the Union of South Africa to banish its moral and legal obligations as a signatory to the United Nations Charter by having the Declaration of Human Rights.

We call upon members of all associations—churches, universities, trade unions, business and professional organizations, veterans and other groups—to petition their organizations and their governments to use their influence to bring about a peaceful, just and democratic solution in South Africa.

We call upon all men and women to mobilize the spiritual and moral forces of mankind on this Day of Protest to demonstrate to the Government of the Union of South Africa that free men above its policies and will not tolerate the continued suppression of human freedom. We urge to persuade the South African Government, before it reaches the point of no return, that only in democratic equality is there lasting peace and security.

A statement accompanying the Declaration says:

The time has come for a world-wide protest against the racist policies of the Government of the Union of South Africa. Freedom-loving people throughout the world have watched with great concern as the doctrine of white supremacy has gained increasing acceptance among South African whites. This racist doctrine—apartheid—has denied the African, Asian and Coloured people in South Africa even the elementary rights created by any democratic state. Totalitarianism increasingly grips almost every area of human activity in South Africa. It is the only system by which apartheid can be imposed upon the South African people. As such, apartheid is a threat to the liberty of every South African, white or non-white.

Almost as shocking as the tragic developments has been the absence of any national protest by the free peoples of the world. The Government of South Africa must learn that those who cherish freedom repudiate apartheid and similar racist policies anywhere. In addition, those conscious South Africans of all races who struggle to build a free and democratic society must know that their efforts are supported by men and women of goodwill in all nations.

More than a hundred of the world's leading spokesmen for freedom from every continent have joined in signing a Declaration of Conscience. This broad response is probably unprecedented in modern times. The Declaration is the heart of a campaign that culminates on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1957, which had been designated the Universal Day of Protest against South Africa's official policy of racism. The signers of the Declaration called upon civic, labour, business, professional, political, educational, church and other leaders and organizations throughout the world to support the Declaration of Conscience and the Day of Protest.

This Declaration is so appal to the conscience of people everywhere to condemn apartheid and to demand that the Union of South Africa live up to its obligations under the United Nations Charter. While there is still time, we cannot afford to remain silent. Your help is needed.

Two More Scholarships For African Students

Nairobi, Dec. 7.

TWO well-known Indian firms of Uganda have this year instituted a scholarship each for African students who wish to have their higher education in India.

The Uganda Sugar Factory Ltd. of Lugazi have donated the amount for the "Shri Manji Kalyani Mahal Scholarship" named after the well-known industrialist and philanthropist. The firm of Messrs. Muljibhai Mahabharat of Kalyan, near Poona, have donated the other scholarship.

The students will shortly be selected and are expected to go to India in June 1958.

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Letter To The Editor

"New Age" Replies To Mr. Ngubane

SIR.—Mr. J. K. Ngubane writes in your issue of November 23 that criticism of the African National Congress has become as wrong that "New Age" was forced to publish now and then letters in which the leftist tendency was attacked."

This is the second successive article in your newspaper in which he has made the same unqualified statement and your readers may have been led into the belief that Mr. Ngubane had made enquiries from "New Age" about the volume of correspondence received and the policy adopted by this printing letters.

I think it is important for your readers to know that no such enquiries have been made.

And this procedure has been taken—no enquiry was for any responsible writer—Mr. Ngubane would have discovered that it has long been our policy to make our letter page a free forum for the discussion of South African problems and for criticism of "New Age."

Over a period of several years we have not, in my knowledge, rejected any single letter on Congress policy.

Your readers will, I think, agree that this makes nonsense of the uncorroborated charge that "the tide of criticism is now so strong" that we were "forced to publish now and then letters in which the leftist tendency is attacked."

The fact is that whatever such "attribution" letters have been published have been the total of such letters received, so much for the "tide of criticism."

It is not my concern to comment on Mr. Ngubane's own attempts

to divide the liberation movement into hostile "left" and "right" wings;

to set traps for those who mean little for "treason"; to cast doubts on the principles of the Freedom Charter;

to spread mistrust between African and Indian Congresses when their representatives are made of his statement: "The Natal African Congress, under pressure from the Natal Indian Congress, 'abandoned' the sympathetic but hostile by Charles Abrahams?"

What is my concern is to comment on his comment very

sharply on his attempt to demonstrate the good name of "New Age", which tries to live up to the high standards set by our readers who expect their paper to speak with honesty and firmness on the true value of the liberation movement.

Yours faithfully,
LOREN FORBES,
Editor, "New Age."

Plea For Flexible Tactics Against Sporting Apartheid

THE writer of last week's article on the Republic of South Africa next year does not believe that indiscriminate international boycotts of South Africa sport and art should be insisted. He says it is a flexible tactic and should only be used where all other means have been exhausted without result. This is by no means yet the case in sport and art where, indeed, opportunities for boycotts are the easier but are better than in most other spheres. The most constructive way of doing this is to obtain for South African artists and sportsmen opportunities in international events where their own performances will rid themselves of a sporting or artistic colour bar (and by implication all other colour bars as well).

Praise By South African Visitor

Blakers, Dec. 10.

Several of the delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference took off a day from their heavy schedule in Delhi to visit one of India's biggest steel rolling projects at Bhakra-Nangal yesterday.

Mr. V. M. L. Hoffinger from South Africa said it was an impressive undertaking. He said: "It is the something else I have seen here, a reflection of the great and far-reaching determination on the part of this new country to build a strong foundation upon which you will be able to raise new standards of living for all your people."

Mr. Gaitskell Urges West's Aid To India

THE Right Honourable Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Opposition in the British Parliament, pleaded eloquently for every possible Western assistance to make India's Second Five-Year Plan a success.

The man who may be Britain's next Prime Minister, was addressing a press conference on the eve of his departure from New Delhi after a 10-day visit during which he met Mr. Nehru and other Central Ministers and had talks with the Prime Minister's leaders.

Mr. Gaitskell, who is gifted with a clear sharp mind, spoke with precision and carried conviction as he drew home his point of view on Commonwealth relations and current international problems.

The British Labour leader issued a warning that there might be serious political repercussions in Asia if India's Second Five-Year Plan and millions were disappointed. India was a democratic country which was trying to carry out an economic transformation which involved great risks. In a democratic set-up there is a dictatorship, it was neither possible nor desirable to impose unreasonably severe burdens on the people. That is why the Western world should give every possible assistance to India.

Again, Mr. Gaitskell stressed, was making the present economic situation in India with very poor supplies and in fact, and would try to do whatever was possible with her limited capacity to help the country in the particularly difficult period.

Adlai Stevenson On Economic Crisis In India

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the United States Ambassador to India, expressed the hope that the United States would help to meet what he called "The economic crisis in India."

Mr. Stevenson said in a prepared speech at a lawyer's association dinner: "If the Indian experiment fails then we might as well say farewell to our chances in Asia."

"But the task is large there India, and I think the time has come for the Western

Powers to get together to meet this threat too, to mobilize their financial and technical resources for a new, enlarged and coordinated effort, not with guns but with ideas, with propaganda and persuasion, yes, and with dollars that are free investments in the protection of those valuable assets from the Soviet economic penetration."

"I am not speaking here of a bigger giveaway; I am talking about an expanded and coordinated programme of loans and technical assistance in those delicate areas."

Pakistanis Open Fire Again

Pakistan border forces opened fire again on Indian nationalists across the Indo-Pakistan border at the Jhelum Hills and Sialkot district within 20 hours of the latest agreement to observe a ceasefire in the area, according to official sources in Delhi.

The Indian border security police immediately replied to the Pakistan fire. There was no casualty on the Indian side.

Today was the fourth incident in four consecutive days when the Pakistan forces had opened fire on Indian soldiers harvesting crops in the border. On November 23 also the Pakistanis had shot at Indian nationalists in the Rawal area, near Ambelohade, and prevented them from harvesting their crops.

A cease-fire agreement was reached after the November 23 shooting but the Pakistanis, violating this agreement, opened fire again on December 1, 2 and 3. At a conference of officials from both sides held following the three days' shooting the Pakistanis had again agreed to observe the cease-fire strictly.

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Nehru Tells Commonwealth Leaders

A New Delhi, Dec. 13. ADDRESSING the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru said disarmament may become impossible as time went on and more nations manufactured nuclear bombs.

He said: "I do suggest very strongly that the time has come for disarmament and if it does not come soon, the dangers threatening the world will be infinitely greater than they are today."

"Today the nuclear weapons are in the hands of two or three countries. I have no doubt that in a year or two they will be in the hands of more. In 10, 15, or 20 years they will be in the hands of many more countries and I think disarmament would be practically impossible then."

"In fact they may be used in the hands of not Governments only but of seceding groups and I shudder to think of what the position will be when a number of seceding groups carry the hydrogen bomb or produce them."

"One could not for obvious reasons expect full disarmament suddenly, but steady steps can be taken so that each step prepares the ground for the next."

"For my part," he said, "I feel that the suspension of atomic explosions is a valid first step. It is a dramatic

step. It would not change the power of any country, but would nevertheless give a tremendous lead. It would tone as a relief to hundreds of millions all over the world."

"I am certain we will gradually enter into a new phase when step by step you can disarm. I am not suggesting unilateral disarmament, but one should approach this question with good intentions to disarm and not merely argue about it without end."

In the present context, Mr. Nehru said, what was being aimed at was peace. "And it is said that we want to preserve peace by having those tremendous deterrents—atomic or hydrogen bombs or military parades." But all that could be said was that another world war had not broken out. Short of that everything had happened.

What was aimed at was democracy. But obviously democracy could not be imposed by force of arms. It had to grow. Conditions could be created for it to grow. It could not be achieved by crushing those opposing democracy but by changing them by peaceful persuasion.

Earlier Mr. Nehru said that the international situation had changed. The European view was no more the only approach to the world situation because the reality behind it had changed, and.

Mr. Han commended the former Speaker, the late Mr. Macaulay's view that members of Parliament should have a distinct ideology and be elected on that basis; that party transactions should not be inside and outside parliament, thus keeping in touch with public opinion; and that a party in Parliament should number at least ten per cent of total membership of the House in order to obtain recognition as a party.

NMA Wants Municipal Vote For Councillors

The members of the Natal Municipal Association in Pietermaritzburg unanimously agreed in principle that immigrants to

Natal be entitled to a municipal vote after two years, and that coloured people should have a municipal vote as though the Separate Representation of Voters' Act had not been passed.

The Natal Ordinance at present states that no person may be enrolled as a municipal voter unless he is, or is entitled to be, enrolled as a Franchise-bearing voter. In the case of immigrants who are ratepayers there is now a two-year bar to Franchise-bearing enrolment, with a further provision that the applicant must first be approved by the Minister of the Interior—compared with a two-year bar before 1949.



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Bandaranaike Denies That Non-Alignment Means Sitting On Fence

IN an address entitled "Frontiers of Democracy" at the Indian Council of World Affairs in Delhi, Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, refused to criticise the policy of non-alignment with power blocs and said: "To say that we are sitting on the fence or trying to get the best of both worlds is wrong. Our policy is a logical, successful attitude which is increasingly being appreciated by the situation we find ourselves in as the problem that we have to face."

He said Panathani (the peninsula) were the only way by which nations could respect each other and live in

peace. "The students of Bandung (Asian-African Conference), said in the Charter of the United Nations, is the great hope for the world today."

Meanwhile he commended the Commonwealth Conference, after being held at Delhi, concluded its discussion of the party system.

Mr. Bandaranaike had (India) said that the two party system was the more conducive to the growth of parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary government would be safe when different parties could put forward their policies, programmes and elections could be held.

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